

Contents |

	Introduction: Religion and Politics—a Volatile Mix	1
	<i>William Scott Green</i>	
One	Judaism	11
	<i>Jacob Neusner</i>	
Two	Primitive and Early Christianity	37
	<i>Bruce D. Chilton</i>	
Three	Roman Catholic Christianity	61
	<i>Charles E. Curran</i>	
Four	Orthodox Christianity	85
	<i>Petros Vassiliadis</i>	
Five	Reformation Christianity	107
	<i>Martin E. Marty</i>	
Six	Classical Islam	131
	<i>John L. Esposito with Natana J. De Long-Bas</i>	
Seven	Modern Islam	159
	<i>John L. Esposito with Natana J. De Long-Bas</i>	
Eight	Hinduism	185
	<i>Brian K. Smith</i>	
Nine	Confucianism	213
	<i>Mark Csikszentmihalyi</i>	
Ten	Buddhism: The Politics of Compassionate Rule	233
	<i>Todd Lewis</i>	
	Conclusion: Retrospective on Religion and Politics	257
	<i>Jacob Neusner</i>	
	Glossary	261
	Contributors	267
	Index	269

God's Rule | The Politics of World Religions |

Jacob Neusner, Editor

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY PRESS
Washington, D.C. 2003

Todd Lewis

"But what, Lord Buddha, is it that must rule the king?"

"It is the Dharma, monk!" replied the Buddha.

— *Anguttara Nikaya* III, cxxxii

THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.E. IN NORTHERN INDIA WAS A TIME OF SPIRITUAL SEEKING unparalleled in the history of religions. Among the many individual teachers then regarded as having attained *nirvāna*, an exalted state of salvation, was one who called himself a "Buddha," one "awakened" by having seen reality clearly and fearlessly.¹ Feeling compassion for beings who suffered on the wheel of life and death, he founded the world's first missionary religion, created a community of monks and nuns (the *sangha*) who adopted his ascetic norms and meditative practices, and shared his teachings with all interested in hearing them, inspiring many and leading a few to enlightenment. The Buddha, born a prince, had renounced his own line to a royal throne; his early *sangha*, too, was taught to cultivate detachment from the householder's lifestyle, and so entanglements in worldly politics.

So for the student of world religions—and even for many scholars of Buddhism—a discussion of this religious tradition's relationship to politics might seem to be a strange, even barren, concern. Given the typical focus in the West on Buddhist texts dealing with philosophical beliefs and soteriological practices of the exemplary *sangha*, one might be tempted to view politics from the perspective of the spiritual elite and conclude that Buddhism counsels aloofness and that Buddhists should remain unconcerned with both worldly power and politics. Such an interpretation, however, would be lacking in the most rudimentary sociohistorical awareness and ignore a large corpus of canonical and popular texts. As it gained ever wider popularity beyond the ascetics and spread out of its region of origin, the Buddhist tradition developed in breadth and scope so that soon after the Buddha's death, most Buddhists were householders (more than 95 percent in most societies) and few—even among the monastic elite (as we will see)—were aloof from political concerns. In fact, we know that rulers across Asia were drawn to support Buddhism because of its positive contributions to political life: its emphasis on individual morality promoting social stability, its rituals designed to secure prosperity for the state as well as officials in power, and its authority through its respected monastics to bestow legitimization on rulers.

Buddhism has found acceptance in many kinds of societies, from nomadic communities to urbanized polities, from the tropics to the vast grasslands of northern Asia, from the Arabian Sea to the Pacific Ocean. One reason for this religion's successful trans-Asian pilgrimage has been not only an inspiring vision of the cosmos and salvation, but also its promise of householders securing worldly prosperity, participating in a moral civilization, and achieving a heavenly rebirth.

From its inception, Buddhism achieved broad support due to its flexibility, both doctrinal and institutional. This distinctive characteristic is based in part on the essential Buddhist belief that both individuals and societies are different as a result of possessing different karmic backgrounds—that is, persons have different past lives and so inherit unique and widely varying personalities, moral natures, and habits. Over time, even the same societies are subject to great changes as well. Buddhist acceptance of pluralism in social life is also due to the tradition's vast library of sacred literature but with no one text, canon, or institution ever gaining universal acceptance. Like all world religions, then, Buddhism is multivocalic; with few exceptions,² religious authority has been decentralized wherever the tradition has taken root. Before constructing a composite "Buddhist view of politics," then, it is important to note that in fact Buddhist political thought and practice were always region-specific and that this portrait necessarily entails broad generalizations.

