APPENDIX

Buddha as Originator of the Embedded Story Genre

We have claimed above that indeed the Buddha may possibly be credited with introducing a new literary genre, the ‘Embedded Story’ technique, the Pañchatantra (PT) being its high point in Indian literature. Let us now turn to exploring it.

A. Buddhist concepts in the Pañcatantra

“[N]either a Buddhist nor a Jain”, the author of PT is clearly of a Brahminic persuasion (Keith 105). However, equally evident is the strong influence of Buddha’s Teachings on his work. We may begin by noting a few specific ideas, taken just from Book I (Ryder, 1956, translation), reflecting possible Buddhist influence:

1. A merchant is said to have “possessed a heap of numerous virtues, and a heap of money, a result of the accumulation of merit in earlier lives.” (19).

Buddhist concept: Śīla as resulting in virtue in another life, and Dāna as resulting in wealth, both falling under
puñña ‘meritorious deed’.\textsuperscript{204} See e.g., *Dhammapada* 18\textsuperscript{205}.

2. “… money once acquired should be guarded, increased and employed.” (20).

**Buddhist concept:** ‘protection of wealth’ (A 8.54); ‘[re]investment’ (Ven. Buddhadatta, 1955, under ‘invest’); ‘the happiness of enjoyment (of wealth justly earned)’ (A 4.62)\textsuperscript{206}.

3. The office of Rusty the Lion, “advertized the reward of manliness by its pleasure in benefiting others” (23).

**Buddhist concept:** *parahita* ‘other good’ (as contrasted with the *attahita* ‘self-good’) (D III.233); *karuṇā* ‘compassion’; *muditā* ‘altruistic joy’ (D I.251).

4. “No character moves up or down
   At others’ smile or others’ frown
   But honour or contempt on earth
   Will follow conduct’s inner worth.” (28).

Elsewhere,

\textsuperscript{204} Sanskrit *punya* (*from which puñña* is derived) in Brahmanism is also said to lead to a life in ‘heaven’, but that is in the theistic sense of being ‘eternal and everlasting’ (Marasinghe, 2003, 458), while the concept takes on a more mundane meaning in Buddhism, even though rebirth in a (Buddhist) heaven also results from *puñña*. See also Harvey, 2000, 190-192.

\textsuperscript{205} “In part it reads,
   “One is joyful here, and joyful there,
   joyful in both worlds,
   one who has done meritorious deeds…”

“The worthy, by display of worth
Attain distinction, not by birth” (38).

**Buddhist concept:**

Not by birth is one a Vasala,
Not by birth a Brahmin,
By action is one a Vasala,
By action a Brahmin²⁰⁷.

“Ask not of birth but ask of conduct”²⁰⁸.

5. “Drink, women, hunting, scolding, dice,
Greed, cruelty: these seven are vice.

Or again,

“One who think of dice as death,
Wine as poison-stings,
Others’ wives as statues, he
Is beloved of Kings.” (33).

**Buddhist concept:** ‘One addicted to gambling, liquour
and women …’²⁰⁹ as being assured of a downfall.

6. In case of horse or book or sword,
Of woman, man or lute or word,
The use or usefulness depends
On qualities the user lends (37).

²⁰⁷ “*na jaccā vasalo hoti, na jaccā hoti brāhmaño.
kammunā vasalo hoti, kammunā hoti brāhmaño*”
(K 5.7 (142)

²⁰⁸ S I.168 (9 (9) Sundarika).

²⁰⁹ *Ithidhutto surādhutto akkhadhutto ca yo naro ...
(K 5.6, Vasala Sutta; see also D III.185).
**Buddhist concept**: Being ‘excellent’ (sammā) in word, conduct, livelihood (Noble Eightfold Path)\(^{210}\).

7. “Bravest bosoms do not falter
Fearing Heaven’s threat….” (40).

**Buddhist concept**:
‘Clobbered by the realities of the world,
in whom the mind trembles not,
freed from sorrow, untainted and safe,
this a Noble blessing’\(^{211}\).

8. “First mind, then body ages…” (59).

**Buddhist concept**: “Mind is the forerunner”\(^{212}\).

9. “These, however, really make a single vice, called ‘attachment’” (72).

