A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EARLIEST AND THE LATEST ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE PANCHATANTRA

by

SOUDABEH RAFIEISAKHEI

(Under the Direction of Akinloye Ojo)

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative study of the earliest and the latest English translation of an ancient collection of fables in Sanskrit called the *Panchatantra*. Thomas North translated the first English descendant of the *Panchatantra*, known as the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, from Italian in 1570 C.E., and a recent English translation of the *Panchatantra* by Chandra Rajan appeared in 1997. This study aims to compare and contrast the structure and the content of the text in two translations that represent two different journeys from Sanskrit to English. The *Moral Philosophy of Doni* is an English translation of the Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of the Latin version of the Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of the Pehlevi translation of the Sanskrit text (Jacobs xi). Accordingly, North's translation is linked to the *Panchatantra* through *Kalila wa Dimna* and is comparable to Rajan's translation of Edgerton's reconstruction of the lost Sanskrit text.

INDEX WORDS: Translation, The Panchatantra, English, Kalila wa Dimna, Thomas North, Moral Philosophy of Doni, Fables of Bidpai

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DEDICATION

To my beloved children

Bahar, Hamed, and Hadi.

I love you to the moon and back.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a comparative study of the earliest and the latest English translation of an ancient collection of fables in Sanskrit called the *Panchatantra*. The Sanskrit text was translated first into Pahlavi, then from Pahlavi into Old Syriac and Arabic. The Arabic translation was followed by Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Italian versions until it appeared in English. The earliest English translation by Thomas North called, the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, was published in 1570 C.E. In a different journey, the recent English translations use Edgerton's reconstruction of the lost Sanskrit text. In this study, I discuss Chandra Rajan's 2007 edition of the1993 translation as the latest English translation.

I first encountered the *Panchatantra* through a copy of the Persian translation by Abu'l-Ma'ali Nasrallah titled *Kalile wa Dimneh* on my parents' shelf. As a fourth-grader, I expected to grasp the fables, but the Persian translator's elaborate style, the Arabic words of the Persian translation, and the text's prose-verse form made the book a tough read. Early on in my graduate academic career, I developed an interest in the cross-cultural migration of literary texts, specifically the ancient texts that influenced other texts. I found the *Panchatantra* a charming example of an ancient text that inspired some tales in *One Thousand and One Nights*, Rumi's *Masnavi*, and *La Fontaine's Fables*. A text could rarely inspire other texts in another language if not translated into that language. The *Panchatantra's* translation into various languages paved the way for its impact on different cultures and literary texts. Yet, translation is a transformative process in which a text both affects and is affected. While a text affects the target culture, it is modified in the translation process. The translation of a text and the translation of another

translation of the same text may not be alike. The earliest and the latest English translations of the *Panchatantra* are five centuries apart. The English language's evolution is undeniable; in this study, I do not compare the translations from a linguistic perspective but observe each translation as a representative of a textual tradition formed by a transmission journey. The earliest English translation belongs to the *Kalila wa Dimna* tradition, which is the outcome of various cross-cultural migrations of the Sanskrit text. The latest English translation reflects the *Panchatantra* tradition, which the reconstruction of the lost Sanskrit text revived.

In chapter one, "Translation as a Process," I discuss the feasibility of ultimate translation, which aims at producing an equivalent of the source text. First, I elaborate on understanding as a translation which makes it a component of speaking, reading, and writing. Then, I present a brief review of the perspectives that led to linguistic relativity. Afterward, I describe the translation process and correspondence of the source and target texts within the context of semiotics. In the end, I refer to Dryden and Goethe's classifications of translation but explore the translations in regard to the latter. In chapter two, I explore the translation journeys of the *Panchatantra* to English. First, I introduce the Panchatantra briefly; then, I discuss the relationship of the *Panchatantra* and *Kalila wa Dimna* and the translation journey of *Kalila wa Dimna* until it appears in English as the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*. Finally, I talk about Edgerton's the *Panchatantra Reconstructed* which is the source text of Rajan's translation. Chapter three focuses on the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*. First, I present an overview of Elizabethan translations and introduce Thomas North and his translations; then, I discuss the text part by part. In chapter four, I introduce the latest English translations and discuss Chandra Rajan's translation. Finally, in chapter five, I compare the translations and discuss their structural differences and the similarities of their contents.

CHAPTER 1

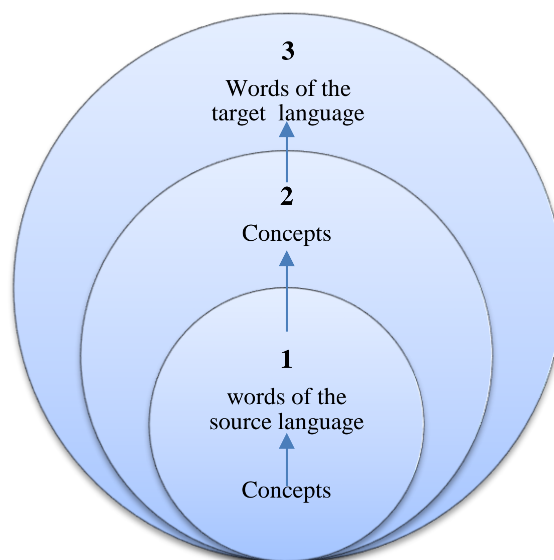
TRANSLATION AS A PROCESS

Translational Equivalence and Translation's Purpose

When we speak, we transpose our thoughts into words, things into names, and images into signs and transfer them into the reality of language; thus, we translate (Berman, *The Experience* 14; Paz152). Language, in its very essence, is already a translation from the nonverbal world and every sign and every phrase that language comprises is a translation of another sign, another phrase (Paz 154). We are accomplishing an act of translation by decoding the language's reality when receiving a speech message from another person. Hence, understanding is a translation, and human communications, intralingual or interlingual, are acts of translation (Steiner 48- 49).

Assuming language to be a translation makes the means of translation itself a translation. Accordingly, translation as an act of recreating language through the reading process is a second order translation. This perspective is central to Gadamer's observation of reading as translation (Schulte 9). Regarding Gadamer's view and Nossak's perception of writing as a translation, we may conclude that the interlingual translation is yet a translation of the third order, See Figure1. Still, the process involves the translator in only two phases:

1. The author transforms the concepts into the words of the source language.
2. The translator understands the concepts that the author expressed through the words of the source language.
3. The translator expresses the related concepts through the words of the target language.



1.Language, the medium of translation 2. Reading as a translation 3. Writing as a translation

Author Translator Translator

Figure1. Three Phases of Interlingual Translation.

The feasibility of interlingual translation is a question linked to the goal of translation. The reproduction of an equivalent of the source-language text in the target language with the quest of identical reciprocation becomes an impossible act. The famous aphorism of "No man ever steps in the same river twice" (Plutarch 241) is the essence of a fragment by Heraclitus, in which Heraclitus explains that "you cannot step twice into the same river; for fresh waters are ever flowing in upon you" (Burnet 136). Heraclitus' flowing river provides a philosophical context for the inaccessibility of identical reciprocation in translation. Observing language as a translation gives rise to a dynamic coexistence of composition and comprehension of a text. No text can be completely equal to the original; therefore, the source text fails to provide a benchmark for evaluation of sameness in its corresponding reproduction in the target language

(Schulte 7). Language is not static. The same reader's multiple experiences of reading the same text do not provide the same meaning due to the dynamic transfusion of the concepts and words into one another, and this is due to the changes of the language and the reader. Besides, the translator, as a reader who speaks for the source text and conveys it into the target language, faces the dynamism of the target language as an additional aspect interfering with the sameness of the target and source texts. Thus, a translation is not an equivalent of the source text, but it is a modified text that corresponds to the source text.

A brief review of the opinions about the relationship of thought and language provides a similar answer to interlingual translation's competence in creating an equivalent to the source text in the target language. In 1697, Leibniz rejected the prevalent view of language as the vehicle of thought and suggested that language is the determining medium of thought. He implied that we think and feel as a particular language allows us, and that thought is language internalized. Nevertheless, he acknowledged the difference between these languages and viewed them as the perpetual living mirrors of the universe each reflected (Steiner 78).

In line with Leibniz, Vico observed language evolution as the human mind's evolution and argued that all primitive men sought expression through imaginative universals that rapidly acquired very different configurations in diverse languages (79). Different languages shape their syntactic and lexical corpus by infinite particular configurations that engender and reflect distinct worldviews of those cultures. The interactive relationship of language and culture was indispensable to Hamman, who viewed language as an articulate revelation of a specific historical-cultural landscape (80).

Expanding this perspective, Humboldt elucidated the concordance between a language and its speakers' history. According to him, each language accommodates everyday life's

general needs; still, the spirit of the nation that shapes and forms the language can infinitely enrich it (Humboldt 56). Every language specifically and distinctively informs its civilization and determines ethnic, and national collections of feeling (85-88). Humboldt considers language to be the center of the human being (84). His perception of language as a third universe between the empirical world's phenomenal reality and concise internalized structures assumes language to be the determinant of a human's place in reality. From his perspective, language is not merely the communication between speakers but a mode of creating and interpreting thought. He suggested that different languages provide very different intensities of response to life and every language is a worldview. Humboldt's fragmentary writings, edited by Steinthal, influenced Franz Boas' anthropology, which influenced his student, Edward Sapir, who passed on his views to his own student Benjamin Lee Whorf, leading to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity (Steiner 89; kay 65).

Sapir considered language the guide to social reality. To Sapir, a community's language habits principally determine their experience, and due to the lack of sufficient similarity, no two languages are ever considered as representing the same social reality (Bassnett 13). Whorf made two cardinal hypotheses: First, all higher levels of thinking are dependent on language. In other words, languages define our perceptions. Second, the structure of the language one habitually uses influences how one understands their environment, or language's structure inspires the perception of the reality according to which the people behave (Chase vi). Therefore, the conception of the universe shifts from language to language.

The same text in two different languages, the source text, and the target text, represent different perceptions of reality that may not be entirely divergent but correspond with some nuances. The translator's thinking, which depends on their native language, normally the target

language, influences the target text's representation of reality. Furthermore, the source text may contain concepts dependent on the source language that the translator may be unable to carry over to the target text due to their absence in the target culture's perception of reality. Thus, the translator needs to find a way to deal with those concepts crucial to convey the text's meaning. Regardless of the translator's strategy, the target text will not be equivalent to the source text.

Observing translation within the context of semiotics also confirms the inability of a translation to produce an identical embodiment of a text in a different language. A semiotic view of translation aligns with Roman Jakobson's interlingual translation, which is an interpretation of verbal signs through some other language. Translation as a process that Ludskanov calls semiotic transformation replaces the signs encoding a message in the source language by signs of another code. At the same time, it preserves invariant information concerning a given system of reference. Examples of the invariant information explained by Bassnett and include affirmation for "yes" and the notion of greeting for "hello", the invariant information is the concept or the message behind the word. Saussure postulates language to be a system of signs forming a well-defined object that can be studied by itself regardless of other natural language features (Holdcroft 47).

A word as a linguistic sign that conveys meaning is the outcome of the structural relationship of the concept, the signified, and the sound and image made by the word, the signifier (Bassnett 14-18). Thus, translation entails that the linguistic signs within the target text correspond to those of the source text. To Neubert, translation equivalence as a semiotic category contains syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic components (27). The syntactic and semantic features depend on the pragmatic component with, the latter prioritizing the previous two. All three components of the words or constructions of the target text may not correspond to their

representatives in the source text. The semantic and pragmatic components of translation equivalence may require the substitution of a word or expression but the translation would not be the same as the source text. The fact that complete equivalence, apparent sameness, cannot take place in a translation does not undermine the contribution of translation to language, culture, and human life.

Every language expresses a culture. Translation is a dialogue between languages (Grossman 48) and indeed between cultures. Translation mediates the interactions between cultures and enriches them. It is a means of approaching the foreign that decreases the ignorance of other cultures. Accordingly, it reduces the chance of misunderstanding, xenophobia, and conflict at the level of nations. Translation is aims at revealing the foreign work to us in its absolute foreignness, while it uproots the foreign text from its language ground (Berman, “Translation and the Trials” 240). Literary translation shares this goal with both the act of translation in general and literature as an aesthetic experience. While a translation of a literary work presents a different worldview to the reader, it affects the reader’s sense of self. Translation and literature need and nurture each other; they are inseparable, and what happens to one affects the other (Grossman 33).

Our view of translation as a process informs what is expected from the literary translation as a product. Translation is far more than the lexical and grammatical transformation of one language into another. As discussed earlier, the ultimate translation aiming at an identical reproduction of the source text is impossible. Thus, we should not view a translation as a mere replica of the source but a modified version of the source text. A translation is not the tracing paper of the source text but a creative reproduction of a source text that appropriates it for the

target culture. The problems of equivalence and untranslatability have repeatedly raised a quest for the most beneficial translation practices. Dryden categorizes translations into three types:

- Metaphrase, which is the word-by-word transformation of the source text[1] into the target language.
- Paraphrase, in which the translator is more loyal to the sense of the author than his words.
- Imitation, in which the translator is not bound to the words and sense of the author and takes some general hints from the source text (Dryden 17).

To Dryden, metaphrase and imitation are extreme practices. The first limits the translator to the narrow scope of the author's words and the latter is a libertine way of rendering which may neither reflect the author's words nor their thoughts. But paraphrase gives the translator the liberty to change the words to better reflect the sense of the author. The translator maintains the author's character while making the author appear as charming as possible (19-23). Dryden expects the translator to be very committed to the author. Like Dryden, Goethe discusses three types of translation, which include:

- A translation that familiarizes us with the foreign country in our own terms.
- A translation in which the translator endeavors to transport himself into the foreign situation but only appropriates the foreign idea and represents it as his own.
- A translation that achieves a perfect identity with the source so that the translation or the source text does not exist instead of the other, but in the other's unity.

[1] In this study, I am inclined to avoid the word "original" to refer to the source text, as it implies a hierarchical relationship between the source text and the translation.

