

## Chapter Six

# THE REPERCUSSIONS OF LACK OF PROPER GOVERNANCE

**Bhikkhu Anālayo**

*Better than sole reign over the earth*

*Going to heaven*

*Or lordship over the whole world*

*Is the fruit of stream entry.*

—*The Dhammapada* (178)

**T**he early discourses preserved in the Pāli *Nikāyas* as well as their parallels in the Chinese *Āgamas* do not give much attention to political theory. This is due to their overarching interest in matters of soteriology. To some extent, principles of good government can be teased out from the description of social decline given in the *Discourse on the Wheel Turning Monarch*. During the period of early Buddhist thought reflected in the early discourses, the motif of the wheel turning monarch did not present a model of governance to be emulated by other rulers (Anālayo 2011b and 2012). Nevertheless, within its soteriological embedding the same motif can be taken to convey basic principles that do have a bearing on questions such as proper governance and harmonious ways of living in

society. This holds in particular for the description of a gradual deterioration of living conditions as described in the passage translated below. Needless to say, it stands in continuity with the importance given in the Buddhist traditions in general to apprehensions of an impending decline (Nattier 1991).

I translate below the relevant section of the Discourse on the Wheel Turning Monarch from the *Dīrgha Āgama* preserved in Chinese translation (T.I.40b15; Anālayo 2014: 7–11), reflecting a Dharmaguptaka line of textual transmission (Anālayo 2015: 50). This has counterparts in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (D.III.64, 27) and the *Madhyama Āgama* (T.I.521c1), apparently transmitted by reciters of the wider Sarvāstivāda (Anālayo 2017). Having described the successful governance by previous kings who followed the *dharma* of the predecessors, the extract sets in stating that the present king failed to follow traditional norms and practices.

#### **Translation: An Extract from the *Dīrgha Āgama***

This single king just governed the country on his own [will]; he did not continue the ancient *dharma*. His government was unstable, everyone was complaining, the territory was declining, and the people were withering away.

Then a brahmin minister approached the king and said: “Great king, you should know that the territory is now declining and the people are withering away. Things are not turning out as usual. Now the king has many good friends in the country, who are wise and erudite, knowledgeable in things ancient and modern. They are equipped with knowledge of how earlier kings governed rightly by the *dharma*. Why not command them to gather and ask what they know, so that they will personally give their replies?”

Then the king summoned his many ministers and asked them about the way earlier kings had governed. Then the wise ministers provided answers on these matters. The king heard what they said and implemented the old way of governing and

protecting the world by means of the *dharma*. However, he was unable to aid solitary elderly people as well as to provide for the lowly and destitute.

Then the people of the country in turn became quite impoverished. Consequently they took from one another by force and theft increased greatly. It being investigated, they seized one of them, took him to the king, and said: “This man is a thief. May the king deal with him.”

The king asked him: “Is it true that you are a thief?” He replied: “It is true. I am poor and hungry, unable to maintain myself. Therefore I have become a thief.” Then the king supplied him with goods from his treasury and said: “With these goods support your parents and care for your relatives. From now on, do not become a thief again!”

Other people in turn heard that the king was giving wealth to those who engage in theft. Thereupon they further engaged in stealing the property of others. It being investigated, they again seized one of them, took him to the king, and said: “This man is a thief. May the king deal with him.”

The king asked again: “Is it true that you are a thief?” He replied: “It is true. I am poor and hungry, unable to maintain myself. Therefore I have become a thief.” Then the king again supplied him with money from his treasury and said: “With these goods support your parents and at the same time care for your relatives. From now on, do not become a thief again!”

Again people heard that the king was giving wealth to those who engage in theft. Thereupon they further engaged in stealing the property of others. It being investigated, they again seized one of them, took him to the king, and said: “This man is a thief. May the king deal with him.”

The king asked again: “Is it true that you are a thief?” He replied: “It is true. I am poor and hungry, unable to maintain myself. Therefore I have become a thief.” Then the king thought: ‘At first, seeing that they were poor, I gave the thieves wealth, so that they would stop. But other people have heard

of it and in turn imitated each other even more, and robbery increases daily. This will not do. Let me now rather have that man pilloried. I will command that he be [paraded through] the streets and alleys, and then taken out of the city to be executed in the wilds, as a warning to other people.'

Then the king ordered his attendants: "Have him bound, beat a drum to announce the command, and [parade] him through the streets and alleys. This done, take him out of the city and execute him in the wilds."

The people in the country came to know that someone who had become a thief was taken and bound by the king. [The king] commanded that [the criminal] be [paraded] through the streets and alleys and executed in the wilds. Then the people said to one another in turn: "If we are labelled as thieves, we will be like that, not different from him." Then the people in the country, to protect themselves, consequently made themselves weapons to fight with, swords and bows with arrows. They repeatedly killed and injured each other when [they] attacked to plunder.

From the time this king came [to the throne], poverty started. There being poverty, robbery started. Robbery being there, fighting with weapons ensued. There being fighting with weapons, there was killing and harming. There being killing and harming, [people's] complexions became haggard and their lifespan shorter. Then, from having been forty thousand years, people's actual lifespan subsequently became less and in turn was twenty thousand years.

Although there were living beings that had such a lifespan, some died prematurely, and some were distressed and some were delighted. Those who were distressed in turn gave rise to adultery, their minds being in the grip of lust. Many devised ways and schemed to get the property of others. Then people, who were poor, robbed and fought with weapons. Killing and harming in turn increased greatly. People's life [expectancy] in turn diminished and their lifespan was ten thousand years.