The Classical Sources of Buddhism on Politics

The canons assembled by the major Indic schools that arose during the first 1,000 years after Shākyamuni Buddha (d. 480 or 380 B.C.E.) contain the most important sources for this study. These texts were redacted by monks, and most sections contain the Buddha's discourses on doctrine, monastic issues, and religious matters of prime interest to only monks and nuns. The religious concerns of householders, and any pronouncements regarding political philosophy, quite naturally found little place among long treatises discussing meditation methods, detailed philosophical analyses, or monastic discipline. It is instead in the canonical (and postcanonical) "popular texts" addressed to the householder community where political power and norms of rule find greater iteration.

Jātakas and *avadānas*, story narratives concerned with the previous lives of the Buddha, contain many sources of guidance in this domain (Brown 1955). Well over 800 of these story traditions exist, many in multiple recensions, and these were collected by all the canonical schools and woven into commentaries as well (e.g., Jones 1949–56; Khoroché 1990). Many relate teachings on the issue of political power. In these tales, the future Buddha Shākyamuni (properly termed a *bodhisattva*, "future Buddha") is often born in a ruling family; in many other narratives, he has dealings with political figures.

It is important to recognize that these "popular" stories were the most circulated sources for imparting Buddhist norms and doctrine across the broad sweep of Asian communities. Evidence for the centrality of these rebirth narratives comes from their early collection and the vast accumulation of story collections, indicating popular interest in these parables and the universal need for monkscholars to redact them for use in teaching student-monks and householders. The ubiquitous place of these stories in Buddhist societies is made clear from the plethora of sculptures and paintings at *stūpas* and monasteries that illustrate key scenes from the most popular stories. This wealth of cultural evidence implies that from the earliest days onward it was the story narratives that shaped the spiritual imaginations and fixed the moral landmarks in the minds of most Buddhists, including the great majority of monks and nuns. That these "popular" stories were taken seriously and read carefully by the literati is confirmed by their translation into various vernacular languages and their use in the legal systems of Southeast Asia.

Another important source for our treatment of Buddhism and politics is a text that began as a letter from the famous philosopher Nāgārjuna that he addressed to a north Indian king, Gautamipūtra Shatakarni (80–104 C.E.). This work devotes several chapters to the norms of just kingship and the practices of political rule, in certain areas down to specific policy recommendations; its circulation and importance went far beyond this ruler, because the text was eventually translated into Chinese and Tibetan (Hopkins 1998).

The life of Buddha constitutes another key source. Buddhists, like Muslims, have looked to the small and large details of their founder's life to inspire their own actions. Building on the scattered sources from the canons, and from oral sources now lost, monastic authors composed sacred biographies that recount the final life of the boy named Siddhārtha: a prince who is born in the modest Shākya kingdom located in the foothills of the Himalayas; who finds the householder life unsatisfying, leaves palace, wife, and child behind to pursue spiritual practices; and who achieves enlightenment, founding a community of celibate renunciants and householder supporters whom he leads for more than forty years until his death. These biographies draw upon the canonical sources that record pronouncements on a vast variety of subjects. For more than the past twenty-five centuries, Buddhists have carefully examined and interpreted these sources on almost every conceivable issue, both transcendental and pragmatic, including those pertaining to political power.

Buddhism's Theory of Politics

The very scattered passages in the monastic texts concerned with political thought and power relations might suggest that this area was only of tangential

concern to the Buddha and his monastic followers, the monks and nuns of the *sangha*. The consistent concern in the canons for insuring good *sangha*-state relations, however, suggests that the Buddha and his early community took these matters very seriously (Thapar 1980).