**Buddhist concept**: ‘Thirst’ (or ‘attachment’)\(^{213}\).

10. “False friend – are worse than vain..” (128).

**Buddhist concept**:
Associate not with evil friends

\(^{210}\) Sammā vācā, sammā kammanta, sammā ājīva …

\(^{211}\) Phuṭṭhassa lokadhammehi
cittaṁ yassa na kampati
asokāṁ virajaṁ khemaṁ
etaṁ mangalamuttamaṁ.
(Mahāmangala Sutta, K 1.5).

\(^{212}\) Dhammapada 1.

\(^{213}\) Taṁhā. This is a link in ‘Conditioned Co-origination’ (Paṭiccasamuppāda) (D II 34).
Associate not with vile men\textsuperscript{214}.

Of course, it is not the case that these concepts may not have been in the \textit{body religieux} of the time of PT, despite the demise of Buddhism by this time in India. But their closeness to Buddhist thought, if also their origins, could hardly be in doubt.

It may also be noted with interest that the ‘Circle of Four’ that is the company of the Lion, with whom the \textit{Pañcatantra} begins its frame story, is given as (1) the Lion, (2) the Lion’s guard, (3) the understrappers, (4) the menials. These clearly relate to the four \textit{vāṇa} as in AS, both in terms of number and status.

PT argues for a pragmatic, even cut-throat and Machiavellian means of statesmanship and Royal conduct. As Edgerton notes “The so-called ‘morals’ of the stories have no bearing on morality; they are unmoral, and often immoral. They glorify shrewdness, practical wisdom, in the affairs of life …” (Edgerton, 1930, 11). Yet, we have seen above that what lies at the bottom of PT is an argument for the moral life.

By way of example, seeing that the Lion and the Bull (in ‘The Loss of Friends’) “were intent on killing each other” (168), Karañaka says to Damanaka “reproachfully”, “You dunderhead, in setting these two at enmity, you have done a wicked deed. You have brought trouble and confusion into othis entire forest, thus proving your ignorance of the true nature of statecraft.” (168-169). He is called “Ah, poor fool” and “poor simpleton”, noting here that the Buddha calls Sunakkhatta\textsuperscript{215} ‘foolish man’. A little later on, still lambasting his friend, Karañaka says “And if you are grieved at seeing others happy and prosperous\textsuperscript{216}, that, too, is wicked.” (173). Further, “Plainly, you are what is known as ‘worse-born’” (184). “Again,

\begin{quote}
\textit{Na bhaje pāpake mitte na bhaje purisādhame.}
(Dhammapada 78).
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{214} \textit{Na bhaje pāpake mitte na bhaje purisādhame.}

\textsuperscript{215} \textit{Pāṭika Sutta}; see Ch. 12 for an elaboration.

\textsuperscript{216} What we have here in Buddhist terms is a lack of \textit{muditā} ‘altrusitic joy’.
A merely striking beauty
Is not hard to find.
A rarer gem is wisdom,
Far-reaching power of mind” (184).

“As after telling [yet another] story”, Karataka continues, “Poor fool!. By your oversubtle wisdom, you have burned your own family…. “Besides, who can trust a creature, whether human or not, that has two tongues in a single mouth?” (190-191).

He advises the Lion King (210) in a final proverb:

“Let fit and friendly counsel first,
And more than once, be heard;
Then ponder on the plan proposed
From first to final word;
Then act, and harvest fame and wealth,
Avoiding the absurd.”

This, then, seems to capture the message, and the moral, of Book I of PT, undermining all the treachery, cunning, etc., that runs through it. So then, it may be said that, in true Buddhist fashion, the appeal is to wisdom, and right action, indeed the thrust taking the last 20% of the text (pages 165 to 210).