At the time of becoming ten thousand years old, living beings further robbed each other. It being investigated, they seized one of them, took him to the king, and said: "This man is a thief. May the king deal with him." The king asked: "Is it true that you are a thief?" He replied: "I did not do it." Then he intentionally spoke falsehood in the midst of the assembly.

Because of poverty, those living beings had turned to engaging in robbery. Because of robbery, there was in turn fighting with swords. Because of fighting with swords, there was in turn killing and harming. Because of killing and harming, there was being in the grip of lust and adultery. Because of being in the grip of lust and adultery, there was falsehood. Because of falsehood, their lifespan in turn decreased until it was a thousand years.

At the time of becoming a thousand years old, there began in turn to emerge three [more] evil verbal activities in the world: (1) slanderous speech, (2) harsh speech, and (3) gossip. When these three evil [verbal] activities in turn flourished, the life span of people decreased to five hundred years.

At the time of becoming five hundred years old, living beings gave rise to three more evil practices: (1) unlawful sexual desires, (2) unlawful greed, and (3) wrong views. When these three evil activities flourished in turn, the lifespan of people decreased to three hundred . . . two hundred . . . until, as in our present time, people reach one hundred years, few exceeding this and many achieving less.

In this way, because of endless evil, their lifespan in turn diminishes until it [eventually] reaches ten years. When people become ten years, females are married off when they are five months old. At that time one no longer hears in the world the names of ghee, rock honey, dark rock honey, or of any sweet delicacies. Rice seeds and rice seedlings turn into grass and weeds. Silk, silken cloth, brocade, cotton, white wool, what now in the world is called a "garment," are at that time not seen at all. Fabrics woven from coarse hair will be the best kind of clothing.

At that time many thorny bushes grow on this earth and there are many mosquitoes, gadflies, flies, fleas, snakes, vipers, wasps, centipedes, and poisonous worms. Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, pearls—what are called gems—completely disappear into the earth. On the earth there are only clay stones, sand, and gravel.

At that time living beings never ever hear any more the names of the ten wholesome [actions]. The world will be just full of the ten unwholesome [actions]. When the names of the good qualities are no longer present, how could those people get to cultivate wholesome conduct?

At that time living beings are capable of being extremely evil. There is no filial piety towards parents, no respect for teachers and elders, no loyalty, and no righteousness. Those who are rebellious and have no principles are esteemed. It is just as nowadays those are esteemed who are [instead] capable of cultivating wholesome conduct, of filial piety towards parents, of respecting teachers and elders, of being loyal, trustworthy, and righteous, of following principles and cultivating compassion.

At that time living beings recurrently engage in the ten evils and often fall into evil ways. On seeing one another, living beings constantly wish to kill one another. They are just like hunters on seeing a herd of deer. Then on this earth there are many ravines, deep gorges with rushing rivers. The earth is a wasteland. Human beings are scarce. People go about in fear. At that time fighting and plundering manifest.

### A Study of the Text and Its Implications for Good Governance

The above extract depicts a gradual deterioration of living conditions and lifespan. It relates all of that to the system of governance that a particular king adopted. According to the text, the problem with that king was that he governed his country on the basis of his own ideas and will. He neglected

to follow the examples of his predecessors who had adhered to the *dharma*. Even when he attempted to adjust his rule, the king still lacked the compassionate concern required of rulers by way of taking proper care of the poor.

A minor but noteworthy difference among the parallel versions occurs in relation to the first thief. The *Madhyama Āgama* version specifies that the thief was caught by the owner himself (T.I.522b1). This indication fits the flow of the narration well, since when later thievery is being punished, people take up weapons and start to kill those they rob. This would be a logical consequence of thieves earlier being arrested by the owner(s), since by killing the owner(s) one could avoid being arrested and then be punished by the king. In fact the *Madhyama Āgama* discourse (T.I.522b27) reports that people, on taking up arms, think that “when stealing goods, if we catch the owner of those goods, we will cut off his head.”

Another point worth mentioning from a comparative perspective concerns the eventual all-time low of moral decline. According to the *Dīgha Nikāya* report (D.III.72, 8), the breakdown of family relationship at this time goes so far as to affect even sexual conduct, in that people will copulate with each other like animals, without respect for one’s mother, aunt, or teacher’s wife.

The whole decline sets in, as already pointed out by Collins (1998: 486), “once the initial move has been made—where this (unnamed) king governs ‘according to his own ideas’—even well-intentioned actions have bad results. Subsequently . . . once the deterioration has set in, each new generation sees one or more further vices arise to join the others.” In this way, as explained by Gombrich (1988: 84), “this text states that stealing and violence originate in poverty and that poverty is the king’s responsibility . . . [it] shows awareness of social developments as unintended consequences of human omissions or commissions.” Bhikkhu Bodhi (2016: 168) similarly notes that in this way “poverty is regarded as the breeding ground of

criminality and the alleviation of poverty thus becomes one of the royal duties." Harris (1997: 9) notes the implicit importance accorded to compassion in this discourse, in as much as "lack of compassion for the poor leads to the disintegration of society."

In this way, lack of adherence to *dharma* is the first trigger for decline, followed by lack of compassion. Once these two are in place, decline cannot be reversed even with in itself well-intentioned interventions (such as giving to those who steal, an action that has the unintended effect of encouraging others to steal as well). This in turn implies that, according to the passage translated above, adherence to the *dharma* and genuine compassion are two chief principles that make for good governance and just rule.