In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, a popular text recounting the last months of his life, the Buddha lavishes praise on the Vajjian people, whose small ethnic state is ruled by a form of republican democracy and an ideology of social equality. He lauds their strength, justice, and social solidarity as a model to inspire the Buddhist *sangha*—his community of monks, nuns, and dedicated householders—after his own demise. (Modern Buddhist politicians have utilized this text to support their advocacy of republican democracy.)

But the world in which the Buddha lived, and in which early Buddhism flourished, was that in which kingship was the norm. (The Vajjian state was in fact eventually annexed by the kingdom of Magadha.) Political thought in the Buddhist sources very predominantly assumes the reality of kingship. In fact, one canonical passage explaining the origins of the world asserts that the evolution of the institution of kingship was a natural stage in the world's development, one in response to the world's degeneration from earlier eras when virtue was so strong that no rules or rulers were even needed. Kingship comes into existence and is needed to continue society's resistance against anarchy. Buddhaghosa's summary of the Pali Canon's creation account from the *Aggana Sutta* recounts the origin of kingship:

Then they instituted boundary lines [on the land] and one steals another's share. After . . . the third time . . . they beat the offender with fists, earth clods, with sticks, etc. When thus stealing, reproof, lying, and violence had sprung up among them, they come together and said, "What if we elect some one of us, who shall get angry with him who merits anger, reproof, and banish him who merits banishment. . . . He was called the 'Great Elected One,' 'Lord of Fields,' . . . [and] 'King.'"³

And who becomes the world's first king? The commentary asserts that it was the future Buddha. This canonical text thus contains two original theories of political authority introduced by Buddhism into Indian political thought: a social compact theory that included a justification of social class and property rights; and a governmental contract theory for kingship (Gard 1962, 44).

The "natural law" of kingship in Buddhist thought is extended in the narratives imagining the animal and oceanic realms as well, with single species ruling ecological regions, and individuals within species assuming the role as king⁴ (and, at times, queen). Because there is near-universal agreement among Buddhists that since the Buddha's demise the world has been on a downward spiritual and ethical course (Nattier 1991), subsequent writers when treating political rule assume that kingship is the norm.

Buddhist texts provide religious support for the place of kingship in society. Following the example of the Buddha in his last lifetime (and many births before this), which began when he was born as a crown prince, Buddhist doctrine sees an individual who becomes king doing so as the result of extremely good karma, a reward for almost immeasurable spiritual development in past lifetimes. Like the future Buddha in many incarnations, just kings can do great spiritual good; kingship's power can also be the cause of rapid descent into hells or lower births if the wealth and power over the multitudes is used selfishly or for evil.⁵ Due to their potential for evildoing, Buddhist texts of all schools describe kings as a potential "danger" (along with bandits, snakes, poisons, fire, shipwreck) and commonly counsel great care in dealing with them.

What the tradition offers kings is to substitute a greater legitimacy based on *Dharma* (Pali, *Dhamma*; righteousness, justice, spiritual power) and the charisma of adhering to it for the legitimacy of rule based on power or mere inheritance (Gokhale 1969, 735). If this path is taken, a state can become a moral institution.

Even with his praise of the Vajjian republic, the Buddha's own rules in the *Vinaya* (the canonical books of monastic discipline) clearly advocate adapting to the laws and social practices of the region's monarchies. For example, no one could become a monk who was a deserter from a royal army or an escaped criminal; state law must also not be broken in other domains, because debtors could not join the order nor could slaves escape their masters; likewise, civil customs had to be respected, such as children having parental permission to become novice monks or nuns and spouses having to secure their partner's consent to receive ordination. Contrary to an oft-repeated stereotype about Buddhism in its early north Indian context, in no way can Buddhism be seen as a "social reform" movement. Throughout its first 1,700 years in India, there was no attempt to end the caste system or institute gender equality. Even within the *sangha*, the Buddha conformed to the patriarchal norms of his times and required all nuns to submit to the authority of monks.