Goethe admires the last type of translation, in which the target text attempts to identify with the source text and becomes an interlinear version that greatly facilitates our understanding of the source text (Goethe 60-63). This type of translation is in accordance with Schleiermacher's notion of foreignizing translation, wherein the reader of the target text is brought as close as possible to the source text through close renderings that change the translating language (Schleiermacher 44; Venuti 72). This view is also in line with the ideas expressed by Pannwitz who criticizes the reluctance of German translators to allow the spirit of the foreign work to overcome their own linguistic habits, thereby "germanizing the Indic, Greek, and English instead of indicizing, graecizing, and anglicizing German" (Benjamin 82). Benjamin revived the perspective to which Goethe, Schleiermacher, and Pannwitz all subscribed in "The Translator's Task" (82).

The translator determines the relationship of the target text with the foreign. The foreign is not the source text independently; it is the world that the source text represents and lies in and between the lines of the source. Thomas North familiarizes the English reader with the foreign text in their own terms. The *Moral Philosophy of Doni* is a plain prose translation that surprises the reader with exoticness of the foreign in their everyday lives so smoothly that it pleasantly uplifts the reader. Accordingly, the earliest English translation of the *Panchatantra* fits the first type of Goethe's translation categories.

Rajan appropriates the ancient foreign text for 20th-century readers. She modifies what her modern reader may find unacceptable, e.g. misogyny, by using mild language. Furthermore, she adapts an English name for the foreign Sanskrit name of every character. For instance, *Karaṭaka* and *Damanaka*, the main characters of the first book's frame story, are Wary and Wily. She does not translate the Sanskrit names, but she replaces them with words capable of conveying what

Sanskrit names express (Rajan xiii). Rajan makes an effort to transport herself into the foreign situation. Still, in the quest of presenting the foreign fully, she appropriates the essence of the foreign and represents it as her own. The latest English translation of the *Panchatantra* is an example of the second of Goethe's translation categories.

CHAPTER 2

THE PANCHATANTRA'S TRANLATION JOURNEYS TO ENGLISH

The *Panchatantra*

The *Panchatantra* is an ancient collection of interconnected fables in Sanskrit with unknown authorship, date, and origin. According to Hertel, the text belongs to 300 C.E. (De Blois 5). To Edgerton, the approximate composition date was later than the beginning of the Christian era and earlier than the sixth century C.E., in which the Pahlavi translation appeared (2: 82). *Pancha* means five in Sanskrit, but *tantra*'s meaning as the title of the book's subdivisions is arguable. Hertel perceives *tantra* as *Klugheitsfall*, which means wisdom case or trick in English, while in Edgerton's view, it simply means book or division of a literary work (Edgerton 2: 182). The *Panchatantra's* preamble forms a frame story that embraces five books or *tantras*, recounting stories concerned with conduct issues. Each *tantra* has its own frame story, narrative, discourse, and characters; moreover, it comprises other stories nested within it in one or two levels (Rajan xlvii).

The *Panchatantra* is a mixture of prose and verse, a form known as *campū*[1] in Sanskrit. The text employs prose for the narrative and dialogue and verse for aphorism and articulating maxims (liii). The *Panchatantra* belongs to the old tradition of storytelling; therefore, it received continuous and constant revision(xx). Storytelling is a very ancient art in India. Speaking animals appear in India's most ancient texts going back to the early first millennium B.C.E.

1. "(campū-kāvya) is a special type of composition combinatory of (padya-kāvya) and (gadya-kāvya)" ("Sanskrit Literature").

(Olivelle 19). Although animals play the central role in most stories, humans appear in several of them, and the examination of their roles gives insights into ancient Indian society.

The *Panchatantra* is a text on governance and intended for a monarch's instruction; still, the tales' morals apply to various settings. The text is a Mirror of Princes that does not seek to reduce human life complexities, government policy, and ethical dilemmas into simple solutions. It is wisdom literature and an implicit handbook of ethics.

The *Panchatantra*, *Kalila wa Dimna*, and the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*

The *Panchatantra*, *Kalila wa Dimna*[1], and the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* are different recensions of the same book that originated in India. The relationship between the three texts is central to this study. De Blois believes that the *Panchatantra* is not *Kalila wa Dimna* and seeking for *Kalila and Dimna* cannot be understood as seeking the *Panchatantra* (53). His perspective is relevant if we perceive the sameness literally, but these books comprise similar corresponding content, modified through the translation process. Each translation is the outcome of the translator's reading of the source text, which is rendered and crystallized within the target culture through the target language. Meanwhile, the scope of the transformation of a text in translation depends on the text's linguistic journey from the language in which it was born to the translation's target language.

In a translation process, the linguistic journey always begins with the language in which the author composed the text. A translation that employs another translation of a text in a different language as the source text is still a descendant of that text in the original language and

[1] كليله ودمنه

represents a transformation of the text following the text's last change, which occurred in the prior translation. Accordingly, a long line of translations connects *Kalila wa Dimna*, the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, and the *Panchatantra* in a relationship whereby *Kalila wa Dimna* is a descendant of the *Panchatantra* and the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* is a descendant of both. Thus, studying any of them elaborates on the others and the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* as the earliest English version of the *Panchatantra* is comparable to the latest English translations of the *Panchatantra*, which employ Edgerton's the *Panchatantra Reconstructed* as the source text.

From *Karīrak ud Damanak* to the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*

The *Panchatantra*'s point of departure towards other cultures is Persia. In the reign of the Sasanian king Khosrow I Anushirvan[1], around 570 C.E, Burzōy, the physician[2], translates the book from Sanskrit into Pahlavi[3]. There are three prominent versions of the story of Burzōy's voyage to India to find the book. The first in a relative historical sequence is found in a few the Arabic versions and John Capua's Latin translation and relates the following: Burzōy, the physician, reads about plants in India's mountains which can revive the dead. He sets out on his journey with the permission of the Sasanian king of Persia, Anushirvan, who sends gifts to the Indian kings to assist Burzōy. When he can't find such plants he asks for the advice of a sage, who tells him that the mountains are the wise men, the plants are their books, and the dead are the ignorant. Burzōy collects Indian books and translates them into Persian. When he returns to Persia, the king orders the minister to keep the books in the royal treasury. Among them is *Kalila wa Dimna*, the first chapter of which is about Burzōy.

[1] 531- 579 C.E.
[2] برزویه طبیب
[3] Middle Persian

Berosias Presents his Book
to the Emperor Anastres Castri (Chosroes I Anushirvan).
From *Das Buch der Weisheit* (1483).

Figure 2. Burzōy Presents *Kalila wa Dimna* to Anushirvan (North 6).

The second version of the voyage story, which is an elaboration of the first, is found in *Firdawsi's Shahname*[1]. In it, Burzōy requests the king's permission to go to India to look for a plant that can raise the dead. The king grants his request. In India, the king and the people assist Burzōy in all respects. When no such plant is found, the Indian sages recommend that Burzōy consult a wise old man, who tells him that the plant is the book *Kalila wa Dimna* in the royal treasury. The Indian king allows Burzōy to read the book but not to copy it. He reads the book chapter by chapter and copies it secretly from memory in his residence. When he finishes the

[1] شاهنامه

whole book, he returns to Persia, where the king orders the minister to copy and translate the book into Persian and offers Burzōy any reward that may please him. Burzōy asks the king to order his minister to add a chapter about Burzōy's life to the book's beginning. The king grants his request, and the book is deposited in the royal treasury.

The third version, which is derived from the second but omits the motif of a plant, is found in many Arabic manuscripts of *Kalila wa Dimna*, all the printed Arabic texts, the Greek translation, and a few Persian translations. The story goes as follows: The Persian king hears about an Indian book called *Kalila wa Dimna* and searches for the right person to find the book. He selects Burzōy and sends him to India. There Burzōy attaches himself to the Indian court and makes friends with a sage who obtains the book for him from the royal treasury. He copies and translates the book. When he returns to Persia, the king offers Burzōy any reward that may please him. Burzōy asks the king to order his minister to write and add a chapter about Burzōy's life to the book's beginning. At the king's command, the minister writes the chapter, and gets rewarded (De Blois 40-43; 51-57).

Burzōy is a real historical person, and his autobiography is the main source of knowledge about him (De Blois 60). The different versions of Burzōy's voyage agree in making a quest for wisdom central to his role in initiating the migration of the book to the rest of world.

Burzōy's Pahlavi translation is the prototype of all subsequent versions of *Kalila wa Dimna* distinct from the *Panchatantra*. The Pahlavi translation and its Sanskrit source text are lost, and our knowledge about them is based on the translations of the Pahlavi text. *Karīrak ud Damanak* is the hypothetical title of the Pahlavi translation (Edgerton 2: 40). Edgerton suggests that Burzōy makes a Pahlavi translation of Indian stories of various provenance, among which a

version of the *Pancatantra* is the main text. Edgerton's perspective is in accordance with the oldest version of the story of Burzōy's voyage. Burzōy names his entire work after two jackals who are the main characters of the frame story of the first book of the *Panchatantra*.

According to Edgerton, the Pahlavi translation includes the entire *Panchatantra* except for the preamble and three stories. The preamble, which narrates the frame story of the entire book, is the most significant absent section. The missing stories include "Deer's Former Captivity" in book II, "Ass in Panther's Skin" in book III, and "Barber who killed the Monks" in book V. Burzōy transposes the story of the "Three Fish" in book I of the original. Book I of the Pahlavi translation contains a story named "the Treacherous Bawd" not found in the Sanskrit text (2: 40). Furthermore, the Pahlavi translation appends these sections not found in the *Panchatantra*: "The Mission of Burzōy to India in Search of the Book of Kalila wa Dimna", "The History of Burzōy the Physician, Written by Bozorgmehr the Son of Bakhtakan" and "The King of the Mice and His Ministers" (Dawood 15).

The older Syriac and the Arabic are two independent translations of the Pahlavi text. The Syriac, attributed to a certain Bod, appeared in the 6th century and is preserved only in an imperfect 16th-century manuscript. It was first published together with a German translation in 1876 (De Blois 1-2). The Syriac is not in the line of translations that link the Sanskrit text to the earliest English translation. However, the Arabic translation is the source text of various versions that facilitate the text's westward journey until it appears in English.

The Arabic translation by Ibn al-Moqaffa known as *Kalila wa Dimna* appeared around 750 C.E. (Edgerton 2: 42). Abdullah Ibn al-Moqaffa, a Persian chancery secretary[1] and Arabic

---

[1] *kāteb*

prose writer, is known as Rūzbeh pūr-i Dādōē before his conversion to Islam (Latham). He intends to provide his version with a Moslem spirit, evident throughout the text (Beecher et al. 23). "The Subject matter of the Book of Kalila wa Dimna, Written by Ibn al-Muqaffa," "The Investigation of the Conduct of Dimna," "The Monk and His Guest," "The Heron and the Duck," and "The Dove, The Fox and the Heron" are the sections that the Arabic translation adds to the text (Dawood 15).

The oldest extant Arabic manuscript was completed in 1221C.E., almost 500 years after the translator's death. The popularity of the book may justify the degree of discrepancy in various Arabic manuscripts. Older copies were rapidly worn out due to frequent reading. The demand to produce new manuscripts increased the likelihood of editing and altering the text over time. The editors and copyists had no reservations about modifying the text or rewriting the stories. Therefore, we may consider the Arabic translation as a combination of texts derived in one way or another from the very first translation (De Blois 5). Silvestre de Sacy first published the Arabic version in 1816. The Arabic text leaves many descendants, including a second Syriac version in the tenth or eleventh century, a Greek version in the 11th century, Nasrallah's Persian translation in the twelfth century, a Spanish translation in the thirteenth century, and a Hebrew translation in the 12th century. The Hebrew translation is important to this study as a mediator in the text's translation journey towards English in the following way.

The Hebrew translation by Rabbi Joel survives only in one fragmentary manuscript; the entire first book is lost. However, there is a complete Latin rendering of Joel's translation, a reliable source to observe the Hebrew text's missing parts. The Hebrew version was edited along with a French translation by Derenbourg in 1881. Nothing is known about Rabbi Joel and the

title of the Hebrew translation. In Keith-Falconer's analysis, the Hebrew translation appeared before 1250 C.E., agreeing with that by Derenbourg, who dated the Hebrew translation to the first half of the 12th century (Edgerton 2: 44; De Blois 6; Dawood 17). According to Keith-Falconer, the Hebrew text comprises a prologue and seventeen chapters corresponding to major chapters of *Kalila wa Dimna*. The Hebrew version transformed a few names. e.g., *Baydaba*, the sage in the Arabic version was *Sendebar* in the Hebrew translation and *Dabshalim*, the king of the Arabic text was *Disles* in Hebrew. Silvestre de Sacy suggested that the name changes were due to the translator's misreading of the unpointed Arabic words. Otherwise, the Hebrew version followed the Arabic translation closely (Dawood 17).

John of Capua translated the Hebrew text into Latin between 1263 and 1278 and dedicated his work to Cardinal Matthew Rubens Ursinus (De Blois 6; Beecher et al. 26). The Latin translation known as *Directorium Humanae Vitae* was printed twice about 1480 and existed in manuscripts at about the same time (Edgerton 2: 44). The Latin translation is an exact rendering of the Hebrew text and corresponding to the preceding Hebrew and Arabic versions contains a prologue and seventeen chapters. The translation's prologue communicates both "The subject matter of the Book" and "The Mission of Burzōy" of the Arabic text (Dawood 18). The Latin version of John of Capua became famous in the Middle Ages and left descendants in various European languages (De Blois 6). These were according to Edgerton, Spanish, German, and Italian (2: 44). Hertel states that John's Latin translation was further circulated through one German, one Spanish, one Italian, and one Czech translation (Hertel 396). The German translation, *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*, enormously popular in medieval Europe (Edgerton 2: 44), was passed into Danish and Dutch (Keith-Falconer lxxvi). Nevertheless, the journey of the text to English continues through Spanish and does not pass through German.