The term *dharma* itself can of course carry a range of different meanings (Geiger 1920; Carter 1978). Judging from the *Bālapaṇḍita Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, however, it seems that in the context of the rule of a wheel turning monarch the notion of *dharma* stands in close relation to ethical conduct. This can be seen in the description of the wheel turning monarch's peaceful conquest. Heralded by the wheel-treasure that has magically manifested in mid-air, the wheel turning monarch approaches the countries in the four directions. The minor kings from these countries welcome him with gifts and invite him to rule. In reply, the wheel turning monarch simply requests them to follow the five precepts of abstaining from killing, from taking what is not given, from sexual misconduct, from falsehood, and from intoxication (M.III.173, 4).

The parallels to the *Bālapaṇḍita Sutta* do not have such a detailed description of the conquest of the wheel turning monarch (Anālayo 2011a: 746). Nevertheless, a similar description can be found in the *Ekottarika Āgama* parallel to the *Makhādeva Sutta* of the same *Majjhima Nikāya*. In this case it is the Pāli version that does not have a detailed description of the peaceful conquest of a wheel turning monarch. In the *Ekottarika Āgama* account, the wheel turning monarch instructs the minor

kings in the ten wholesome courses of actions (T.II.807a21). The first four of these are identical to the first four of the five precepts.

In this way, the depiction of how a wheel turning monarch would instruct minor kings in proper governance, as reflected in the *Bālapaṇḍita Sutta* and in the *Ekottarika Āgama* parallel to the *Makhādeva Sutta*, point to similar concerns with establishing a sound foundation in moral conduct. In particular, this requires refraining from killing, theft, sexual misconduct, and falsehood. In fact, according to the assessment by de Silva (2003: 39), the wheel turning monarch's own "moral authority rests on the fact that he practises and promotes *pañcasīla* as a constant basis of moral discipline in all matters big and small." Needless to say, the keeping of these basic moral precepts does not exhaust the notion of following the *dharma*.

Nevertheless, in the present context such ethical conduct can be seen to enshrine the very foundation for living according to the *dharma*. The relevance of this suggestion to the tale translated above is evident in the depiction of the gradual deterioration of moral standards. As mentioned above, in the Pāli version this goes so far as to lead to incest.

On this interpretation, the two principles of good governance that suggest themselves from the above passage could be summarized as adherence to the basic ethical principles enshrined in the five precepts and cultivating a compassionate attitude rather than ruling out of a thirst for power. These two basic principles, on being put into practice by those in political power as well as their citizens, would indeed make the world a better place.

### **Conclusion**

The three versions of the *Discourse on the Wheel Turning Monarch* depict a gradual decline of living conditions, lifespan, and moral standards. All of these have their origins in the decision of the king who failed to follow the exemplary style of governance of earlier kings, who ruled according to the *dharma*.

Dire consequences of idiosyncratic rule as depicted in the above text point to two key principles that would ensure good governance: maintenance of moral conduct and compassionate dispositions of the ruler towards his/her subjects.

**NĀGĀNANDA BUDDHIST STUDIES SERIES**

No. 1: *Vesak, Peace and Harmony: Thinking of Buddhist Heritage*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle, 2015

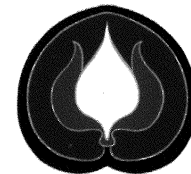
No. 2: *Justice and Statecraft: Buddhist Ideals Inspiring Contemporary World*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle, 2017

**J**USTICE AND STATECRAFT  
**B**UDDHIST IDEALS INSPIRING  
**C**ONTEMPORARY WORLD

Edited by

**MAHINDA DEEGALLE**

On the Occasion of the  
**INTERNATIONAL VESAK CELEBRATION**  
12-13 May 2017



**NĀGĀNANDA INTERNATIONAL BUDDHIST UNIVERSITY**  
Sri Lanka

# ABBREVIATIONS

A	<i>Āṅguttara Nikāya</i>
BCE	Before Common Era
<i>c</i>	<i>circa</i>
CE	Common Era
<i>cf</i>	<i>confer</i> (L); “compare”
D	<i>Dīgha Nikāya</i>
Dhs	<i>Dhammasaṅgani</i>
<i>et al</i>	<i>et alii</i> (L); “and others”
<i>f</i>	founded
<i>ibid</i>	<i>ibidem</i> (L); “in the same place”
J	<i>Jātaka</i>
Ja	<i>Jātaka</i> and Commentary
L	Latin
M	<i>Majjhima Nikāya</i>
Mv	<i>Mahāvamsa</i>
Mvs	<i>Mahāvastu</i>
P	Pāli
PTS	Pali Text Society
<i>r</i>	reign
S	<i>Saṃyutta Nikāya</i>
Sn	<i>Suttanipāta</i>
Sin	Sinhala
Skt	Sanskrit
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini</i>
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Th	Thai
v	verse
Vibh	<i>Vibhaṅga</i>
Vibh-a	<i>Vibhaṅga</i> Commentary
Vin	<i>Vinaya</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abeynayake, Oliver. *Fundamentals of Buddhist Polity*. Singapore: Ti-sarana Buddhist Association, 1995.
- Ahir, D.C. 2015. *Asoka the Great*. Delhi: Buddhist World Press (reprint of Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1995).
- Allen, Charles. 2013. *Ashoka: The Search for India's Lost Emperor*. London: Little, Brown Book Group.
- Amoradharma, Udomporn. 2007. *His Majesty and Politics*. Bangkok: Saengdow Press.
- Amunugama, Sarath. 2016. *The Lion's Roar: Anagarika Dharmapala and the Making of Modern Buddhism*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa.
- Analayo, Bhikkhu. 2003. *Satipaṭṭhāna: The Direct Path to Realization*. Cambridge: Windhorse Publications.
- . 2011a. *A Comparative Study of the Majjhima-nikāya*. Taiwan: Dharma Drum Academic Publisher.
- . 2011b. "The Tale of King Ma(k)hādeva in the Ekottarika-āgama and the Cakravartin Motif." *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka* 9: 43–77.