Reference was made above as to the ‘fierce independence’ of the embeds in the framed structure of PT. This immediately resonates with the freedom allowed for in Buddhism, well encapsulated, e.g., in the Kālāma Sutta (A I 189, Sutta 65) where one is advised against following anyone blindly, including a ‘guru’, and by implicaton the Buddha himself, and only to accept things out of experiential conviction. The Training Principles (sikkhāpada) giving the individual the full freedom to work one’s way through, placing the onus on oneself, of course, is the platter of freedom handed over to the practitioner. This then can be another example of the impact of the Buddha’s Teachings on PT.
B. Jātaka in the Pañcatantra

Keith (102-3), e.g., notes how “In Buddhism, … the fable was given a definite religious significance, by being employed in connection with the doctrine of transmigration to illustrate the essential virtues of Buddhism, through the identification of personages of the tales with the Buddha and others of his entourage.” Further, while the sources of verses in PT are various, “…among them [are] the Pali Jātakas” (108-9)\textsuperscript{217}.

Indeed the very concept of advice to royalty, as is the format of PT, and that by animals, may be seen to be inspired by the Tesakaṇṭha Jātaka (J 521). Here, a King seeks and receives counsel from three birds, raised by the King as his very own children (son, daughter and son)! Strengthening the possible impact of the Jātaka on the PT is that all three of them, called upon by ‘father’ the King, speaks in the same vein as does the Buddha to King of Kosala: “A king, sire, ought to rule his kingdom righteously” (Francis (tr.), 1981, Vol. V, p. 59). The oldest bird, Vessantara, counsels that “a king ought to rule his kingdom righteously …”, putting “all falsehood and anger and scorn” (61). The name Vessantara, of course, is itself the name of a prince in the Jātakas (J 547). Daughter bird Kuṇḍalinī advises, “Take as counselors men that are wise… Not given to riot and waste, from gambling and drunkenness free” (62). Seeing ‘five-fold power’ “amidst great ones”, son Jambuka counsels, “the power of the limb is, sure, the last in its degree” while “Of all these powers [the other three being of wealth, counsel and caste] … best … [is] power of learning known” (63). He ends with the words,

\textsuperscript{217} As examples, we may provide a random list of Jātakas:
J 33. Sammodana Jātaka: birds escaping from under the net.
J 57. Vānarinda Jātaka: she-crocodile “longing for the monkey’s heart to eat”.
J 342. Vānara Jātaka: crocodile being outwitted by the monkey.
J 397. Manoja Jātaka: lion being enticed to his death by the counsel of a jackal.
“For the fool by ill deeds, like house built of reeds, Collapses and leaves rack and ruin behind.”

As with this example, we see that the advice of all three birds is in poetic lines, each of them “in eleven stanzas”, reminding us of the structure of PT, moving from prose to verse and back to prose to verse, etc. As another parallel, it is the animals that are talking, and further, one of a lower stature advising royalty.

This brief overview then may suggest, in a circuitous way, that the structure of the Aggañña Sutta (AS) is, as contended by Collins, related to that of a Jātaka. But, as we shall see, a further exploration will show that the structure of AS could be said to be more like that of the Fable than of a Jātaka.

C. Aggañña and Pāṭika Suttas as Models for the Pañcatantra

C.1 Aggañña Sutta as Model

We have above hinted at some influences of Buddhist thought on PT. We now take a closer look at the Aggañña Sutta itself to see to what extent it may have served as a specific model. We begin with the structure.

In the tale of Somālika (PT II, 4), e.g., “a divine being addresses five stanzas to the weaver asserting the doctrine of fate, while Somālika replies in the same number.” (Keith, 108). In this context, we may recall the Buddha laying out, in AS, the Knowledge of the Primeval in seven segments, seemingly to match the 7 verses in the Veda 109 (see above).

For a longer example, let us take story number 7 in Book I of PT, Yūkāmatkuṇa kathā (Edgerton, Ed., 15, pp. 25-26) translated as ‘Leap and Creep’ by Ryder (119), but more descriptively as ‘Louse and Bed-bug’ by Edgerton (50).

“In the palace of a certain king stood an incomparable bed, blessed with every cubiculary virtue. In a corner of its coverlet lived a female louse named Creep. Surrounded
by a thriving family......, she drank the king’s blood as he slept. On this diet she grew plump and handsome. While she was living there in this manner, a flea named Leap drifted in on the wind and dropped on the bed....”