An anonymous Spanish translation of *Directorium Humanae Vitae* was published at Zaragoza by the House of Hurus in 1493. The Spanish version, *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*, was probably translated from the Latin version's first printed edition in 1480 (Beecher et al. 113; Dawood 18). The book was republished multiple times in the early 16th century by Jacome Cromberger of Seville (Beecher et al. 113). The *Exemplario* closely follows the structure of the Latin text but modifies a few chapters. It begins with Capua's preface, followed by that of Ibn al-Moqaffa. The chapter on Burzōy's life appears next. Unlike the Arabic precedent, the Spanish translation does not attribute the chapter to Bozorgmehr, the son of Bakhtakan, but to Burzōy. Burzōy's life in the Spanish translation deviates from the other translations.

In chapter one, the Spanish translator introduces Burzōy, the peaceful prince who behaves according to the fear of God's justice (*Exemplario* v). Burzōy's submission to God describes his decency along with righteousness as the foundation of his morals. The Spanish translator converts Burzōy to Christianity after his extended meditation on life, which happens by preferring the evangelical principles over piety's imperfect practices (*Exemplario* vi). In the end, Burzōy rejects specific religions for an ascetic life, hoping that it would help him with worldly affairs and self-control. Afterward, the frame story of king Disles and Sendebar, the sage, appears, followed by the story of the ox that deals with deception and lies. The *Exemplario* comprises seventeen chapters that correspond to those of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin translations. The *Exemplario has* two immediate Italian descendants.

Agnolo Firenzuola translated *Exemplario* into Italian in 1548 C.E. The translation is called *Discorisi degli animali*. To Loiseleur-Deslongchamps, Firenzuola's work is an adaptation

of the *Examplario*, which corresponds to the book of “The Lion and the Bull”. Kalila and Dimna, the jackals, appear as two sheep (Dawood 20). Firenzuola transports the scenes to various places in Italy and often changes the animals’ names, e.g., in the story of “the lion, the bull, and the sheep” *Shanzabeh* the ox becomes *Biondino*, *Dimna* the jackal becomes *Carpigna* the sheep, and his companion *Kalila* becomes *Bellino* (Keith-falconer lxxvii).

Doni’s work appeared a few years after Firenzuola’s in 1552 C.E. and was reprinted in 1567 and 1606. Doni’s text does not follow the seventeen-chapter structure and includes two volumes. The first, *La Filosofia Morale del Doni*, corresponds to the narratives of “The Lion and the Bull.” Kalila and Dimna, the mischievous jackals of the story, appear as an ass and a mule. The second, *Trattati diversi di Sendebar Indiano filosofo morale*, comprises other narratives from the source text with an Italian spirit.

Doni’s work is important, because it is the source of Thomas North’s English translation of the *Moral Philosophy of* Doni, which appeared in 1570. North’s translation included only the first section of Doni’s text which will be treated in detail in chapter 3.

Table 1. The Translations that Connect the English Translation to the Sanskrit Text.

Target language	Translation's title	Translator	Date
Pahlavi	*Karīrak ud Damanak* (Hypothetical)	Burzōy	570 C.E.
Arabic	*Kalīla wa Dimna* كليله و دمنه	Ibn al-Muqaffa (Rōzbih pūr-i Dādōē)	Around 750 C.E.
Hebrew	Unknown	Rabbi Joel	Between 1200-1250 C.E.
Latin	*Directorium Humanae Vitae*	John of Capua	1263-1270 C.E.
Spanish	*Examplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*	Anonymous	1493 C.E.
Italian	*La Filosofia Morale del Doni*	Anton Francesco Doni	1552 C.E.
English	*The Moral Philosophy of Doni*	Sir Thomas North	1570 C. E.

The linguistic journey of the ancient that we are following began in Sanskrit and continued in Pahlavi, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, ending in Italian and English. While there is a consensus about the first part and the end of the journey, the Italian text's relationship to the Latin version is debatable. The disagreement concerns Doni's source text and questions whether Doni translated *La Filosofia Morale* directly from Latin or from Spanish translation of the Latin

version. Keith-Falconer, Edgerton, and De Blois consider Doni's Italian text to be a translation of the Latin version (De Blois 6). Keith-Falconer briefly reviews Doni's work in the introduction to his English translation of the later Syriac version of *Kalila wa Dimna*, treating it as a direct translation of Capua's Latin version (lxxvii). Edgerton's statement appears in the second volume of the *Panchatantra Reconstructed* in review of the Pahlavi and Arabic translation (2: 44), and De Blois briefly mentions Doni's book in the sequence of translations in his book about Burzōy's voyage. While concerned with various aspects of *Kalila wa Dimna* and its cross-cultural migrations, these scholars do not discuss the relationship of each translation with the source text, which is not central to their argument.

According to Hertel, the Latin translation was further circulated through a German, a Spanish, an Italian, and a Czech translation[1], which implies that the latter texts were all descendants of the Latin, but not that they had necessarily used the Latin as their immediate source. Each translation could have been the descendant of the other. After discussing the German and Spanish translations, both mentioned as direct translations of the Latin, Hertel presents two Italian translations, the first by Firenzuola and the latter by Doni. He introduces the first as a direct translation of the Spanish *Exemplario* but has nothing to say about the latter's immediate source (Hertel 396).

Jacobs, the editor of the earliest English translation (1888), presents it as "a version of an Italian adaptation of a Spanish translation of a Latin version of a Hebrew translation of an Arabic adaptation of the Pehlevi version of the Indian original" (vii). Accordingly, Doni's work is an

1 Johanns lateinische Übersetzung wurde durch eine deutsche, eine spanische, eine italienische und eine tschechische weiter verbreitet.

adaption of the Spanish translation. Indeed, the subtitle of the prologue of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* characterizes it as “a work first compiled in the Indian tongue, and afterward transferred into divers and sundry other languages: as the Persian, Arabian, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Italian” (North 206). This sequence of transmission is further confirmed by Doni’s statement in the “A I Lettori”[1] of one of the earliest editions of the book in 1588 (Doni i). First, Doni lists the Indian, Persian (Pahlavi), Arabic, Hebrew, Latin and Spanish versions; then, he states that he received the text in several languages when he reduced the text to Italian[2]. When Doni’s translation appeared, the ancient text had enjoyed many more translations in various languages, not included in Doni’s list. Doni traced the transmission of the text up until his work, with the Spanish translation as the last stop assuming a significant place. Doni did not follow the Spanish translation closely, as evident in the book’s structure and the story of Burzōy’s voyage. Still, it is an adaptation of the Spanish text, which may have in addition used Latin. Accordingly, the Spanish text should not be ignored in transmission of the text from Sanskrit into English. Figure3.

The relationship of Doni’s translation to the Spanish version brings into question the existence of a direct Italian translation of the Latin in the 16th century. Dunlop’s identification of Firenzuola’s *Discorsi Degli Animali* with the Italian translation of the Latin (158), is according to Hertel’s description of Firenzuola’s work, not correct. Firenzuola’s translation is a reduction of the Spanish. Accordingly, there is no immediate Italian translation of the Latin version.

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[1] To the readers.

[2] “Ultimamente i Latini lo trasportarono ne la loro da quella in varie lingue, infino nella Castiliaae, cosi da gli dotto Spagnuolo fù detto Essemplario. Pervenuto adunquein diuerse lingue scritto & stampato nelle mie mani; l' ho ne la Toscana auella ridotto”.

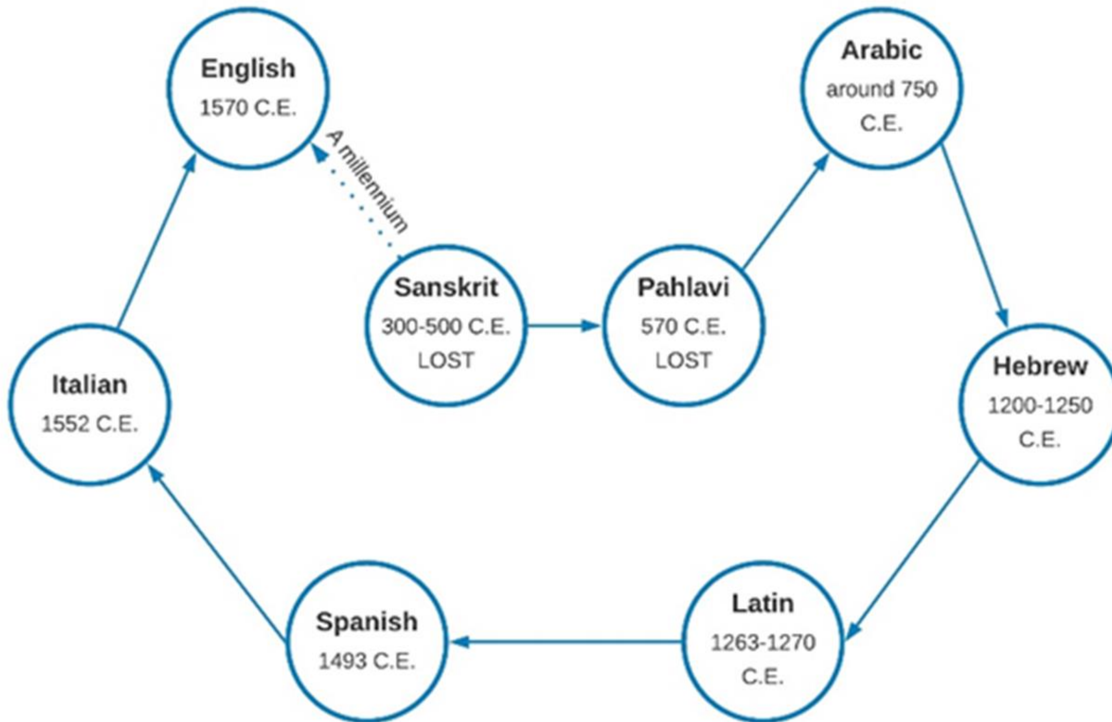

Figure 3. The transmissional history of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*.

The *Panchatantra Reconstructed*

Franklin Edgerton reconstructed the *Panchatantra* in 1924. In the absence of the original, Edgerton attempts to reach a close approximation to the text that has enjoyed enormous popularity in various times and lands (Edgerton 2: 6). He presents his work as "an attempt to establish the lost original Sanskrit text of the most famous Indian Story-collections based on the principal extant versions" and does not claim to have established the Ur-Panchatantra. The American Oriental Society published the *Panchatantra Reconstructed* in two volumes. Volume one, titled the text and critical apparatus, presents the entire reconstructed Sanskrit text in

English transliteration accompanied by critical apparatus. The reconstruction includes an introductory section and the five books of the *Panchatantra*. The critical apparatus comprises the evidence for the reconstructed text and quotes the existing versions of the *Panchatantra*. The text and the corresponding critical apparatus appear on the same page, the first on top and the latter in a smaller size at the bottom.

In volume two, introduction and translation, Edgerton elaborates on his comparison and construction method and discusses the source texts and their interrelationships. Furthermore, he provides examples comparing the same piece of the text in various sources. Relying on previous studies such as Hertel's, Edgerton selects the *Panchatantra* versions that point to a definite literary archetype and contain all the beneficial evidence for reconstructing the original *Panchatantra*. His sources include the *Tantrākhyāyika*, *Southern Pañcatantra*, *Nepalese Pañcatantra*, *Hitopadeśa*, the poetic versions found in *Somadeva*'s *Kathāsaritsāgara* and *Kṣemendra*'s *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, the "*textus simplicior*"[1], *Pūrṇabhadra*, and the principal derivatives of the Pahlavi translation.

To restore the original text, Edgerton divides the subject of comparison into the smallest possible units, in Sanskrit versions, a single stanza or prose sentence, and compares them precisely. Then he presents the common precipitate of the source texts as the hypothetical origin (Edgerton 2:4; Brown 186). From an aesthetic perspective, Edgerton's reconstruction may not substitute for the lost *Panchatantra*; nevertheless, it is a valuable text that elucidates its variants' interrelationships. Furthermore, Edgerton reinvigorates the *Panchatantra* tradition by presenting a reliable prototype that served as the source text of multiple translations. Edgerton does not use

[1] An edition popular in western and central India (Edgerton 2: 27).

the Devanāgarī script, choosing rather to render the restored text in English transliteration. Edgerton's the *Panchatantra Reconstructed* is the source of all recent English translations.

The *Panchatantra* and Analogous Collections of Fable in Sanskrit

The *Panchatantra* has inspired many texts; and other collections of fables in various languages, including Sanskrit, adapt its tales. The *Hitopadeśa*[1] and *Kathā-saritsāgara*[2] are two Sanskrit texts which are remarkably similar to the *Panchatantra*. The *Hitopadeśa* by Narāyana, composed before 1373 C.E., is one of the best-known works of Sanskrit literature. The frame story the *Hitopadeśa, that* of a king who employs the sage *Visnu Śarma* to instruct his sons, is identical to that of the *Panchatantra.* The structure of the *Hitopadeśa* slightly departs from that of the *Panchatantra*.

The latter comprises five books, whereas the *Hitopadeśa* embraces four. In the *Hitopadeśa*, Narāyana inverts books I and II of the *Panchatantra* and presents the story of *Karateka* and *Damanaka* in book II. Furthermore, he incorporates all the stories in book V of the *Panchatantra* within the frame stories of books III and IV of the *Hitopadeśa*.
The *Hitopadeśa* has received multiple editions and translations. There are eleven editions of the book in Sanskrit, and it was translated into English by Charles Wilkins in 1787, with various translations subsequently appearing (Beecher et al. 103-104). Scholars view the relationship of the *Hitopadeśa* to the *Panchatantra* in multiple ways. To Keith-Falconer, the first one is the descendant of the latter, while other scholars view the *Hitopadeśa* as an independent work

[1] Beneficial advice
2 Ocean of rivers of stories

(Haksar xii). Edgerton views the *Hitopadeśa as* a version of the *Panchatantra* and refers to it as one of the *Panchatantra*'s reconstruction sources.