- . 2012. "The Tale of King Nimi in the Ekottarika-āgama." *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies, Sri Lanka* 10: 69–94.
- . 2014. "Maitreya and the Wheel-turning King." *Asian Literature and Translation: A Journal of Religion and Culture* 2.7: 1–29.
- . 2015. "Āgama/Nikāya." In *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. J. Silk, O. von Hinüber and V. Eltschinger. 1: 50–59. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2017. "The 'School Affiliation' of the Madhyama-āgama." In *Research on the Madhyama-āgama*, (ed.) Dhammadinnā. 55–76. Taipei: Dharma Drum Publishing Corporation.
- Appleton, Naomi and Sarah Shaw. 2015. *The Ten Great Birth Stories of the Buddha: The Mahānīpāta of the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā*, 2 vols. Chaing Mai and Bangkok: Silkworm and Chulalongkorn University Press.
- Ariyasena Thera, Kamburupitiye. *An Introduction to the Buddhist Philosophy of the State*. Colombo: Lake House Printers and Publishers, 1986.
- Avery, Gayle and Harald Bergsteiner (ed.). 2016. *Sufficiency Thinking: Thailand's Gift to an Unattainable World*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.
- Bechert, Heinz. 1979. *Buddhism and Society*. Online edition, 2009. The Wheel 265. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Bechert, Heinz and Richard Gombrich (ed.). 1984. *The World of Buddhism*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd.).
- Bhandarkar, D.R. 1955. *Aśoka*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Bode, Mabel. 1909. *The Pali Literature of Burma*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- Bodhi, Bhikkhu. 1993. *A Comprehensive Manual of Abhidhamma: The Abhidhammattha Sangaha*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.

- . 1995–2001. *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha (Majjhima-nikāya)*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- . 2000. *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha (Saṃyutta-nikāya)*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- . 2012. *The Numerical Discourses of the Buddha (Aṅguttara-nikāya)*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- . 2016. *The Buddha's Teachings on Social and Communal Harmony: An Anthology of Discourses from the Pāli Canon*. Boston: Wisdom.
- Buddhaghosa. [nd]. *The Path of Purification*, trans. Bhikkhu Ñānamoli. Singapore: Singapore Buddhist Meditation Centre.
- Carter, John Ross. 1978. *Dhamma: Western Academic and Sinhalese Buddhist Interpretations, A Study of a Religious Concept*. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press.
- Carvalho, H. and A. Chamberlen. 2016. "Punishment, Justice and Emotions." Oxford: Oxford Handbooks Online.
- Chanchaochai, Danai. 2014. *The Light of Your Wisdoms*. Bangkok: Direct Media Group.
- Chapple, Christopher Key. 1996. "Abhidharma as a Paradigm for Practice." In *Pāli Buddhism*, ed. Frank J. Hoffman and Deegalle Mahinda. 79–101 and 227. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.
- Chenet, François and Tampalawela Dhammaratana. 2017. *Buddhist Ideals of Good Governance*. [Colombo: Sri Lanka Government Printing].
- Clifford, Regina T. 1978. "The Dhammadipa Tradition in Sri Lanka: Three Models within the Sinhalese Chronicles." In *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Sri Lanka*, edited by Bardwell L. Smith, 36–47. Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books.
- Collins, Steven. 1998. *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities: Utopias of the Pali Imaginaire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Coningham, Robin, K.P. Acharya and C. Davis. 2015. "Archaeological Evidence and the Historicity of the Buddha: Lumbini." In *Vesak, Peace and Harmony: Thinking of Buddhist Heritage*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle. 59–82. Bollegala, Kelaniya: Nāgānanda International Buddhist University.
- Cunningham, Alexander. 1877. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.
- Conze, Edward. 1959. *Buddhist Scriptures*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Davidson, Richard. 2013. *The Emotional Life of Your Brain*. London: Penguin.
- de Silva, Lily. 2003. *Cakkavatti Monarchy of the Pali Canon as a Democratic Meritocracy*. Nedimala: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- de Silva, Padmasiri. 2014. *An Introduction to Buddhist Psychology and Counselling: Pathways of Mindfulness-Based Therapies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2017. *Pathways of Somatic Intelligence: Body-Mind Relations in Buddhist Contemplative Practice and Current Neuro Science*. London: Palgrave Macmillan Springer.
- Deeg, Max. 2009. "From the Iron-Wheel to Bodhisattvahood: Aśoka in Buddhist Culture and Memory." In *Aśoka in History and Historical Memory*, ed. P. Olivelle. 109–144. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 2012. "Aśoka: Model Ruler Without Name?" In *Reimagining Aśoka: Memory and History*, ed. P. Olivelle, J. Leoshko, H.P. Ray. 362–379. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2016. "The Order of the *Dharma* and the Order of Rulership: On the Relationship between Monastic Community and Worldly Power in the History of Buddhism." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 50: 297–314.