Political power in Buddhist polities is founded on the Buddha's view that society should be organized with a spiritual exchange connecting householders with the monastic community in a symbiotic relationship. Buddhist institutions have always depended upon the laity making donations to them to earn merit and to garner worldly blessings for themselves, their families, and their communities. The *sangha*, in turn, was expected to maintain the rules of communal life and be spiritually virtuous, guaranteeing that the laity would earn good karma. Through their material support, monks and nuns could garner the resources for living simply, engage in spiritual practices, study, and preserve the tradition. As the faith developed and grew, the *sangha* also acquired lands and buildings that were donated, and it drew children from families to join the *sangha* wherever it took root. It also offered the *Dharma* to the householders through its monastics' public and

private teaching. This central set of exchanges maintained Buddhism in ancient Indian society, and across Asia, and it was the political ruler who had to oversee its functioning (figure 10.1).

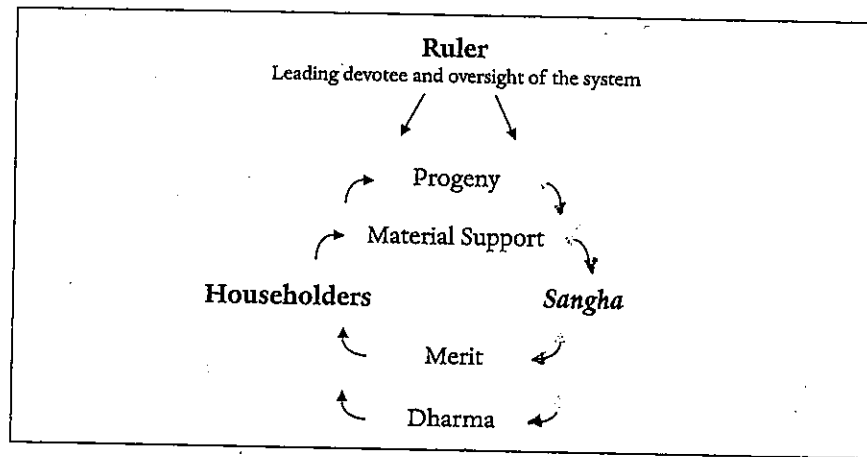


Figure 10.1. Ideal Religio-Political Exchanges in Buddhist Society

One distinctive weakness of Buddhism throughout its history was that it depended upon the state to protect this exchange and to maintain civil laws and civic order. Thus, Buddhist institutions relied on secular political to prosper.⁶ Another dependency on outsiders concerned the maintenance of monastic discipline; although highly specific canonical guidelines set forth the rules by which monastic discipline was to be maintained, including the expulsion of those who broke the norms, the *sangha* still depended on the state to enforce such orders, because kings were invited to “purify the *sangha*” when conditions warranted (Rahula 1956, 67). Again, this essential juridical role indicates the importance of political relations in the maintenance of Buddhist institutions.

But this service was not a one-sided relationship. Leading monks in the *sangha* could offer those wielding political power the very highest terms of religious legitimation in the eyes of the Buddhist citizenry. The good king (governor, local official et al.) could be called a *dharmiko dharmarāja* (“just and righteous king”), *dharmarāja* (“just king”), *priyadarshī* (“one who sees the good [of others]”), or *mahāsattva* (“great being”). The terms *bodhisattvarāja* (“king who is a being [to be] enlightened”) or *bodhisattvāvatāra* (“incarnation of a bodhisattva”) were used across the Buddhist world,⁷ usually implying that the ruler was considered the current incarnation of the future Buddha Maitreya (Sarkisyanz 1965).

The highest level of praise is reserved for the most extraordinary Buddhist king. He was the *cakravartin* (“wheel-turning just ruler and zealous devotee”), a

spiritual ruler who sets the wheel of the Dharma in motion and establishes a just state, possesses miraculous possessions and assistance, and whose rule is marked by various supernatural signs. This figure, who is also recognized as a Hindu saint in Brahmanical political theory, in Buddhist reckoning is second in cosmic importance only to the Buddha.⁸

Despite the respect that the *sangha* may extend to those in political power, it is noteworthy that the Vinaya nonetheless contained a strict monastic rule that no monk or nun must ever bow to any secular authority, rulers included. This norm, to be observed regardless of a monk or nun’s approval for a particular king, asserts symbolically that receiving ordination means moving into a form of existence that has transcended the householder’s. The rule also seems intended to have the *sangha* act in unison, and not be divided by personal attachments of individual monks or nuns to political figures. It is also important to note that a bad king could be boycotted by the *sangha*, with monks and nuns uniting to “invert their bowls” and thereby refuse to accept meritorious alms and so proclaim that the individual is not worthy of his office.⁹ Because individuals likewise hold power legitimately due to their righteousness, those who fail to maintain this standard can also be removed.