Kathā-saritsāgara, composed by Somadeva in the 11th century, is another text comparable to the *Panchatantra*. Its immediate source is unattested *Paiśācī Prakritī*, itself derived from the *Panchatantra*, which comprises eighteen chapters known as *taraṅgas*, waves, and shares many stories in common with the *Panchatantra* (Beecher et al. 104). *Somadeva*, the court poet to King *Ananta*[1] of Kashmir, was commissioned to compose stories to amuse the queen *Sūryamatī* and put her mind at ease during a political crisis. Medieval European fairy tales develop a solid resemblance to Somadeva's work with respect to magic, demons, love, and high adventure. *Kathā-saritsāgara* was translated into English, by Charles Tawney called *The Ocean* of Story, in two volumes, in 1880 and 1884.

[1] His reign ended in 1077 C.E.

CHAPTER 3

THE ERLIEST ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Elizabethan Translations

During the period 1550 -1660, England's borders expand, making it more important in the transatlantic arena. At the same time, the transformation of the English language into its modern form and the larger anglophone world's claims for new spaces in the cultural landscape causes a dramatic increase in the public's demand that foreign writings be translated into English (Braden 4). The interlinked agendas of booksellers, humanist educators, and the state contributed to the translators' motivations in the context of general interest in foreign writings (Braden 5). The restrictions on foreign publishers' access to English printers and the ban on the importation the bound volumes severely limit the sale of continental books from 1534 on (Braden 7), but English publishers regularly issue foreign-language texts. Controlling the foreign publisher's presence in the market is a move to protect a nation and prevent foreigners from targeting English culture by circulating their books and offering their intellectual tastes.

Elizabethan translations emerge in a polyglot environment. Latin has a special place as the international language of education. It is formally the second language of the educated people. The original Latin works of contemporary writers are frequently published and sometimes followed by an English translation (7). About forty percent of the bibliography entries in *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*, 1550- 1660, are translations of Latin texts, while of that eight percent are representative of Greek literature, many transformed into

English from their Latin translations. Another group represented consists of translations of the Old Testament represent Hebrew, the third learned language of Europe during this period. All other translations belong to three major Romance languages: French, Italian, and Spanish (9).

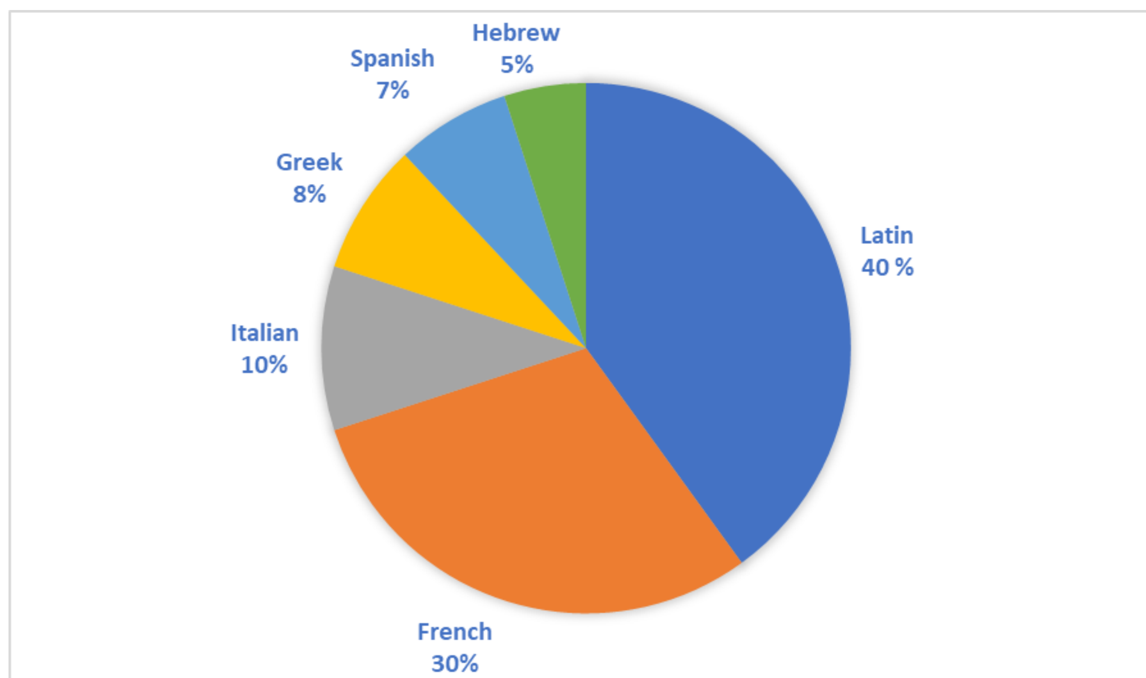

Figure 4. The Elizabethan Translations' Source Languages.

Elizabethan translations bring the Renaissance to England. English translators carry over their cultural values and impose them on the foreigner they desire to overcome (Braden 4). Translation is an act of patriotism (Matthiessen 3); Philemon Holland accuses the critics who are intolerant of Latin's vulgarization of not being proud of their native country and mother tongue, as they should be. Otherwise, they should be enthusiastic to conquer the Romans by subduing their literature under the English pen in revenge for Rome's defeated Britain by sword (Bassnett 66). The Elizabethan translators' target readers are not merely the learned but also the whole country (Matthiessen 3). Proverbial phrases and street slang pervade the vivid diction of

extraordinary translations, and in the fullness of expression, the translators' procedure forms an admirably inclusive style that fits a broad audience. The Elizabethan translators shared an extraordinary eye for the details with their contemporary dramatists. They replace abstractions with concrete images and general statements with picturesque verbs. Accordingly, they enrich the dramatic pitch that often takes the words into a realm of imagination and feelings beyond the original. Such a translational method embraces both Plutarch and Montaigne in the national consciousness and adorns the foreign classic through English (4).

Notable Elizabethan translations representing the scope of this methodology include Hoby's *Courtier*, North's *Plutarch*, Florio's *Montaigne*, and Holland's *Livy* and *Suetonius*. Each text signifies a particular phase of the arrival of the Renaissance to England. Castiglione's *Courtier* represents the Italian influence, while Montaigne's *Essays* underlines the French contribution. North's *Plutarch* and Holland's *Livy* and *Suetonius* suggest the significant contribution of Greek and Roman classics.

Elizabethan translators are amateurs except for Philemon Holland, who practiced translation as a profession. Their passion for the emerging English vernacular and the general English culture bestows greatness on their works (Beecher et al. 50). North and Holland do not think of imitating the classical style meticulously. They intend to naturalize the original's qualities to bring them out entirely for the English reader. Under this practice, Livy and Plutarch are brought within the main tide of English Literature and not marked off as foreign classics (5-7).

Sir Thomas North

Sir Thomas North was born in London on 28 May 1535 C.E. (Davis 315). He was the youngest son of a noble house. His father, Edward, first Baron North, was a politician and a man of law who managed to stay in high favor during the swift changes endemic to the reigns of Henry VII, Edward VI, Jane, all of whom he supported (Matthiessen 58). His brother Roger, second Baron North, was Treasurer of the Queen's Household and member of the Privy Council from 1596 to I600 (Davis 315).

He may have attended Peterhouse college at the University of Cambridge. In 1556/57, North became associated with Lincoln's Inn in London. There he trained for the bar but never practiced law. In the meantime, he traveled to the continent to extend his knowledge of languages (Braden et al. 455; Beecher et al. 43). North married twice. His first wife was Elizabeth Colville, by whom he had a son, Edward, and a daughter, Elizabeth. His second wife was Judith Vesey (Beecher et al. 43).

After his father's death, Thomas stayed with his brother Roger (Braden et al. 455) and accompanied him on an embassy to the court of Henri III, the French king. North was in the queen's military service twice in Ireland: 1580-82 during Desmond's Rebellion and again in 1596 against Tyrone (Davis 315). He served in the military during the 1580s in Ireland. For the rest of his life, his associations in and around Cambridge occupied him. By1588, North was a captain who trained men to contribute to repelling the expected Spanish invasion (Beecher et al. 45). He devoted the final twenty years of his life to the English army, serving in Ireland in 1579-80 and the Netherlands in 1586-7. North was knighted in1592 and called Sir[1] Thomas North,

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1 The honor of knighthood and the method used to confer the knighthood comes from the days of medieval chivalry. The honor is given for a pre-eminent contribution in any field by the accolade, or the touch of a sword by the sovereign. A knight is entitled Sir ("Guide to the Honours")

which means he possessed enough property to satisfy the financial estate requirements. Still, he may have had financial issues in the final years of his life. In 1601, the queen made a special monetary award to him for his contribution in suppressing the Essex Rebellion, which was an annuity of forty pounds (46).

Sir Thomas North's Translations

The pattern of traveling and translating, a recommended activity for young men aspiring to careers at court or in the civic services or the humanist literary tastes of the Inns of court, may have inspired Thomas North to translate (Beecher et al. 44). North's translation career begins in 1557 with Antonio de Guevara[1]'s *Relox de Principes* (Braden et al. 455; Quin 283), a fictional version of the memoir of Marcus Aurelius[2] (Spencer 9). The translation was entitled *The Dial of Princes* and enjoyed popularity with two subsequent editions in North's lifetime in 1568 and 1582 and one nearly two decades after his death, in 1619. In 1557, when the book appeared in English, Mary was still on the throne, but the second edition of the book appeared in Elizabeth's reign. In the edition of 1568, North added a fourth book to his translation and dedicated it to the young Queen Elizabeth (Beecher et al. 44).

The Cambridge University Library holds a copy of the 1582 edition, which happens to be North's own copy with extensive handwritten annotations, signed and dated "29 Marche 1591". The title page of the 1582 edition follows previous editions in claiming to have been "Englished

[1] 1480–1545 (Antonio de Guevara)
[2] The now-famous Meditations were not in print yet (Spencer 9). The manuscript that contained the whole work was first published in 1558 but lost (Haines, xvi).

out of the French"; however, whether North translated from the Spanish original or a French translation has not been firmly established (Quinn 284).

In 1570, North translated *The Moral Philosophy of Doni* from Italian into English. Henry Denhem printed the first edition in 1570, and Simon Stafford published the second edition in 1601. Both were published in London[1]. The third edition, titled the *Fables of Bidpai*, was edited by Joseph Jacobs and published by David Nutt in 1888. A recent edition of North's translation was published in 2003 by Dovehouse Editions in Canada. The fourth edition presents the book as *The Moral Philosophy of Doni, popularly known as The Fables of Bidpai*. The text was edited by Donald Beecher et al. using two early printed versions of 1570 and 1601(Beecher et al. 98).

North's translation of Plutarch established his place in English literature as the great Elizabethan Translator (Beecher et al. 43). He used a French version of the *Lives* as the immediate source. The French text was a translation of the original Greek by Jacques Amyot. One may know Greek well and still prefer North, for his translation shows bold energy and a rich diction not suggested by Greek and entirely the product of the translator's age (Matthiessen 5). He is celebrated as the mediator between Shakespeare and Plutarch; as every introduction to the Roman plays mentions, Shakespeare relied heavily on North's translation of Plutarch's Lives (Quinn 283). North's sequence of translations demonstrates his interest in mirrors for princes**.**

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[1] "Four copies of each of these editions exist in North America as well as a first edition in Oxford's Bodleian Library and a second edition in the British Library, there may be others in the United Kingdom" (Beecher et al. 98).

Table 2. Sir Thomas North's Translations.

Title	Description	Book's Original Language	Source text language	Translation Date	Translator's age
The Dial of Prince	A fictional Memoir of Marcus Aurelius	Spanish	French	1557	22
The Moral Philosophy of Doni	A collection of Fables with Indian origin	Sanskrit	Italian	1570	35
Parallel Lives	Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans	Greek	French	1580	45

We find North's opinion about translation in the dedication of *the Moral Philosophy of Doni*:

> when I consider the learned writers of our English nation, and peruse their grave and wise inventions and discourses of their own doings, excellently written in our own tongue, without interpretation of other's works, knowing that to translate only is far less reputation than to be an author of any good work, and to be tied to the other's words and constructions bringeth oftimes in another language obscure and dark phrases, as I do rejoice in them, so I am ashamed of myself that this gift of mine to Your Lordship neither answereth my good will unto you nor, is worthy, as I wish it, of your honour (North 200).

As was the case for Holland, for Thomas North, translation is an act of patriotism. Speaking of the English writers, he glorifies the English nation. From his perspective, a translator is tied to another person's words, which are typically ambiguous when transformed into their correspondents in another language. North confirms the ultimate unfeasibility of replicating the source text in a translation; still, he leaves room for transmitting the meaning to the target language.

The liberation of an English writer from interpreting the other's work in his words expresses the English translator's commitment to interpreting a text created by another person. Accordingly, the translator may fail to present a corresponding eloquent text in the target language. Still, the translator's proper interpretation of the source text may help the reader to understand it as much as possible in the target language. North states that reading the author's words in translation does not provide him with the same pleasure of reading them in the source language. Hence, translation fails to provide the reader of the target language with the same aesthetic experience as the source language reader. A translator should submit to the author's words; thus, a translation is not creative work, and the translator's work is not venerated the same as the authors.