- Deegalle, Mahinda. 1996. "Buddhist Principles of Democracy: An Exploration of Ethical and Philosophical Foundations." *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyo Kenkyu)* 26: 89–107.
- . 2006. "JHU Politics for Peace and a Righteous State." In *Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle. 233–254. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 2008. "Sustainable Development and Buddhism." In *Religion, Science and Sustainability*, ed. Takeshi Kimura. 95–114. Osaka: Union Press.
- . 2009. "Religious Concerns in the Ethno-politics of Sri Lanka." *The Mahachulalongkorn Journal of Buddhist Studies* 2: 79–109.
- . 2012. "Contested Religious Conversions of Buddhists in Sri Lanka and India." In *Dharmapracicaya: Aspects of Buddhist Studies—Essays in Honour of N.H. Samtani*, ed. Lalji Shrivak and Charles Willemen. 71–101. Delhi: Buddhist World Press.
- . 2013. "'Foremost Among Equals': Theravada Buddhism's Affairs with the Modern State in Lanka." In *Buddhism and State in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. John Whalen-bridge and Pattana Kitiarsa. 41–61. New York: Palgrave.
- . 2014. "The Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia." In *Religion, War, and Ethics: A Sourcebook of Textual Traditions*, ed. Gregory M. Reichberg, Henrik Syse and Nicole M. Hartwell. 544–596. New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2015a. "The Analysis of Social Conflicts in Three Pali Canonical Discourses." In *Buddhism and World Crisis*, ed. P.S. Vuddhikaro et al. The 12<sup>th</sup> International Buddhist Conference on UN Vesak Day. 87–95. Wan Noi, Thailand: Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University.

- Coningham, Robin, K.P. Acharya and C. Davis. 2015. "Archaeological Evidence and the Historicity of the Buddha: Lumbini." In *Vesak, Peace and Harmony: Thinking of Buddhist Heritage*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle. 59–82. Bollegala, Kelaniya: Nāgānanda International Buddhist University.
- Cunningham, Alexander. 1877. *Inscriptions of Aśoka*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing.
- Conze, Edward. 1959. *Buddhist Scriptures*. Middlesex: Penguin.
- Davidson, Richard. 2013. *The Emotional Life of Your Brain*. London: Penguin.
- de Silva, Lily. 2003. *Cakkavatti Monarchy of the Pali Canon as a Democratic Meritocracy*. Nedimala: Buddhist Cultural Centre.
- de Silva, Padmasiri. 2014. *An Introduction to Buddhist Psychology and Counselling: Pathways of Mindfulness-Based Therapies*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2017. *Pathways of Somatic Intelligence: Body-Mind Relations in Buddhist Contemplative Practice and Current Neuro Science*. London: Palgrave Macmillan Springer.
- Deeg, Max. 2009. "From the Iron-Wheel to Bodhisattvahood: Aśoka in Buddhist Culture and Memory." In *Aśoka in History and Historical Memory*, ed. P. Olivelle. 109–144. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- . 2012. "Aśoka: Model Ruler Without Name?" In *Reimagining Aśoka: Memory and History*, ed. P. Olivelle, J. Leoshko, H.P. Ray. 362–379. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2016. "The Order of the *Dharma* and the Order of Rulership: On the Relationship between Monastic Community and Worldly Power in the History of Buddhism." *Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 50: 297–314.

- Deegalle, Mahinda. 1996. "Buddhist Principles of Democracy: An Exploration of Ethical and Philosophical Foundations." *Buddhist Studies (Bukkyo Kenkyu)* 26: 89–107.
- . 2006. "JHU Politics for Peace and a Righteous State." In *Buddhism, Conflict and Violence in Modern Sri Lanka*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle. 233–254. London and New York: Routledge.
- . 2008. "Sustainable Development and Buddhism." In *Religion, Science and Sustainability*, ed. Takeshi Kimura. 95–114. Osaka: Union Press.
- . 2009. "Religious Concerns in the Ethno-politics of Sri Lanka." *The Mahachulalongkorn Journal of Buddhist Studies* 2: 79–109.
- . 2012. "Contested Religious Conversions of Buddhists in Sri Lanka and India." In *Dharmapracaya: Aspects of Buddhist Studies—Essays in Honour of N.H. Samtani*, ed. Lalji Shrivak and Charles Willemen. 71–101. Delhi: Buddhist World Press.
- . 2013. "Foremost Among Equals': Theravada Buddhism's Affairs with the Modern State in Lanka." In *Buddhism and State in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. John Whalen-bridge and Pattana Kitiarsa. 41–61. New York: Palgrave.
- . 2014. "The Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia." In *Religion, War, and Ethics: A Sourcebook of Textual Traditions*, ed. Gregory M. Reichberg, Henrik Syse and Nicole M. Hartwell. 544–596. New York & Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2015a. "The Analysis of Social Conflicts in Three Pali Canonical Discourses." In *Buddhism and World Crisis*, ed. P.S. Vuddhikaro et al. The 12<sup>th</sup> International Buddhist Conference on UN Vesak Day. 87–95. Wan Noi, Thailand: Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University.

- . 2015b. "Introduction: Internationalization of Vesak." In *Vesak, Peace and Harmony: Rethinking of Buddhist Heritage*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle. 1–30. Bollegala, Kelaniya: Nāgānanda International Buddhist University.
- . 2015c. "The Significance of Vesak as Public Celebration." In *Vesak, Peace and Harmony: Rethinking of Buddhist Heritage*, ed. Mahinda Deegalle. 31–49. Bollegala, Kelaniya: Nāgānanda International Buddhist University.
- . 2016. "Visions of the *Dharmarāja*: 'Just Ruler' in Theravāda Buddhist Societies in South and Southeast Asia." *Anveṣaṇā: Journal of the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies, University of Kelaniya* 7: 30–70.
- Del Testa, David W. (ed.). 2001. *Government Leaders, Military Rulers, and Political Activists: Lives and Legacies—An Encyclopedia of People Who Changed the World*. Westport, Conn.: Oryx Press.
- Depsiddhā, Somporn. 2016. *Dhamma and the Science of the King*. Bangkok: Thailand's National Legislative Assembly.
- Dostoevsky, Fyodor. 2007. *Crime and Punishment*. London: Vintage Books.
- DRMC. [n.d.]. *Religion in Thailand*. A publication of Department of Religion, Ministry of Culture (DRMC). Bangkok: Rungsilpa Press (in Thai).
- Durkheim, Emile. 1975. "The Laws of Penal Evolution". In *Economy and Society* 2 (3): 285–308
- . 2013. "The Rule of the Sociological Method". In *Durkheim and the Law*, ed. St Lukes and A. Scull. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eppsteiner, F. (ed.). 1988. *The Path of Compassion: Writings on Socially Engaged Buddhism*. Berkeley, CA: Parallax Press.
- Falk, Harry. 2006. *Aśokan Sites and Artifacts: A Source Book with Bibliography*. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