(Ryder, 119-121)

Hopping this way and that, he meets her by chance, and she asks, “Where do you come from? ... Begone..” Despite his entreaties to let him enjoy the “delightful vital fluid, just like nectar” of the blood of the king, he is turned down: “No. For fiery-mouthed stingers like you, it is out of the question”. “Thereupon, he fell at her feet, repeating the request. And she agreed, since courtesy was her hobby” [1]

But not only, for there is yet another reason:

“... when the story of that prince of sharpers, Mūladeva, was being repeated to the king218, while she lay on a corner of the coverlet, she had heard how Mūladeva quoted this verse in answer to the question of a certain damsel219:

Whoever, angry though he be,
Has spurned a suppliant enemy,
In Shiva, Vishnu, Brahma, he
Has sconed the Holy Trinity.
Recalling this, she agreed...”220.

218 We are not told by whom, suggesting another fictitious and imagined character as by the Buddha in the case of Sanaṃkumāra in AS.

219 Again, we are not told who it is quoted by, and are we told anything more about this ‘certain damsel’.

220 Though not directly relevant to our discussion, we add the rest of the story, if for nothing else, for literary enjoyment. Why not, PT being a piece of literature?

She assents, but with the advice, “However, you must not come to dinner at a wrong place or time.” Told, “when the king’s body is mastered by wine, fatigue or sleep, you may bite him on the feet.” But “the famished bungler”, bites him on the king’s back. Commanded
Here, then, Creep agrees with a fictional Mūladeva, literally ‘original god’. Right here, we see a clear impact of AS on the PT story. As noted, Buddha refers to Sanaṅkumāra (AS # 31) as saying the following lines:

“For those who rely on clan, the Khattiya
the best among people”221.

Likewise one with knowledge and good conduct
the best among devas and people.

Declaring that he agrees, the Buddha then repeats the lines! We may note here several points of contact as between AS and PT.

a. both quotes are in verse;

b. both Sanaṅkumāra and Mūladeva are princes;

c. just as Sanaṅkumāra is a Brahmin as are Vāsetṭha and Bhāradvāja being addressed by the Buddha, Mūladeva the ‘sharp-stinger’ comes to be of the same ‘caste’, so to speak, as Leap, namely, a ‘stinger’;

d. the verse is quoted, and then repeated; and

e. the verse is quoted in relation to one and repeated in relation to another.

to “hunt through this bed until you find the insect”, the servant makes a “minute inspection”, and “as fate would have it”, came upon Creep … and killed her with her family.”! The next lines point to the moral of the tale:

“And that is why I say:
With no stranger share your house….”

221 Of course, it is a further mocking of Brahmins to have these words come from a Brahmin.
f. Creeps agrees with Mūladeva, just as the Buddha agrees with Sanaṅkumāra.

What we see in PT can then be seen as a ‘stylistically verbatim’ copy as it were of AS. While the exact significance of the parallel may yet to be discovered, the portrayal in the Pañcatantra can hardly be seen to be accidental.

C. 2 Pāṭika Sutta as Model

If in AS we have noted an Embedded Frame structure, it is still of the more rudimentary type. It begins with mocking the Brahmanas and ends with it, with the ‘Knowledge of the Primeval’ segment embedded, giving us a fairly straightforward, three segment model. The Pāṭika Sutta, also entailing the topic of ‘Knowledge of the Pimeval’, seems to provide a better model, one more resonant with PT.

It begins with the Buddha visiting the hermitage of the wanderer Bhaggava-gotta one early morning. Welcoming the Buddha, he tells the Buddha what Sunakkhatta the Licchavi, his former disciple, had told him, upon a visit: “Bhaggava, I have left the Blessed One”. Bhaggava then asks the Buddha, “Is that really so Bhante?” “Yes, indeed”, answers the Buddha. And then he explains the contexts under which Sunakkhatta had come to leave him - because he (the Buddha) had failed to perform miracles or made known Knowledge of the Primeval.

That would have been a sufficient straightforward answer to Bhaggava’s straightforward question. However, the Buddha next talks about his stays at different places – first, among the Khulus at a place called Uttaraka (1.7), and again in Vesali at the Gabled Hall in the Great Forest, twice (1.11; 1.15) and still again in Vesali at

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222 The original term of respect, Bhante, has been retained here, instead of the translation ‘Lord’ in Walshe (as also in most instances). Since the term ‘Lord’ is associated with mythical characters of the Brahminic pantheon – Lord Vishnu, Lord Ganesh, Lord Śiva, etc., to call the Buddha ‘Lord’ would be to equate the historical Buddha with mythical gods.
Pāñikaputta’s park for his mid-day rest (1.19).