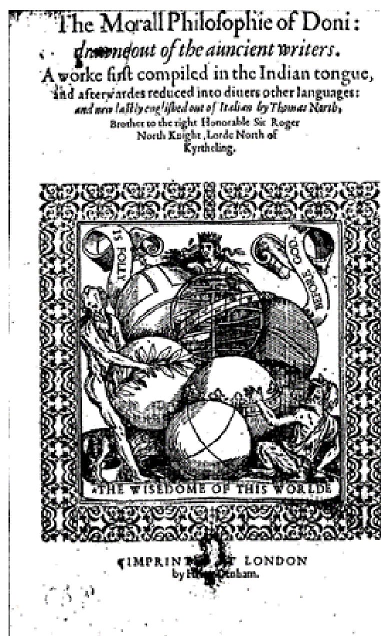
The *Moral Philosophy of Doni*

I. Title Page

The title page of Thomas North's translation presents the book as the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*. The title corresponds to the Italian source, *La Filosofia Morale* which is *La Filosofia Morale del Doni* in most prints. The title reflects the book's essence as moral philosophy and

highlights its didactic aspect. The reference to Doni, the Italian translator of North's source text, in the title of the Italian and English texts is a recognition of Doni's endeavors to recreate the book in Italian, which assumes modifications of the content by Doni. Nevertheless, North acknowledges the long tradition to which his source text, the Italian translation, is indebted. The title page explains that Doni's work is the continuant of the ancient text compiled in the Indian tongue and then translated into other languages. The text presents Thomas North as the person who "Englished" it, which refers to an act of translation in a literal sense. By introducing Thomas North as "Brother to the right honorable Sir Roger, North Knight, Lord North of Kyrtheling" on the title page, the publisher recognizes North's translation act for his and his brothers' political careers and as well as the state's influence in translation and intellectual matters.

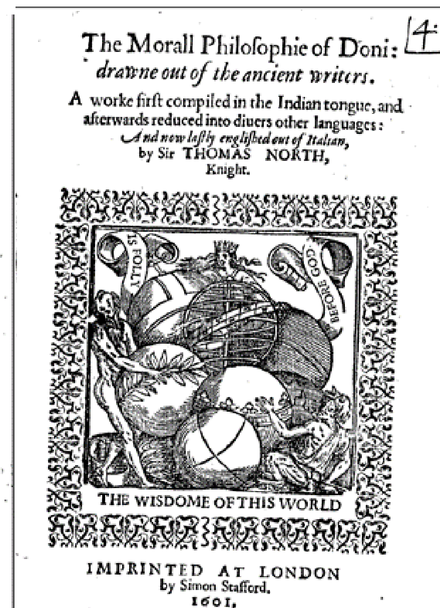
Following the Italian source text, the title pages of the first and second editions of North's translation, printed in, respectively, 1570 and 1601 and replicated in the title page of the 2003 edition, are dominated by a large, centrally-positioned depiction of the world. A collection of spheres allegorically represents the earth and a few other planets, over which may be seen the head and shoulders of a goddess, powerfully directing the world. In the bottom right corner, an evil-type figure, as if overcome by the deity, is sitting with one hand on a sphere and the other on the floor to keep his balance. On the left, stands a human figure, who is attempting to hold a globe, and whose power is affected by the dynamic between the deity and the devil. The picture explicitly expresses the message that "The wisdom of the world is folly before God." The title page of the third edition of 1888 lacks the picture, containing only the message. According to the editor, North's translation was illustrated with woodcuts imitated from the Italian. The 1888 reprint reproduced only nine of the prettiest and most characteristic of those woodcuts (ix).



The Morall Philoſophie of Doni:
out of the auncient writers.
A worke firſt compiled in the Indian tongue,
and afterwardes reduced into diuers other languages:
and now laſtly engliſhed out of Italian by Thomas North,
Brother to the right Honorable Sir Roger
North Knight, Lorde North of
Kyrtheling.

¶IMPRINT LONDON

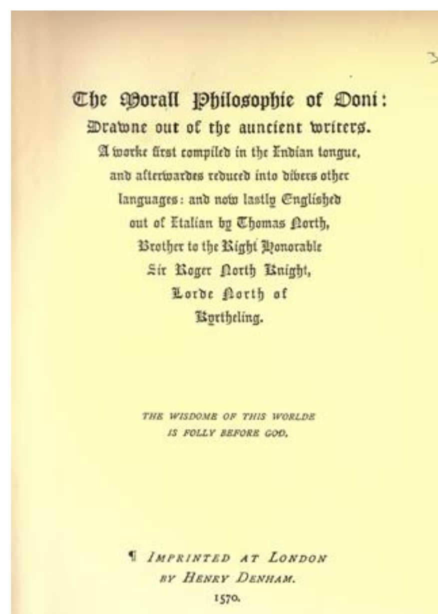
A.1570



The Morall Philoſophie of Doni:
drawne out of the ancient writers.
A worke firſt compiled in the Indian tongue, and
afterwards reduced into diuers other languages:
And now laſtly engliſhed out of Italian,
by Sir THOMAS NORTH,
Knight.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Simon Stafford,
1601.

B. 1601

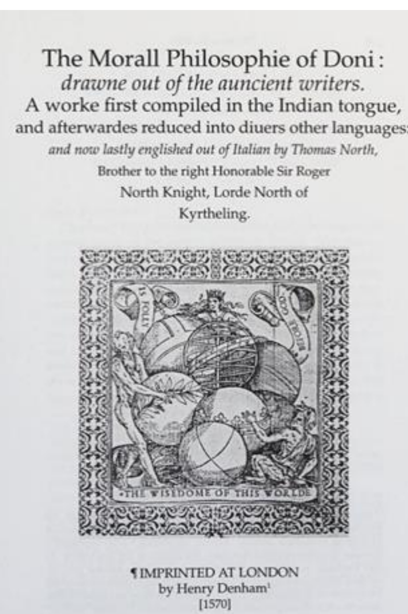


The Morall Philosophie of Doni:
Drawne out of the auncient writers.
A worke first compiled in the Indian tongue,
and afterwardes reduced into divers other
languages: and now lastly Englished
out of Italian by Thomas North,
Brother to the Right Honorable
Sir Roger North Knight,
Lorde North of
Kyrtheling.

THE WISDOME OF THIS WORLDE
IS FOLLY BEFORE GOD.

¶ IMPRINTED AT LONDON
BY HENRY DENHAM.
1570.

C.1888



The Morall Philosophie of Doni:
drawne out of the auncient writers.
A worke first compiled in the Indian tongue,
and afterwardes reduced into diuers other languages:
and now lastly englished out of Italian by Thomas North,
Brother to the right Honorable Sir Roger
North Knight, Lorde North of
Kyrtheling.

¶IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Henry Denham[1]
[1570]

D. 2003

Figure 5. The Title Pages of Different Editions of *The Moral Philosophy of Doni*.

Henry Denham, the establishment printer, printed the first edition of North's translation. This allies North with the conservatives and the Leicester faction. Denham published the works of writers who wrote against Martin Marprelate, a harsh critic of the church (North 199).

II. Dedication

North dedicates his translation to Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, known as Leicester in many texts. The practice of patronage emerges from the medieval tradition of presenting a manuscript to a nobleman or affluent citizen in the hope of remuneration. Translators and printers needed patrons for monetary reward and protection against severe critics; patrons for their part enjoyed being immortalized in print, while their virtues were glorified in dedications and epistles for all to read. Patronage was not limited to royalty, but included the high society of nobles and counselors. Leicester supported several translators, and North was among his proteges (Hosington 53-4).

The dedication only appeared in the first 1570 edition, from which it is borrowed in the 2003 edition. It resembles a letter which begins by addressing Leicester "Right Honourable" and ends with North's signature "Your Lordship's humbly to command, Thomas North." North dedicated his work to Leicester in witness of duty and love for him and of his honor and decency. He is ashamed that his small gift, which is not his writing but a translation, is not worthy to be presented to Leicester and could not thoroughly demonstrate his goodwill unto him. The dedication contains far more than North's personal commitment and reverence for Robert Dudley and delivers North's father and brother's devotion to Dudley as well. North says that his

father, while living, loved and honored Dudley's lordship, and dying, wished to show the world that he was not forgetful of Leicester's good favor and courtesy (North 199).

Leicester knew Italian, and North justifies the dedication of a translation from Italian to a person who understood Italian by making him a judge of the translation. Knowing that his work could be a subject of censure and criticism, North delivered it to Leicester's protection.

The patron's sponsorship could promote the book's market, but patronage was a justified way of putting intellectual practices under high society and state control. The patron's protection of the book against criticism worked against a fair evaluation. A patron acted as the guardian of a book, and the more influential the patron, the more protected the book.

III. To the Reader

In North's translation, three letters titled "to the reader" appear after the dedication. The letters represent endorsement of the book. Their content is more important than who wrote them, especially because their authors provide only their initials, as they only hold the writers' initials who should have been well-known people of their times. Different editors of North's translation suggest various authentic candidates for the first and second letters, but the author of the third letters is unidentified. The first endorsement, initialed G.B. offers instruction to the reader. G.B. strongly recommends that the audience read the book from beginning to end; otherwise, it may not be beneficial. According to G.B., the stories are interrelated and connected. If a reader were to consider a tale divorced from the context of other stories, they would be wasting time. The first endorsement ends with a few lines of verse in Italian, the first few of which glorify Doni for his style and insightful writing without mentioning the line of tradition from which the text

originates. The next few lines extol North for his sublime talent. “Non pensò mai, che la ricca ANGLIA e THYLE/ Supessero di lui, ne che in tal schiere” (North 203), which translates as “(Doni) never thought that wealthy England and Thule/ would know of him nor in such degrees” (204) implies that the author of the endorsement conceived England to be superior to Italy. The poem’s depiction of North as Doni’s promoter is an acknowledgment of North’s translation.

The second endorsement is written by T.N., arguably identified as Thomas Norton, an Elizabethan author and translator. T.N. stresses the didactic aspect of the fables and invites the reader to learn from the beasts to live by rules of behavior and wisdom in the world (205). He suggests that the reader use the stories to benefit the mind and delight the soul. The last endorsement, written by E.C., encourages the reader to accept the book gratefully. North’s endeavors offer something worth more than a mass of gold and deserve to be well-received (205).

IV. The Prologue

The prologue, which appears after the endorsements, bears the heading: “The philosophy of the wise ancient fathers. A work first compiled in the Indian tongue, and afterwards transferred into divers and sundry other languages: as the Persian, Arabian, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Italian: and now reduced into our vulgar Speech,” i.e., English (206), which outlines the journey of the text from Sanskrit to English and endows the book with a global character. The prologue presents the book and instructs the reader how to profit from it. North addresses his audience as the beloved reader, gentle reader, and worthy reader. He assumes a

narrator's role by addressing the reader directly and commenting on the stories, thereby making the prologue a means of instruction rather than a mere introduction.

North presents the book as a golden volume that encompasses moral wisdom, spiritual doctrine, and infinite instructions that teach the reader to live well. He attributes four motives to the ancient sages who composed the book:

1. To make their wisdom known to the world.
2. So that insightful people may direct their lives according to the book's wisdom.
3. So that those who know little may understand the stories and thereby expand their knowledge.
4. So that young people with a desire to read may taste the words' sweetness and enjoy their accompanying tales.

Thus, it is a precious gem of knowledge worthy of more admiration than all the world's jewels.

The prologue follows the book's frame story pattern and instructs the reader with five tales found in Ibn al-Moqaffa's introduction to *Kalila wa Dimna* but bearing different names. The 1570 edition distinguishes the tales within the enclosing main text by printing the titles in the middle of the pages. The recent edition of North's translation indicates the tales by Roman numerals, which begin with I in the prologue and continue throughout the text. The prologue recounts the tales to highlight five points for the reader. To demonstrate the importance of being fully attentive to his environment, he narrates "of a Husbandman, and the Treasure he found" in which a man finds a treasure and, to ease the task of carrying it to his house, hires twenty other men. But the men take the assigned portions to their own homes, and the man who found the

treasure loses it all (209-211). North recommends the reader give an attentive ear to the book and note everything and teaches the reader to pay attention to the character of those he trusts. To him, *The Moral Philosophy of Doni* is a treasure whose possession requires the reader to be insightful, allowing no vain thoughts to distract them from reading.

North metaphorically describes two levels of meaning in the text. For him, the text presents an outer level of meaning analogous to a shell with the fruit of the hidden message inside. Then he recounts the second tale, "Of the Simple Ignorant Man Desirous to Seem Learned," in which a man asks a poet to write something that the man can memorize and recite amongst the wise men in order to seem wise. The man works hard and learns the poet's words by heart without understanding them. One day in an argument, the man uses the poet's words, and the others laugh at him (211-212). North recommends that the reader understand what they read to obtain profound knowledge and achieve the privilege of learning.

"A Comparison of the Slothful Man for the Reader" is the prologue's third tale, in which a man lying in his bed notices a thief robbing his house. It appears to him he should kill the thief with a sword. Thinking of the details of his plan, he falls asleep, and the thief departs. In the morning, the man wakes up and finds the house empty, for which he blames himself as he noticed the robbery but due to laziness did nothing. The moral of the tale presents knowledge as a tree that produces proper actions as its fruits. Then, North discusses the relationship of a wise man to knowledge. He states that a man who discerns truth and falsehood but does not follow knowledge and wisdom is a well-sighted man led by a blind man who miserably dies falling into a ditch. A wise man is bound to the perfection of learning. Knowledge, riches, and mercy suit the wise man, who should not reprove someone else for his own faults.

The fourth tale of the prologue, “The Deceit Lighteth on the Deceiver’s Neck,” is about two friends, one honest and the other dishonest, who had in common a significant amount of corn in storage. When they took their shares, the deceitful fellow received by chance slightly less than his honest friend. He decides to steal the honest fellow’s share and puts a cover over it to mark it for midnight. But when the honest goes to the storage to get some corn, he interprets the cover as a sign of kindness, and to repay the service, he puts the cover back on his friend’s share. The dishonest fellow goes to the storage together with a thief and plunders his own share. Noticing his mistake in the morning, he does not dare to tell his friend about the theft. Accordingly, all our deeds should tend to benefit us in the future rather than in the present.

The last story of the prologue is “The Good and Virtuous Should Never Despair in Adversity,” in which a man suffering from poverty has nothing at home but his small meal. When a thief rushes into his residence, he finds nothing but the meal. The thief takes the meal and puts it in his pocket. Having nothing else to eat, the man takes his sword and chases the thief. The thief drops his cloak and flees for his life. The man is happy to claim his meal and a cover that protects him from the cold. Putting his hand into the cloak’s pockets, he finds jewels and riches. North narrates the tale to demonstrate that God bestows prosperity upon a virtuous man whenever he is in want. Men should therefore work for a living and put trust in God.