- Fenn, M.L. 1991. "Unjustified Poverty and Karma (Pali Kamma)." *Religious Studies and Theology* (Alberta) 11 (1): 20–26.
- . 1996. "Two Notions of Poverty in the Pāli Canon." *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, 3: 98–125.
- Fernando, Danister I. 2017. "Dasa-Raja-Dhamma: The Ten Royal Virtues." www Virtual Library – Sri Lanka: <http://www.lankalibrary.com/Bud/dasa-raja-dhamma.htm> (Site accessed 25 January 2017).
- Frasch, Tilman. 1996. *Pagan. Stadt und Staat*. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- . 1998. "A Buddhist Network in the Bay of Bengal: Relations between Bodhgaya, Burma and Sri Lanka, c. 300–1300." In *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous Notes*, ed. Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak. 69–93. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . Forthcoming. *Bagan Epigraphic Digest*. [Online database].
- "G". 2012. "10 Duties of a King." Buddha Space: Readings, Reflections and Reviews, 9 July 2012: <http://buddhaspace.blogspot.co.uk/2012/07/buddhism-by-numbers-10-duties-of-king.html> (accessed 25 January 2017).
- Geiger, Magdalene and Wilhelm Geiger. 1920. "Pāli Dhamma, vornehmlich in der kanonischen Literatur." *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Gelder, Kierra Van. 2010. *The Buddha and the Borderline: A Memoir*. Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Publications.
- Ghashal, U.N. 1959. *A History of Indian Political Ideas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giustarini, Giuliano. 2012. "The Role of Fear (*Bhaya*) in the *Nikāyas* and in the *Abhidhamma*." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 40: 511–531.
- Gokhale, B.G. 1966. "Early Buddhist Kingship." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26 (1): 15–22.

- Gombrich, Richard F. 1988. *Theravāda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Gomez, Luis (trans.). 1996. *The Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light: Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhavativyuha Sutras*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Gomez, Luis (trans.). 1996. *The Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light: Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhavativyuha Sutras*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Graham, John, Bruce Amos and Tim Plumptre. 2003. *Principles for Good Governance in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Policy Brief No. 15. August 2003: <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/UNPAN/UNPAN011842.pdf>
- Grossman, Nicholas (ed.). 2012. *King Bhumibol Adulyadej: A Life Work*. Bangkok: Editions Didier Millet.
- Gunawardana, R.A.L.H. 1979. *Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka*. Tucson: University Press of Arizona.
- Günther, Herbert. 1942. "Der Mahānāgakula Sandeśa (*Mānāvūlu Sandēśaya*)." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 49: 257–281.
- Guruswamy, Lakshman and Nicholas Doman. 2016. "Justice in a Reformed Constitution: Recalling the Legacy of King Ashoka." *Daily News* (Tuesday, 19 July 2016) (online edition: <http://www.dailynews.lk/?q=2016/07/19/features/87884>, accessed 07-10-2016).
- Halkias, Georgios. 2014. "When the Greeks Converted the Buddha: Asymmetrical Transfers of Knowledge in Indo-Greek Communities." In *Religions and Trade. Religious Formation, Transformation and Cross-Cultural Exchange*

- between East and West*, ed. Peter Wick and Volker Rebens. 65–115. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Handlin, Lilian. 2012. "The King and His *Bhagavā*: The Meanings of Pagans Early *Theravādas*." In *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. 165–236. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Harris, Elizabeth J. 1997. *Detachment and Compassion in Early Buddhism*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society (online version).
- Harvey, Peter. 2000. *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: Foundations, Values and Issues*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hultzsch, E. 1925. *Inscriptions of Aśoka* (New Edition). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jayatilleke, K.N. 1991. *Dhamma, Man and Law*. Singapore: Buddhist Research Society.
- Jerryson, M.K. and M. Juergensmeyer (ed.). 2010. *Buddhist Warfare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, John Garrett. 1979. *Tales and Teachings of the Buddha: The Jātaka Stories in Relation to the Pāli Canon*. London, Boston and Sydney: George, Allen and Unwin.
- Josh, Bhagavan. 2012. "Aśoka: Historical Discourse and the Post-colonial Indian State." In *Reimagining Aśoka: Memory and History*, ed. P. Olivelle, J. Leoshko and H.P. Ray. 394–407. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kemper, Steven. 2015. *Recued from the Nation: Anagarika Dharmapala and the Buddhist World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Keown, Damien. 1998. "Are There 'Human Rights' in Buddhism?" In *Buddhism and Human Rights*, ed. Damien V. Keown, Charles S. Prebish and Wayne R. Husted. 15–42. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press.