Now interestingly, embedded into this fourth story is a fable of a Lion and a Jackal, by way of showing the folly of Pāñikaputta’s claim: “The ascetic Gotama claims to be a man of wisdom, and I make the same claim… If the ascetic Gotama performs one miracle, I will perform two…” (1.15). The fourth is the story of a jackal seeking to get his food the way the Lion does, i.e., by scaring off the animals with three Lion roars, and then getting his choice food from among the cattle. But he fails miserably:

Thinking himself a Lion, the jackal says:
‘I’m the king of beasts’, and tries to roar
A Lion’s roar, but only howls instead.
Lion is Lion and jackal jackal still.
(Walshe, 379)

We may note here four features:

a. embedding a story within a sub-story;
b. introducing animal characters;
c. having the animal story in verse;
d. highlighting the ‘moral’ in verse.

It may be remembered how PT comes to display identical features. Reference has been made above to the strict independence of the embeds in PT. The four visits of the Buddha in the Pāṭika Sutta are, of course, relevant to the opener in which we read about Sunakkhatta leaving the Buddha. But, as noted, these four stories could easily be dispensed with, without doing any harm to the main story of Sunakkhatta’s leaving when the straightforward question comes to be answered in a straightforward manner. Yet, the four contexts add to the overall message.

By way of another parallel, at the end of his encounter, Bhaggava seeks to “place my trust” in the Buddha. The subtle message here may be seen to be that while fools may not see the Buddha for who it is, wiser ones seek him out. It is this same message with which the first
story of PT ends:

A merely striking beauty
Is not hard to find.
A rarer gem is wisdom,
Far-reaching power of mind” (184)

Structurally speaking, a quick overview of the Pāṭika Sutta may be shown graphically as follows:

Frame<<Embed₁><Embed₂><Embed₃<Moral>> Frame.

**Fig. 11 The Structure of Pāṭika Sutta in Brief**

When this sketchy outline is expanded (as in Fig. 12 below), we get a better sense of the structural intricacy inherent to the Sutta:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L</th>
<th>FRAME EMBED [ PARA]</th>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>&lt; Embed₁ [1.3-6]</td>
<td>Sunakkhatta complains; leaves ‘Dhamma’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>&lt;&lt; Embed₁₁ [1.7-10]&gt;</td>
<td>Sunakkhatta leaves ‘Dhamma’ again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>&lt;&lt; Embed₁₂ [1.11-14]&gt;</td>
<td>Sunakkhatta leaves ‘Dhamma’ again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>&lt;&lt; Embed₁₃₁ [1.19-1.20]</td>
<td>Pāṭikaputta’s boast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>&lt; Embed₁₃₁₁ [1.21-1.22]</td>
<td>Pāṭikaputta’s bottom stuck! (Man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>&lt; Embed₁₃₁₂ [2.1-3]</td>
<td>Pāṭikaputta’s bottom still stuck! (Minister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>&lt; Embed₁₃₁₃ [2.4-5]</td>
<td>Pāṭikaputta’s bottom still stuck! (Jaliya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>&lt; Embed₁₃₁₃₁ [2.6-11]</td>
<td>Lion &amp; Fox fable &lt;Moral&gt; (Jaliya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>&lt;&lt; Embed₁₄ [2.13]</td>
<td>Buddha reports re-appearing in Gabled Hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Frame [2.21].</td>
<td>Bhaggava-gotta places trust in the Buddha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 12: Embedded Frame Structure of the Pāṭika Sutta in Detail
Here we note in Col. 2 a series of graduated Embeds in L(ines) 2-15 (Col. 1), within the Frame (L1 and L16), the ‘Context’ (Col. 3) being the Buddha intially visiting Bhaggava-gotta, and acknowledging the abandoning of him by Sunakkhatta (L2), the square brackets giving the paragraph reference. Embeds 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3 (L3, L4, L5) and 1.4 (L12) can be said to be of a second tier, emerging off the first tier Embed in L 1 and 2.