The first three tales of the prologue instruct the reader on how to approach the text. The first tale teaches the reader to be fully attentive to the character of those he trusts. Tale II emphasizes that reading without understating is unfruitful. Tale III admonishes the reader to act based on knowledge. The last two tales focus on righteousness and a wise man’s way of life.

Tale IV warns the wise man not to do anything that may cause remorse in the future. Tale V reminds the wise man to order his life under the laws and institutions of virtue.

V. The Argument of The Book

The argument of the book narrates the story of Burzōy's trip to India. The account is similar to the one in *Shahname,* but it ends in the same way as the one found in many Arabic translations and Capua's Latin version. In the book's long journey through various languages until its appearance in English, the names are transformed. Burzōy becomes Berozias and Khosro Anushirvan becomes Anastres Castri. Here Berozias is introduced as the chief of Anushirvan's court, and it is the king, not Berozias, who first reads about a wonderful book. The *Moral Philosophy of Doni* contains the Burzōy chapter, which had been added to the text when translated from Sanskrit to Middle Persian. Still, the narrative of Burzōy's trip to India in "The Argument of the Book" is slightly different from other accounts. The narrative does not end with Berozias' request that the king order the minister to add a chapter in honor of his life. When Berozias returns to Persia, the king receives the book thankfully and esteems it more than any other present. The king values the book and its wisdom as it provides the greatest treasure and delight to men. He makes a great library in his palace and places this book above all the others as it is full of instructions for life and justice and fear of God (North 221-224).

VI. The First Part of *Moral Philosophy*

The heading of the first part marks it as "The First Part of the Moral Philosophy of the Ancient Sages, compiled by the Great and Learned Philosopher Sendebar in Indian Tongue" and illuminates the creation of the text. Still, it does not present any feature of the section. The first part elaborates a philosophy of life, which corresponds to "The History of Burzōy the Physician" or "How Bozorgmehr, Son of Bakhtakan Tells about the Physician Burzōy" in Ibn al-Moqaffa's Arabic version. In Ibn al-Moqaffa, the section is written from the third-person point of view, but here Burzōy narrates it in the first-person. In the beginning, Burzōy briefly introduces himself, as a man of medicine born of a noble house. Following that, he talks about the way life should be lived. His philosophy of life can be summarized in these words, "a man should seek for more than the worldly life and ought to believe the true and divine words, not the sayings of the wicked men" (229). Then he relates four stories that collectively advise man to distance himself from the ease of the world and highlight the maintenance of righteousness.

In the absence of a frame story in the first part, the tales are connected by the philosophy of life that they present. The first tale, "Here you May See How Light Belief Bringeth Damage," is about a knight whose house is invaded by thieves. The knight forges a plan in which his wife asks about the source of his wealth, and he responds by casting a spell that he was able to ride on moonbeams to go quickly anywhere and carry out robbery. Hearing the knight's words, the thief tries to do the same thing, but he falls off a wall, severely wounded (229-34). The tale illuminates how believing something unworthy of belief causes damage.

The second tale, "A Tale of a Lover and a Gentleman," recommends avoiding misconducts which brings an extreme shame. While her husband is away, a newlywed woman

establishes a relationship with a lover. Upon returning, her husband notices the lover, who has tried to conceal himself, and kills both the lover and his wife (235-237). The third tale, "Of a Jeweler that forgot his Profit and Gave Himself to Pleasure", teaches the folly of distraction from one's goals. It narrates the story of a jeweler who hires a jewelry worker in his workshop for his day's wages. One day the jeweler buys a harp. The worker, a good musician, tries the instrument and plays so sweetly that the jeweler makes him play all day long. Then the worker asks for his pay, but the jeweler refuses. A judge makes the jeweler pay his worker for the day. The jeweler is upset, thinking that the worker did nothing to earn his wages of that day (237-239).

This section ends with "A Parable of the world". A man sees four lions in a desert and takes refuge in a well which is the residence of a dragon. To be safe, he hangs in the well by holding two branches. Suddenly two rats start chewing the branches. The man finds honey in a hole and forgets about the surrounding dangers. Holding himself with one hand, he tastes with the other hand. At the same time, the rats finish their job, and the man falls into the well. The story speaks once again to the folly of temporary distraction from one's main purpose (241-243).

VII. The Second Part of *Moral Philosophy*

The second part, entitled "Showing the wonderful Abuses of this Wretched World" (North 244), begins with two of Aesop's fables. The first, which appears without a title, corresponds to "The Belly and the Members" in Aesop. A noble Roman relates the tale to remind the ordinary people to submit to their superiors. The second tale, called here "The Horse, the Hart, and the Man with the Saddle", is in Aesop "The Horse and the Stag". It is about a horse who seeks a man's help to exact revenge upon another animal and ends up becoming a prisoner

to the man. Then, the text makes an analogy between Aesop's fables and the story of a mule whose conspiracy ended the friendship of a Lion and a Bull to emphasize its profit and moral teachings. Next, we are introduced to the frame story, wherein the story of King Distes in ancient India, desired to read history in order to gain profitable knowledge. Sendebar, a noble philosopher, became his teacher and advised him on court affairs. To caution the king against the possible hypocrites in his court, Sendebar relates the story "Behold the Pageants and Miseries of the Court of the World," which forms the frame story that links the second, third, and fourth parts of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*.

The frame story begins with the love story of Chiarino, the Bull, and a Heifer. Once, while playing in a pasture, the Heifer breaks her neck. The herdsman kills the Heifer and makes a robe out of her skin. He puts the robe on the Bull, who out of revenge attacks the herdsman but is wounded in the fight. The herdsman brings back his flock but leaves the Bull alone. The Bull limps his way past many hills and settles in a country inhabited by beasts. While wandering around, the Bull makes a loud roaring sound that terrifies the Lion, the king of the beasts, nearby. Then, the Lion sends a wild Boar to find what mighty creature uttered such a sound. But the Bull's sharp horns and blazed star in his forehead scare the Boar, who cannot face the Bull and escapes.

For a while, the Lion does not leave his shelter. An Ass and a Mule who are aware of the king's disposition are determined to learn the cause. A she-ass warns them against interfering in the Lion's affairs by recounting the story of an ape who meddled in carpentry in which he had no skills and hurt himself. She convinces the Ass, but the proud Mule insists on approaching the king for he sees the king's fear as an opportunity to secure a place in the court. The Ass tries to

dissuade the Mule from going to the Lion's palace, but he fails. The Ass and the Mule's dialogues move forward by three tales narrated respectively by the Ass, the Mule, and the Ass.

The Mule goes to the Lion's palace and presents himself by using flattery. The Lion receives the Mule well and accepts his service. Being able to win the Lion's trust, the Mule inquires about the cause of the king's hiding in the palace, and the Lion reveals his fear of the roar. The Mule tells the Lion a story and departs to locate the beast. He fulfills his mission and returns to the Lion. The Mule describes the roaring animal as a gentle and pleasant Bull that he would bring to His Majesty to pay tribute to the king. The Mule goes back to the Bull and presents himself as the secretary to the king. He causes the Bull to be terrified of the Lion's power and brings the Bull to the Lion's palace.

The Lion and the Bull meet each other and establish a friendship. The Lion makes the Bull a member of his Privy Council at the same time the Mule is in the king's service. After a while, the Mule envies the Bull and his intimate relationship with the Lion. The Mule reveals his concern to the Ass, who reminds the Mule of their past conversation, and his advice that it was better for the mule that he live at home in comfort. Then, to elaborate on the Mule's situation, the Ass narrates four tales about people who intervene in others' affairs and end up the worse for it.

Nevertheless, the Mule concludes the remedy for his distress to be the murder of the Bull, to which the Ass disagrees, warning the Mule of his plan's failure. The Mule recounts five tales to respond to the Ass. The second part ends with the Ass's reflecting briefly on the Mule's treachery. The Mule states that he will either bring the Bull out of the Lion's favor or die doing it (North 244-300).

VIII. The Third Part of *Moral Philosophy*

The third part, entitled “Describing the Great Treasons of the Court of this World (301)”, begins with a short reflection on the frame story, which mentions the delight and profit of reading the book. Then, the frame story continues with a conversation between the Mule and the Lion. The Mule fabricates a story about the Bull and accuses the Bull of having secret affairs with the influential people of the court. Furthermore, he tells the Lion that the Bull told the Privy Conference the Lion was afraid of him and was not powerful and asked them to choose him as their king. The Lion is very surprised. He trusts the Bull and does not believe the Mule. Then, the Mule narrates two tales and compares the Bull to a diseased organ that would infect the whole body if not cut off. Finally, the Mule succeeds in convincing the Lion to consider the Bull as a danger.

Next, the Mule goes to the Bull and tells him that the Lion has been annoyed at him, viewing him as a useless body good for nothing but filling his paunch at another’s cost (316). He requests that the Bull keep these words confidential. The Bull is shocked and cannot believe his ears, thinking that there was a conspiracy against him, as he had never done anything to provoke such suspicion in the Lion. Hoping that the truth would prevail, the Bull contemplates his friendship with the Lion and finds the friendship of a herbivore and a carnivore futile. The Mule offers a cup of poison as a remedy for the Bull’s grief, and assures him that in this way, the Bull can redress the Lion’s anguish. But the Bull thinks if he dies, his enemies will hinder the Lion from hearing about his innocence and rejects the poison. To elaborate on the situation, the Bull

narrates the "Tale of the Wolf, the Fox, the Raven, and the Camel" and tells the Mule that he will not jeopardize his life to hold a place in the Lion's heart.

The Bull seeks the Mule's advice to get himself out of trouble. The Mule recommends that he think about his enemy and how greatly he is to be feared; then, the Mule narrates two tales. The Bull decides to visit the Lion to see whether any distrust had developed in their relationship. The Mule does not like the Bull's idea; still, he recommends that the Bull approach the Lion in a defensive mode, ready for the Lion's attack. The Bull departs for the court, and the Mule goes to the Ass and tells him how cunningly he had handled the issue. Reckoning with the Mule's advice when the Lion and the Bull meet, the first is ready to attack and the latter to defend, and they began a fierce battle in which the Lion kills the Bull.

Deep sorrow and fear fill the court after the Lion's bloody victory. The Ass, being informed of the matter, severely rebukes the Mule. The Ass narrates six tales in which a trusted evil companion sabotages his fellow. The Ass reflects on the Mule's treachery and his relationship with the Mule, telling the Mule that he will no longer be his friend. Furthermore, he warns the Mule of Lion's revenge, to which the Mule responds with a tale, hoping to outwit the Lion. The Third part ends with the Ass' advice to the Mule to distinguish between the Lion and an unwise little animal that the Mule can easily manipulate (North 301-370).

VIIII. The Fourth Part of *Moral Philosophy*

The fourth part, "Showing the End of the Treasons and Miseries of the Court of this World" (371) which is the last section of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, relates the frame story's events after the Bull's murder. The Lion notices the Mule's abuse of the Lion's judgment and

regrets his cruelty to the Bull to the extent that he is ready to eat his own fingers out of his sorrow. The Mule attempts to console the Lion, thereby hoping to gain his favor. Still, when the Mule departs, the Lion laments and repents a thousand times more.

The Leopard, one of the Lion's close circle of lords, is heading to the Queen mother's palace; he passes by chance the Mule's house and overhears the Ass and the Mule in conversation about the Bull. The Ass tells the Mule: "You deserve the king's punishment for betraying the innocent creature and your loyal friend," and the Mule responds: "The Bull was innocent, but what is done is done, and let's find a way to prevent the Lion from considering this to be a conspiracy against him." The Leopard reports this exchange to the Queen Mother. Worrying about the Ass, they resolve to keep it secret.

The next day, the Queen Mother visits the Lion. Seeing the Lion's grief for the Bull, she tells her son that someone had betrayed and deceived him without revealing who this was. Then, the Lion calls the general council for a meeting. Everyone is present but the Mule. The Lion sends for the Mule, and the Mule finally comes to the palace. Seeing the beasts, he becomes pale. The Mule asks about the cause of the meeting, to which the Queen Mother responds: "You know well enough, can you tell who killed the worthy Knight of the court, was it you?" (378). The Mule makes a lengthy statement about his honesty and decency and narrates a tale to the council. The meeting continues with more dialogues between the Queen Mother and the Mule. Finally, the Queen Mother asks the Lion why he does not punish the conspirator, and the Lion commands a fierce beast to chain and imprison the Mule. Then, the Queen Mother reveals the Leopard's report to the Lion.

Hearing about the Mule's captivity, the Ass visits the Mule and departs from him with deep, unbearable sorrow and anguish and the same night ends his life. The Lion calls the general council to a second meeting which the Mule attends in chains. The Leopard states that the Mule's envy and false accusation of the Bull was the cause of the Bull's slaughter, and he calls for Justice.The Mule still insists that he is innocent. He requests freedom and tells the beasts he speaks nothing but the truth. Then, the Mule relates two tales in which the protagonist is carried away with envy and malevolence and elaborates on the sufferings caused by one's differing from the truth. The Lion then sends the Mule back to prison.

The Fox, the Chief Secretary in court, who was a friend of the Ass, brings the news of the Ass's death to the Mule. Losing his brother, the mourning Mule prepares a will. The Mule makes the Fox his heir and bestows upon him all his properties. Then, assuming the Fox to be a friend, he relates his wicked practices and confesses to the Fox all he had done, in the same way he used to confide in the Ass. The Fox reports this to the court, and the next morning the Mule attends his trial. The Mule, the Fox, the Wolf, and the Leopard swear as witnesses against the Mule. The Mule seeing that his death is near, denies all that is spoken and narrates a tale to tell the Fox what his betrayal will bring him. Then the Leopard, the Wolf, and the Fox testify before the council. Finally, the Lion sentences the Mule to be skinned, his corpse left for the ravens, and his bones burned for sacrifice (North 371-399). In the end, the moral of the story reminds us that we must live with purity of mind and an upright conscience (400). The final statement of the book, "Here endeth the Treatise of the Moral Philosophy of Sendebar, in which is laid open many infinite examples for the health and life of reasonable men shadowed under tales and similitudes of brute beasts without reason. Farewell" (400), echoes the heading of the first part and affirms that the book aims to give wise men insight into life through animal stories.