- . Forthcoming. "Human Rights." In *The Oxford Handbook of Buddhist Ethics*, ed. Daniel Cozort and James Mark Shields. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kern, Fritz. 1956. *Aśoka, Kaiser und Missionar*. Bern: Francke Verlag.
- Kyi, Aung San Suu. 1991. "In Quest of Democracy." In *Freedom From Fear and Other Writings*. 167–179. London: Penguin.
- Lahiri, Nayanjot. 2015. *Ashoka in Ancient India*. Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press.
- Lauren, Paul Gordon. 2013. "The Foundations of Justice and Human Rights in Early Legal Texts and Thought." In *The Oxford Handbook of International Human Rights Law*, edited by Diana Shelton. 163–193. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lottermoser, Eva. 1987. "Minor Pali Grammar Texts. The *Saddabindu* and Its 'New' Subcommentary." *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 11: 79–109.
- Loy, David R. 2000. "How to Reform a Serial Killer: The Buddhist Approach to Restorative Justice." *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* 7: 145–68.
- . 2009. "The War President . . . and the Importance of Politically Engaged Buddhism," *Lion's Roar* website, 7 December 2009. <http://www.lionsroar.com/opinion-david-r-loy-on-barack-obama-the-war-president/>, accessed 16 February 2017.
- Mahānāma Thera. 1950. *The Mahāvamsa or The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*. Translated into English by Wilhelm Geiger and Mabel Haynes Bode. Colombo: The Ceylon Government Information Department.
- Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. 1890–1911. Edited by T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpenter. 3 volumes. London: PTS.

- The Mindful Justice Initiative Report*. 2016. Prison Mindful Institute and the Center for Mindfulness and Criminal Justice (USA).
- Moore, Matthew J. 2016. *Buddhism and Political Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mun, Chanju (ed.). 2006. *Buddhism and Peace: Theory and Practice*. Honolulu: Blue Pine.
- Mun, Chanju and Ronald S. Green (ed.). 2006. *Buddhist Exploration of Peace and Justice*. Honolulu: Blue Pine.
- Munshi, Surendra, Biju Paul Abraham and Soma Chaudhuri (ed.). 2009. *The Intelligent Person's Guide to Good Governance*. Los Angeles, London: Sage Publications.
- Ñānānanda Thera, Kaṭukurundē. 1971. *Concept and Reality*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Nattier, Jan. 1991. *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*. Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press.
- Nehru, Jawaharlal. 1985. *The Discovery of India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Neumayer, Peter. 2003. *The Pattern of Aid Giving: The Impact of Good Governance on Development Assistance*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Nikam, N.A. and Richard McKeon (ed. & trans.). 1978. *The Edicts of Aśoka*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Norman, K.R. 1995. *The Group of Discourses: Sutta Nipāta*. Volume II. Oxford: Pali Text Society.
- . 1997. "Buddhism and Aśoka." In *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*, ed. K.R. Norman. *The Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures of 1994*. 96–109. London: Pali Text Society.
- . 2008. "Aśoka's Thirteenth Rock Edict." In *A Philological Approach to Buddhism*, ed. K.R. Norman. *The Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai Lectures 1994*. 147–169. Oxford: Pali Text Society.



- Obama, Barack. 2016. "Remarks to the People of Laos," 6 September: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/09/06/remarks-president-obama-people-laos>
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 1984. *The Cult of the Goddess Pattini*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Obeyesekere, G. and F. Reynolds. 1972. *The Two Wheels of Dhamma: Essays on the Theravada Tradition in India and Ceylon*. Chambersburg, Penn.: American Academy of Religion.
- Olivelle, Patrick. 2012. "Aśoka's inscriptions as text and ideology." In *Reimagining Aśoka: Memory and History*, ed. P. Olivelle, J. Leoshko and H.P. Ray. 157–183. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- . 2013. *King, Governance and Law in Ancient India: Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra—A New Annotated Translation*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- . (ed. and trans.). 1999. *Dharmasūtras: The Law Codes of Āpastamba, Gautama, Baudhāyana, and Vasiṣṭha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Payutto, P.A. 2000. *Dictionary of Buddhism*. Bangkok: Mahachulalongkorn Rajavidyalaya Press.
- Peoples, Dion. "The *Dhammarāja*: Textual Utterances and an Examination into Geese Behavior"
- Pichard, Pierre. 1991–1996. *Inventory of the Monuments at Pagan*. 8 vols. Paris: UNESCO and École Française d'Extrême-Orient.
- Premasiri, P.D. 2013–14. "Traditional Buddhist Insights Regarding Principles of Good Governance." *Religions on Good Governance and Democratic Values: Dialogue New Series* (XL & XLI): 1–25.
- Przyluski, Jean. 1923. *La légende de l'empereur Açoka (Açoka-Avadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois*. Paris.

- Rahula, Walpola. 1974. *The Heritage of the Bhikkhu*. New York: Grove Press.
- . 1974. *What the Buddha Taught*. New York: Grove Press.
- . 1992. *Satyōdaya* [The Dawn of Truth]. Colombo: Godage.
- Ray, Himanshu Prabha. 2014. *The Return of the Buddha: Ancient Symbols for a New Nation*. New Delhi: Routledge.
- Reynolds, F.E. & M.B. 1982. *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: A Thai Buddhist Cosmology*. Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 4, Berkeley, CA: Asian Humanities Press.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. (trans.). 1989. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part II. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. (trans.). 1991. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Part III. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- Rhys Davids, T.W. and J. Estlin Carpenter (ed.). 1966. *The Dīgha Nikāya*. Volume II. London: Pali Text Society and Luzac & Company Ltd.
- Rich, B. 2010. *To Uphold the World: A Call For a New Global Ethic From Ancient India*. Boston.
- Saddhatissa, H. 1970. *Buddhist Ethics: Essence of Buddhism*. London: George Allen and Unwin
- Sarachchandra, Ediriweera. 1982. *Dharmīṣṭha Samājaya* [The Righteous Society]. Kelaniya: Samanala Publishers.
- Sattaka Nipāta* of the *Ānguttara Nikāya*. 1885–1900. Edited by Morris and E. Hardy. Volume 4. London: PTS.
- Schonthal, Benjamin. 2016. *Buddhism, Politics and the Limits of Law: The Pyrrhic Constitutionalism of Sri Lanka*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Seldeslachts, Erik. 2007. "Greece, the Final Frontier? The Westward Spread of Buddhism." In *The Spread of Buddhism*, ed. Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher. 131–166. Leiden, Boston: Brill.