In these Embeds, the Buddha is sharing with Bhaggava-gotta the contexts in which Sunakkhatta leaves ‘this Dhamma’ three times. The last of these Embeds, L5, relating to the Buddha being in Pàñika putta’s Park, leads to an encounter relating to Pàñika putta, at the third tier (Embed 1.3.1; L6) – his boast about matching the Buddha one on one in relation to miracles and wisdom. Following this is a series of three Embeds at tier 4. In each of them Pàñika putta’s bottom is stuck and unable to get out of his seat, despite the attempts by (a) a ‘man’ (1.3.1.1) sent by the assembly of those who had come to witness miracles by the Buddha and Pàñika putta, (b) a Lichchavi Minister (1.3.1.2) and (c) Jāliya (1.3.1.3), ‘pupil of the ‘wooden bowl ascetic’ (Walshe, 379) twice (L 7, 8, 9 respectively).

But next we encounter the fifth tier (1.3.1.3.1; L 10) when Jāliya introduces the story of the Lion and the Jackal to mock the bottom-stuck Pàñika putta!

At 1.3.1.4, the story returns to tier 4 when the Buddha asserts that Pàñika putta is “not capable of meeting me face to face” (L 11).

Next at 1.4 (L 12), we see the story returning to tier two when the Buddha reports re-appearing in Gabled Hall. Embedded into the next is the Buddha’s claim of having Knowledge of the Primeval, returning to tier three (1.4.1; L 13), outlining the early phases of the story of the Primeval (Devolution and Evolution; Brahmavimāna) (1.4.1.1; L 14). Now the story returns to tier three (L 15) again when the Buddha talks of three views of the Primeval held by other Samaṇa Brāhmaṇas. At the end, the story returns to the main frame (L16).

So we can see how what appears to be a straightforward Discourse, Pàñika entails a complex structure.

We may then say that the structural framework of PT can be seen to be along the same lines as that of the Pàñika Sutta, with any
number of Embeds and Morals stacked over one another, on occasion into deeper layers, in a long series. It may, then, be seen as the better model for PT, even though AS itself provides the basic structure.

If the parallels between the AS and Pāñika Sutta taken together on the one hand and PT on the other show the possibility of the former being two specific models for the latter, it can be said to strengthen our conjecture that the Buddha may have been the originator of the Beast Fable which finds its best manifestation in PT. The ‘fierce’ independence of the Embeds we see in PT can be said to add to its Buddhist ‘touch’.

Just as the structure of the Jātakas can be said to have originated in the Buddha’s Teachings, it may then be conjectured that the ‘embedded frame’ structure, too, may have had beginnings at the Buddha’s hands. This may well have added a higher credence to the literary form in which the PT eventually comes to be written.

D. A Caveat

Tracing the origins of the Beast Fable in the cultivated form as we have it now to Buddhist literature in the form of the Jātakas, of course, is not to say that the use of animals to make a point about humans was unknown in Sanskrit literature. “The Rgveda already compares the croaking of the frogs at the beginning of the rains to the Brahmmins busy at the offering”, and “the Chandogya Upaniṣad knows a mysterious Udgāta of the dogs which may be a parable or a record of ascetics, who imitated the life of dogs in a crazy effort thus to attain salvation” (102).

A visible feature of PT is the interspersing the narrative with verse. And we see “a shade of this writing style in the Aitereya Brahmana” (Keith, 108). Even as regards language, it may be noted that “The Vedic language as we find in the Rgveda.... is already a poetical and hieratic language” (Keith, 8), even though “for profane as opposd to sacred literature Sanskrit was originally not employed” (7).

223 Here we are reminded of the naked ascetic Korakkhattiya in the Pāñika Sutta, walking on all four and taking food with his mouth.
In terms of content, too, the stories were undoubtedly of ancient origin, rendering PT to be “.. a textbook of artha ‘worldly wisdom’, or nīti ‘polity’”. “It repeatedly quotes verbatim from the most celebrated Sanskrit textbook of polity, the so-called Kautilīya Arthaśāstra ..” (Edgerton, 10-11).

So while there were undoutedly precursors to just about all the elements of the PT in Sanskrit literature, it is the combination of these elements into a simple and elegant style, and for non-hieratic purposes, that shows the Buddhian hand at work in it.