CHAPTER 4

THE LATEST ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

Translations by Stanley Rice, Arthur Ryder, Chandra Rajan, and Patrick Olivelle

There are four modern English translations of the *Panchatantra*, translated, respectively, by Stanley Rice (1924), Arthur Ryder (1925), Chandra Rajan (1993), and Patrick Olivelle (1997) (see table 4). I refer to them by translator's name. Rice and Ryder's translations are of course much older than Rajan and Olivelle's. Rice's source text was the Southern version of the *Panchatantra*, which he assumed to be the one least exposed to foreign influences, such as Muslim influences, and hence the one most characteristically Hindu (Rice 13-14). Between 1924 and1978 Rice's translation appeared in four editions; since 1978, the book has not been in print.

Ryder based his translation on Hertel's edition of the Sanskrit text (Ryder 15). Ryder's translation appeared only a year after Rice's but appealed to a larger audience and was in print for a longer time. The University of Chicago Press published the first edition of Ryder's translation in 1925, and the translation enjoyed eleven impressions until 1972 (Ryder iv). In 1949, Jaico Publication House in India published another edition of Ryder's work which appeared in fifteen impressions until 1991. In 2011, Jaico Publication House presented a new edition titled the *Panchatantra wisdom for today from the timeless classic* and aimed at making Ryder's language accessible for the current reader.

Table 3. Recent English Translations of the *Panchatantra.*

The title on cover	**Translator**	**Date**	**First edition's publisher**	**Editions**	**Page count**
Ancient Indian Fables and Stories: Being a Selection from the Panchatantra	Stanley Rice	1924	London, J. Murray	1924 1977 1974 1978	126
The Panchatantra	Arthur Ryder	1925	The University of Chicago Press	1925 1949 2011	470
The Panćatantra	Chandra Rajan	1995	Penguin Books India	1993 2006	453
The Pañcatantra: The Book of India's Folk Wisdom	Patrick Olivelle	1997	Oxford University Press	1997 1999	256

Edgerton's edition of the Sanskrit text is the source text for both Rajan and Olivelle. Penguin Books India published Rajan's translation in 1993. Then, it was published in Penguin classics in 2006 and reprinted in 2007. Oxford University Press published Olivelle's translation in 1997 with a second edition in 1999. Of the different transliterations of the Sanskrit title, only that of Olivelle is true to original Devanāgarī. Rajan's 2006 edition is the most recent of the

current English translations of the *Panchatantra*. Furthermore, Rajan includes all sections of the narrative, including morals and aphorisms, and presents a complete translation of the same source. In exploring the evolution of the *Panchatantra* in two different journeys to the English language, I will treat Rajan's translation as marking the content only out the of the translational tradition and evaluate it in relation to North's pioneering work.

The *Panćatantra* Translated by Chandra Rajan

I. The Preamble

The preamble begins with an invocation to *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of wisdom, and then presents a short paragraph about *Viṣṇu Śarma*, introducing him as the book's composer. The preamble sets the entire book's frame story, which is the first level of narrative that embraces the five sections. The frame story implies that the text is a mirror of princes, and its central teaching is wisdom. It tells of a wise king in a city called *Mihilaropya*[1] and his three ignorant sons, who are unenthusiastic about learning. The king consults his ministers to find a way to deal with the situation. One of them suggests that the king entrust the princes to *Viṣṇu Śarma*. The king invites the sage to the palace and asks him to teach and instruct his sons on all matters relating to practical wisdom, for which the king will reward a hundred grants of lands. *Viṣṇu Śarma* replies that he does not sell his knowledge but agrees to train the princes for six months preeminent to which he composes five books of tales known as:

1. Estrangement of Friends
2. Winning of friends

[1] Located, according to the *Panchatantra*, in the south of India.

3. Of Crows and Owls
4. Loss of Gains
5. Rash Deeds (Śarma 3-6).

II. Book I, Estrangement of Friends

The first book begins with the message of its frame story which is:

"Oh! What a beautiful friendship it was!

of the noble bull and lion majestic

In the deep, dark woods it waxed and grew strong,

Then along came a jackal treacherous.

consumed by greed, he hacked it down.

And , Alas! It died". (Śarma 9)

The story of the lion and the bull begins with the journey of a merchant who travels with two noble bulls. When they pass a muddy way, Lively, the bull, falls and is wounded. The merchant remains at the place of mishap for five nights; then, he leaves a servant to take care of Lively and join the merchant when the bull recovers. After a few days, the servant leaves Lively alone, rejoins the merchant, telling him that the bull had died. Lively recovers and reaches a river. One day Tawny, the lion king of the animals, comes down to the river to drink water, and Lively's bellowing causes him to freeze in his tracks.

Wily and Wary, two jackals who are sons of ministers, are curious about the cause of Tawny's disposition. Wary suggests that the jackals should talk to the Lion, and Wily warns him about dealing with affairs not related to the jackals. Wary is determined to take that as an opportunity to join the court and have the lion in his power. Wary and Wily discuss the issue and

practice what Wary should tell the lion. Wary goes to the lion, and Tawny finds him trustworthy and reveals to him his worry and fear. Then Wary departs to find the mighty creature who has scared the lion, which happens to be a sacred bull. He returns to the palace and tells the lion about Lively, the bull. The lion is pleased and askes Wary to fetch the bull after he binds himself to the lion by an oath. Wary goes to the bull and tells him to act always in agreement with him. He then escorts the bull to the lion's palace.

Over time, the lion and the bull become best friends, and their mutual affection grows daily. The lion does not pay attention to Wary and Wily, and lacking hunting skills, the jackals do not get sufficient food. They discuss this matter through four tales and decide to resolve it. Wily goes to the lion and tells him that the bull has a plan to kill the lion and therefore deserves to lose the king's favor. Then he tells the bull that the lion wants to slay him and feed him to predators. The bull decides to fight, but Wily discourages him from attacking the lion and recommends that he prepare his defense. Wily is delighted to sow dissent between the two parties. Then, the lion and the bull have a bloody fight in which the lion slaughters the bull.

Watching this at a distance, Wary changes his position and blames Wily for causing hostility between the two friends. Also, he blames the lion for taking Wily's advice without further investigation. Wary narrates a few stories and tells Wily he will no longer be his friend. The lion regrets killing the bull, and a deep sorrow fills his heart. Book one ends with Wary's reflection on the lion's having accepted this advice without deliberation (Śarma 9-189).

III. Book II, Winning of Friends

Book two highlights the significance of making friends. The frame story begins with a maxim stating that wise men quickly accomplish their goals through friendship. It then narrates

the story of a crow, a mole, a deer, and a tortoise. Lightwing, the crow, warns the king of the doves about the grains scattered around. The dove does not take the crow seriously, and the moment that he and his retinue take a few grains, they get trapped in a net. The flock flies away at once and carries the net. The crow follows the doves, curious about their plan. The doves fly to another town where Goldy the mole, a friend of the king, resides. The mole chews the net and liberates the doves.

Seeing this, the astonished crow offers friendship to the mole, who accepts it with hesitation. They establish a good relationship over time. One day the crow decides to move to another lake where his friend, Slowcoach the tortoise, lives. The mole chooses to move with the crow, traveling on the crow's back. There the crow, the mole, and the tortoise enjoy each other's companionship. Later, Speckle, a deer, joins their circle.

On one occasion, the deer is late for their regular socializing. They all look for him, and the crow finds him trapped. The crow brings the mole to save the deer, and the tortoise comes out of affection. A hunter arrives at the scene. The deer, released by the mole, runs away, the mole disappears, and the crow flies away. But the tortoise is captured. The mole arranges a plan to save him, accordingly to which, the deer follows the hunter, and the crow pretends to peck the deer's eye out. The greedy hunter sees this as an excellent chance to capture the deer and throws the tortoise on the ground. The mole chews the weeds that the haunter used to tie up the tortoise's legs and saves him. At the same time, the deer runs away and in the blink of an eye, the friends disappear, and later, free from danger, they gather merrily (Śarma 193-264).

IV. Book III, Of Crows and Owls

The essence of book three is that one should never believe a friend who was formerly an enemy. The frame story, which is about the enmity of crows and owls, begins with the story's moral.

"Trust not a former enemy
Who comes professing amity;
Mark! The cave thronged by owls was burned
By deadly fire the crows kindled". (Śarma 267)

Accordingly, an enemy is forever an opponent, and an old enemy cannot be a new friend. The history of a relationship affects its present status. Book three is about the conflicts of the kingdom of crows and the kingdom of owls. The king of owls, obsessed with an ancient enmity, kills any crow that crosses his path. A circle of dead crows surrounds a nearby tree. The king of the crows arranges a meeting with ministers to resolve the issue. Live Firm, a wise crow, elaborates the origins of the conflict between crows and owls. The enmity goes back to when all birds except for crows wanted to crown an owl as king. Then the wise crow asks his companions to fight with him and throw him down from the tree. The crows fly away and leave their wounded comrade there.

The owls come to the crow and ask about the cause of his injury, to which he responds that he had suggested to the king of the crows that he make peace with owls. This made the king enraged, and the crows attacked him. He wants to stay away from crows and be a friend of owls. The owls trust the crow and consider him a friend. However, the crow looks for an opportunity to ruin the owls. The owls make the crow the guard of their cave. Live Firm makes their place vulnerable to fire. One day, finding all the owls resting in their cave, the crow notifies his

fellows. The crows each bring a fire stick and throw it at the wise crow's house by the enemy's gate. All the owls die inside the cave, and the crows live happily ever after (Śarma 267-350.

V. Book IV, Loss of Gains

Book four reminds the reader that:

"He who foolishly lets himself be wheedled
Into parting with his gains
is a dolt thoroughly bamboozled,
like the Crocodile by the Ape". (Śarma 353)

Red face, the ape, who lives happily on a rose-apple tree by a beach, meets Hideous Jaws, a crocodile. The ape warmly welcomes crocodile and offers him apples. They develop a good friendship, and the crocodile enjoys the apples that the ape picks daily. One day the crocodile takes some apples to his wife who asks where he found such delicious apples. The crocodile tells about his friend. The greedy wife tells him that she would like to eat the ape's heart. A person who gives such tasty fruits should have a tasty heart. The crocodile rejects the wife's plan because of his love for his friend, but she insists, and the crocodile submits to her and invites the ape to their house. Unable to cross the sea on his own, the ape sits on the crocodile's back.

In the middle of the sea the crocodile takes the ape deep into the ocean to kill him. The frightened ape asks why he has done this, and the crocodile tells him that his wife wants to eat his heart filled with sweetness. The ape requests the crocodile to take him back to the tree immediately, as he has left his other heart, which is full of sweetness, back at the tree. The crocodile swims back to the tree and the ape jumps up the tree. The crocodile asks the ape why

he will not return with him, to which the ape replies that he has only one heart and has fooled the crocodile for abusing their friendship. The crocodile is ashamed and apologizes to the ape. Just then he notices that an intruder has occupied his house. The crocodile fights the intruder and takes possession of his house back (Śarma 353-392).

VI. Book V, Rash Deeds

Book five demonstrates the danger of blind imitation, stating at the outset:

"Let no man undertake a deed
ill-conceived and ill-considered
ill-examined and ill-done
as the barber was guilty of". (Śarma 395)

Then the story of "The Barber who slaughtered the monks" begins. A merchant called Precious Gems loses his wealth and is destitute. Being disappointed, he curses his fate. One night, in a dream, he sees a monk who is made of thousands of gold coins and tells the merchant not to worry because he is the wealth that the merchant's ancestors gathered. The monk tells the merchant that he will visit the merchant the next morning. If the merchant hits the monk's head and kills him, the monk would become a hoard of unlimited gold. The merchant wakes up in the morning, and the very same thing happens. A barber who is in their house to do his wife's nails witnesses the scene and decides to invite some monks to his house so that he might hit them on their head and turn them into gold.

After a few days, the barber invites some monks to his house. As soon as they arrive, the barber hits them on the head. Some monks die, and the others are injured. The barber is arrested and brought to court. The judge asks him why he killed and injured the monks, and the barber

says that he wanted to change the monks into gold coins the way that the merchant did. Next, the merchant is called to the court. He reveals his dream to the judge and tells him about the monk that visited him and became a hoard of gold. The judge finds the barber guilty and sentences him to death. The barber pays with his life for his blind imitation of the merchant.

CHAPTER 5

COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

A long line of translations including Pahlavi, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Italian connects *Kalila wa Dimna*, the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, and the *Panchatantra.* Assuming the *Panchatantra* to be the lost Sanskrit text that originates the line of translations makes *Kalila wa Dimna* a descendant of the *Panchatantra*, and the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* a descendant of both. *Kalila wa Dimna* connects the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* to the *Panchatantra*. Through the long line of translation, the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* is the earliest English version of the *Panchatantra*. It is comparable to the latest English translation, the *Panćatantra*, an English rendering of Edgerton's the *Panchatantra Reconstructed* representing the lost Sanskrit text.

The *Moral Philosophy of Doni* versus the *Panćatantra*

I. The Structure

In the *Panćatantra* a sage, Visnu Śarma*,* narrates the five books that contain entertaining tales. Each book shapes a complete narrative, and all five are set into the preamble. The books are called respectively "Estrangement of Friends," "Winning of friends," "Of Crows and Owls," "Loss of Gains," and "Rash Deeds." Wisdom is the major theme that connects all five books. In addition, friendship is the central theme of the first four books. In the first book, "Estrangement of Friends," friendship is a fragile relationship that requires mutual trust. Damage to mutual trust ruins the friendship. In the second book, "Winning of friends," friendship is a great asset that can

save lives. According to book three, “Of Crows and Owls,” long-term enemies cannot be new friends. In the fourth book, “Loss of Gains,” friendship is ruined by greed. The central theme of the last book is to avoid imitating others blindly.