- Sen, Amartya. 2009. *The Idea of Justice*. Harvard, Mass.: Belknap Press.
- Senart, E. (ed.). 1882. *Le Mahāvastu*. Paris.
- Seneviratna, Anuradha (ed.). 1994. *King Aśoka and Buddhism: Historical and Literary Studies*. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Seneviratne, H.L. 1999. *The Work of Kings: The New Buddhism of Sri Lanka*. Chicago: The Chicago University Press.
- Sharrock, Peter D. 2009. "Garuḍa, Vajrapāṇi and Religious Change in Jayavarman VII's Angkor." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 40 (1): 111–151.
- Shaw, Sarah. 2006. *The Jātakas: Birth Stories of the Bodhisatta*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- She-haung Myanma Kyauksa-mya [Old Myanmar Inscriptions]. 1974–1984. Edited by Department of Archaeology. 5 vols. Yangon: Department of Archaeology.
- Singh, Ravi Shankar. 2016. "The Teachings of the Buddha and Modern Good Governance in India: Socio-economic Analysis." *Buddhism and Australia Conference*, Perth.
- Skilling, Peter. 2012. "King Rāma I and Wat Chetuphon: The *Buddha-sāsana* in Early Bangkok." In *How Theravāda is Theravāda? Exploring Buddhist Identities*, ed. Peter Skilling et al. 297–352. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books.
- Society for the Integration of Science and Human Values (SISHVa). 2013. *Seminar on "Principles of Good Governance"*. Faculty of Arts, University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, 30 November.
- Spiro, Melford. 1970. *Buddhism and Society*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Strong, John S. 1989. *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the Aśokāvadāna*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- . 1994. "Images of Aśoka: Some Indian and Sri Lankan Legends and Their Development." In Anuradha Seneviratna, *King Aśoka and Buddhism: Historical and Literary Studies*. 141–181. Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society.
- Taisurigadhrama, Bhiñño (ed.). 1992. *Black May*. Bangkok: Amarin Printing and Publishing.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. 1976. *World Conquerer and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thanissaro, Ajahn. 2002. "Freedom from fear." Access to Insight (accessed 1 February 2017): <http://www.accesstoinsight.org/lib/authors/thanissaro/fear.html>
- Thapar, Romila. 1997. *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tilakaratne, Asanga. 2011. "Political Metaphor in the Life of the Buddha." In *Ñānappabhā: A Felicitations Volume in Honour of Venerable Dr. Pategama Gnanarama Maha Thera*, ed. Rangama Chandawimala Thera. 154–164. Singapore: Tisarana Buddhist Association.
- Traibhumikatha: The Story of the Three Planes of Existence by King Lithai*. 1985. Translated by the Thai National Team for Anthology of Asian Literatures, vol. 1a. Bangkok: The ASEAN Committee on Culture and Information. Available online at [http://www.li.mahidol.ac.th/e-resource/asean\\_ebook/10/](http://www.li.mahidol.ac.th/e-resource/asean_ebook/10/), accessed 16 February 2017.
- Tu, Thich Nahat. 2015. *Engaged Buddhism, Social Change and World Peace*. Vietnam: Religion Press.
- U Pe Maung Tin and Gordon H. Luce (tr.). 1923. *The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma*, London: Oxford University Press.
- . (comp.). 1934–1956. *Inscriptions of Burma*. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- U Than Tun. 1978. "History of Buddhism in Burma, A.D. 1000–1300." *Journal of the Burma Research Society* 61 (1 & 2): 1–266.
- U Tin Lwin. 1974. "Note on King Kyazwa's Bequest." *Oriens Extremus* 21 (2): 261–265.
- United Nations Day of Vesak (UNDV). 2007a. *Commemorative Book Buddhist Contributions to Good Governance and Development 2007*. Bangkok: UNDV.
- United Nations Day of Vesak (UNDV). 2007b. *Selected Papers on Buddhist Contributions to Good Governance and Development*. Bangkok: UNDV.
- Walshe, Maurice. 1987. *Thus I Have Heard: The Long Discourses of the Buddha, Dīgha Nikāya*. London: Wisdom Publications.
- . 2012. *The Long Discourses of the Buddha*. Boston: Wisdom Publications.
- Weber, Max. 1958. *The Religion of India*. Translated and edited by Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958.
- Wells, H.G. 1920. *The Outline of History*. New York: Garden City Publishing.
- Whalen-bridge, John and Pattana Kitiarsa (ed.) 2013. *Buddhism and State in South and Southeast Asia*. New York: Palgrave.
- Yamazaki, M. and Y. Ousaka (Compilers). 2003. *Index to the Jātaka*. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- Yoshinori, Takeuchi (ed.). 1980. *Buddhist Spirituality: Indian, Southeast Asian, Tibetan and Early Chinese*. Volume 1. London: Alban Books Ltd.