The structure of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* does not entirely correspond to that of the *Panćatantra*. The *Moral Philosophy* excludes the preamble, in which a king hires a sage to teach his sons. According to Edgerton, the elimination of the preamble goes back to the Pahlavi translation of the book. All subsequent translations exclude the preamble.

The dedication and the three endorsements (“To the Reader”) are specific to the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*. The dedication appears only in the first edition of 1570, and in the fourth edition, which takes the 1570 edition as its base. “The Prologue,” “The Argument of the Book,” and “The First Part” reflect the Arabic prototype, *Kalila wa Dimna,* and probably the Pahlavi translation as well; and subsequent translations have carried them over to the earliest English translation. The first part of “The Prologue” translates “A I Lettori” of the Italian source, composed by Doni. The following tales in the prologue correspond to the introduction by Ibn al-Moqaffa.

“The Argument of the Book,” which is about Burzōy’s voyage to India, appears before Ibn al-Moqaffa’s introduction in the Arabic prototype. The first part of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* corresponds to “The History of Burzōy the Physician, Written by Bozorgmehr the Son of Bakhtakan” in the *Kalila wa Dimna.* The structure of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* departs from the Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, and Spanish translations, which comprise seventeen chapters. The Italian translation presents the text in two volumes, of which the first is in three chapters and the second in seven. The Italian source of the English translation accommodates everything, including the prologue, within three sections. Still, North considers the prologue and “The

Argument of the Book" as independent sections and divides the rest of the text into four sections. Sections two, three, and four together correspond to Book I, "Estrangement of Friends," of the *Pańcatantra*. See table 4.

Table 4. The Corresponding Sections of the Earliest and the Latest English Translations.

The Moral Philosophy of Doni		The *Pańcatantra*	
	Corresponding Sections		
Dedication			
To the Reader I, II, III			
The Prologue			
The Argument of the Book			
The First Part (Burzōy's Life)	156 pages	182 pages	Preamble
	The Second Part	Book I Estrangement of Friends	
	The Third Part		
	The Fourth Part		
			Book II Winning Friends
			Book III Of Crows and Owls
			Book IV Loss of Gains
			Book V Rash Deeds

The *Moral Philosophy* excludes Books II-V of the *Panćatantra*. The Arabic prototype of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, *Kalila wa Dimna*, comprises the frame stories Books II-V of the *Panćatantra*. The total exclusion of the narratives in the earliest English translation might be due to the *Moral Philosophy*'s exclusion of the second volume of Doni's Italian translation.

II. The frame-story of the Lion and the Bull

The corresponding sections of the *Moral Philosophy of Doni* and the *Panćatantra* share the general outline of the story of the Bull and the Lion, which is as follows: The Bull's roar scares the Lion, the king of the beasts. The Lion does not leave his shelter for a while. A and B, two mischievous animals, are curious about the cause of the Lion's disposition. B decides to present himself to the Lion in order to approach the court and the power system. A discourages B, but B goes to the Lion. He learns the problem and brings the Bull to the palace. After a while, A and B cannot tolerate the Bull and the Lion's close relationship. B ruins the Bull and the Lion's friendship by treachery, and the Lion kills the Bull.

In the *Panćatantra*, book one narrates the entire story of The Lion and the Bull, but in the *Moral Philosophyi*, it is narrated across the second through the fourth parts. Furthermore, the characters' types and the ending of the story in the *Panćatantra* are not the same as in the *Moral Philosophy*. In the *Panćatantra,* as in *Kalila wa Dimna*, the mischievous interfering characters are two Jackals called Wary and Wily. In the *Moral Philosophy*, the interfering characters are the Ass and the Mule. Wary and Wily are sons of the ministers who were at Lion's service long ago. Personal interests direct Wary and Wily's friendship. The Ass and the Mule are two brothers who deeply care for one another to the extent that the Ass cannot stand the Mule's suffering and

commits suicide after visiting him in prison. Furthermore, in the *Panćatantra,* Wary and Wily both are wicked, but in the *Moral Philosophy*, the Ass is innocent. He is a wise character who acts as the Mule’s conscience and warns him about the consequences of his misconducts.

Table 5. The Corresponding Characters of the Story of the Bull and the Lion

Kalila wa Dimna	Kalila (a jackal)	Dimna (jackal)	Shanzaba	Asad
The Panćatantra	Wary (a jackal)	Wily (a jackal)	Lively	Tawny
The Moral Philosophy of Doni	The Ass	The Mule	The Bull	The Lion

In the *Panćatantra*, after the Bull's slaughter, sorrow and regret fill Lion’s heart, and the story ends with reflections of Wary on the incidents, but nothing happens to Wily, who ruined the friendship of the Bull and the Lion and caused their fight and the Bull’s death. In the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, section four narrates the events after the battle and the Bull's death. The Leopard and the Queen, who do not exist in the *Panćatantra,* enter the story in the fourth section. They reveal the Mule’s conspiracy causing two meetings of the general privy and the Mule’s trial, and the Lion sentences the Mule to death. The Mule’s punishment highlights his failure.

III. Narrative Layers

In the *Panćatantra*, each book's frame story, set into the introduction, shapes the second layer of narrative within which the short tales form the third layer of narrative. The characters relate the stories to one another, and the tales act as the dialogue between the frame story's characters and illuminate a point. Sometimes there is a fourth layer of narrative within the short tale. For example, in the story of the king who hires Viṣṇu Śarma, in the first layer of narrative, Śarma narrates the story of the Lion and the Bull to the reader. In the Lion and the Bull story, the second layer of narrative, Wary relates the story of "Strong and the Naked Mandiant" to Wily in which Strong narrates "The Maiden wedded to a Snake" to a king. In "The Maiden wedded to a Snake," the fourth layer of narrative, the maiden narrates the story of "Death and Little Blossom" to elderly relatives, shaping the fifth layer of the narrative. In the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*, the characters of the story of the Lion and the Bull narrate various tales, but the book confines the nesting structure to two layers.

IV. The tales within the story of "the Lion and the Bull"

The frame story of the first book of the *Panćatantra*, "the Lion and the Bull," has thirty-one tales that shape the further layers of the narrative. The additional layer of the same frame story includes thirty-two tales in the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*. The further layers of the same narrative of the texts share twenty-one tales in common; still, the corresponding tales do not appear in the same order, and the narrator of a corresponding tale in one text is not always the same as that in the other. For example, "The Monkey and the Wedge" of the *Panćatantra* and "A Tale of an Ape Meddling in That he Had no Skills" of the *Moral Philosophy* correspond to each

other. The plot and the function of the tales within the two frame stories are the same, but the narrator is not the same. Wary narrates "The Monkey and the Wedge" to Wily to warn about the potential consequences of interfering in court affairs in which Wily has no expertise. While "A Tale of an Ape Meddling in That he Had no Skills" of the *Moral Philosophy* aims at illustrating the same point for the Mule, it is narrated by she-ass, not the Ass who is the corresponding character to Wary.

Ten of the tales within the story of "the Lion and the Bull" in the *Panćatantra* do not appear in the *Moral Philosophy*. For example, "Fine teeth and the Palace Sweeper" of the *Panćatantra* is absent in the *Moral Philosophy*. Wily narrates the story to Lively, the bull, before they go to the Lion's palace to introduce the Bull to the Lion. Wily relates the tale to present himself as an influential figure of the court. The tale is a notice of the significant role of the circle of the king in ruling, which implies the bull should stay on good terms with Wily. In the *Moral Philosophy*, the Mule, the character corresponding to Wily, pretends to be the secretary of the king in order to indicate his authority in the court, and the frame story moves forward without an extra tale.

Eleven tales within the story of "the Lion and the Bull" in the *Moral Philosophy* do not belong to the *Panćatantra*. Some belong to *Kalila wa Dimna*, and a few others belong to other sources such as Aesop's fables. For example, "The bawd and the Opium" is in the Arabic prototype, and "Of the Eagle and the Beatle, and What Cometh of Self-will" belongs to Aesop.

V. Wisdom

Wisdom is the major theme of the *Panćatantra* and the *Moral Philosophy of Doni*. In both texts, wisdom is not equal to knowledge. Still, the perception, representation, and nature

of wisdom are specific to each text. In the *Panćatantra*, wisdom is a superior level of insight that is developed by life experiences. Thus, it may be studied through the tales that relate examples of the lives of other people. The first aphorism of "the Preamble," which echoes the disappointment of the king due to the ignorance of his sons, is a testimony to the significance of wisdom:

> "Far better than a man have no son born
> or, that born they die; though there be grief, it passes soon;
> but, to have living sons, who turn out fools,
> and obstinate fools at that, that indeed,
> is a lifelong misery hard to bear"(Śarma 3).

The *Panćatantra* considers wisdom as an acquisitional worldly achievement; to the *Moral Philosophy*, wisdom has a divine feature. According to the epigraph of the title page of the *Moral Philosophy*, "The wisdom of the world is folly before God"; wisdom belongs to the divine realm. This statement implies that human efforts to gain wisdom are fruitful only if they align with the divine will. In the *Moral Philosophy*, the notion of wisdom is very close to righteousness.

North's reflections on the stories emphasize the correlation of wisdom and righteousness. In the prologue, after tale IV, in which a man who intends to steal from his friend accidentally steals from his own properties, North states that we shall feel no pain in the other world; thus, we should be attentive to our deeds. God guides those who serve him devotedly and righteously. No one may despair, even if undesirable things may happen to them. God sends his blessings many times; in an hour, the unexpected may happen (217).

Following tale V, which is about a poor man in whose house a thief drops jewels, North states that no one should say I do not need to work for my living. God may bestow wealth to someone who does not make efforts, but that is a secret of God, and we should not ask the cause of his divine goodness (220). The wise man should endeavor to live and trust always in almighty God. A man must fear divine justice, follow the good, and treat his neighbor the way he would treat himself.

In a few instances, North's statements speak for his beliefs rather than those of the text. At the end of "The Argument of the Book," North states that he begins a book in which the dangers and deceits of this miserable world are demonstrated in praise and honor of God (224). Furthermore, at the beginning of the third part, North reflects on the Mule's envy and treachery and states that by reading this text, the reader understands how much a wise courtier may do, and "God may grant the hypocrite's end, which was answerable to his naughty mind and life to all such envious and spiteful persons that in prince's courts and through Christendom delight in so vile an art and to commit such detestable treasons" (North 302).

VI. Excerpts from the texts

The following excerpts describe the moment that the jealous character meets with the king to talk about the Bull. The first passage, which is from the *Moral Philosophy*, illustrates Mull's meeting with the Lion, and the second passage refers to the meeting of Wily the jackal with Towny the king in the *Panćatantra*.

"This worshipful Mule, when he had reposed himself a few days and had lively frames this treason in his head, he went to the king and showed him by his looks that he was melancholy,

pensive, and sore troubled in his mind. The king, that saw this perplexed beast, and dearly loving him, would needs know of the Mule the cause of his grief, whom this subtle Mule finely answered" (302).

"Wily then took his leave and sought an audience with Towny. Having bowed low, he seated himself in his appointed place. The lion then addressed him, Your Honour, how is it that we have not seen you around for a long time now?" (Śarma 91).

The comparison of the passages indicates that the relationship between the Mule and the Lion is more intimate than the relationship between Wily and Towny. Furthermore, the first translation explains the disposition of the characters in detail; however, the latter is more concerned with the actions of the characters.

Conclusion

The *Panchatantra* has enjoyed a broad audience across the centuries and in many languages. With twenty-five recensions in Sanskrit and two hundred versions in fifty other languages, the text has shined on the stage of world literature (Olivelle ix; Rajan xvi). If translation is perceived as the best compliment to a literary work, India and the world have paid the ultimate compliment to the *Panchatantra* (Olivelle 17). The twenty-five recensions in Sanskrit speak to the popularity of the *Panchatantra* in its native culture. Its translation into fifty other languages highlights the capacity and tendency of the text to lend its content to other cultures. The narrative structure and the content both contribute to the flexibility of the text.

The *Panchatantra* does not present a single narrative that starts at the beginning of the book and finishes in its last pages. It is a collection of narratives in which the stories could be retold, omitted, or appended. The layered structure of the book forms a rich narrative in which

the interrelated stories keep the reader engaged. Although the aesthetic experience of the reader in one language may not be the same as that of the reader in another language, both might still be satisfying. The *Panchatantra*'s animal stories elaborate on the relationship between wisdom and conduct. The text presents a template of universal ethics applicable to many cultures.

The *Panchatantra*'s relationship with various cultures is interactive. While the text lent itself to various cultures, it has borrowed from them. The *Moral Philosophy of Doni* embodies this interactive relationship. The earliest English translation of the *Panchatantra* is an outcome of the interactions of the book with various cultures in a long linguistic journey. It carries the modifications that occurred in the translation of the book into Pahlavi, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Italian. The latest English translation carries the changes of the text in a different way. Its source, Edgerton's the *Panchatantra Reconstructed*, is a recovered text, although it is shaped through the similarity of various versions.

The earliest and latest English translations represent different transformative journeys. The core of the text is the same, but the differences highlight the creative aspect of a translation versus its mission to represent another text. A translation is the recreation of a text, not that text as such. It is a text with new features borrowed from the target culture. Translation fulfills the mission of enriching literature and languages by acting as the mediator for communicating a text from one culture to another. According to Schleiermacher, "the translator's goal must be to provide their reader with the same image and the same pleasure reading the work in the original language offers" (44). North's translation embraces the foreign as such and attempts to link the reader to the foreign text. However, Rajan's translation bridges the gaps between the reader and the foreign by replacing the Sanskrit names with English words.

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