From antiquity to the present, there have been individual monks noted for their service to specific kings, none more significant than the monk who converted the ruler Ashoka, the monarch who first spread Buddhism throughout South Asia and beyond, and whose rule set the most important precedent for *sangha*-political relations thereafter. We now need to turn to this pivotal and paradigmatic political figure.

The Medium of Expressing Politics in Buddhism

When the world conquest campaign of Alexander the Great (355–323 B.C.E.) faltered in northwestern India, the small states on the Indus River weakened by his incursions were subdued and integrated into India’s first great empire, that of the Chandragupta Maurya. When his grandson Ashoka (274–236 B.C.E.) assumed the throne, he followed Hindu norms of rulership, later set forth in the *Arthashastra*,¹⁰ consolidated his frontier regions with brute force, directing an assault at Kalinga, a coastal region-encompassing modern Orissa. The widespread destruction and bloodshed that his army caused in securing his victory, however, greatly dismayed Ashoka.

At just this time, the emperor encountered a charismatic Buddhist monk and became a staunch devotee. Now that he had extended the Mauryan empire across most of the Indian subcontinent, Ashoka sent ambassadors and scribes throughout his realm to explain “the Dharma” that the emperor embraced, and these reached the borders of his state, and beyond.

Ashoka's edicts—inscribed on rocks and tall pillars—were both general and specific in their explanation of Dharma, a principle he held as key to creating a good society. In Pillar Edict I, he writes, "Dharma is good. But what does Dharma consist of? It consists of few sins and many good deeds, of kindness, liberality, truthfulness, and purity."¹¹ Although several inscriptions allude to the value of meditation, Ashoka's chief concern was for Buddhism to be a moral force in society: "One should obey one's father and mother. One should respect the supreme value and sacredness of life. One should speak the truth. One should practice these virtues of Dharma."¹²

Having stated these principles and had them placed in prominent public places, Ashoka also sought to have his bureaucracy administer the empire with reference to them: "My officials of all ranks—high, low, and intermediate—act in accordance with the precepts of my instruction. . . . For these are the rules: to govern according to Dharma, to administer justice according to Dharma, to advance the people's happiness according to Dharma, and to protect them according to Dharma."¹³ In the capital, Ashoka had trees and wells planted to aid travelers, declared certain days when animal slaughter was prohibited, and worked to limit religious conflict (Filliozat 1967).

His inscriptions also indicate that Ashoka went on a pilgrimage to the places where the Buddha had lived; texts recount that he unearthed the Buddha's relics in order to distribute them across his realm, building thousands of new sacred monuments called *stūpas* to enshrine them. Ashoka through his imperial edicts, official policies, and his patronage of notable monks and monasteries helped spread Buddhism from the Bay of Bengal to Afghanistan, from the Himalayan midhills to the island of Sri Lanka. Inscriptions indicate that he had sent emissaries to all the states of the known world, including the Greeks, the Chinese, and some (still unidentified) venues in Southeast Asia. The fate of the distant missions remains uncertain, but in South Asia the definite traces of the first Buddhist monuments (monasteries and *stūpa* shrines) can be dated to this era, as can the first systematic oral collections of the teachings.

Ashoka immeasurably abetted Buddhism's emergence as a broadly based religion that reached beyond the ascetics, one that did—given his strong political leadership—unify a civilization. Buddhist institutions soon dotted the major trade routes going north and south, east and west.

Although Buddhists in India eventually lost awareness of his inscriptions, they preserved memories of Ashoka's actions (with many embellishments) in post-canonical narratives such as the Sanskrit *Ashokāvadāna*,¹⁴ the *Mahāvamsa*, and other chronicles of Sri Lanka (Geiger 1958), and the Thai text *Trai Phum Phra Ruang* (Reynolds and Reynolds 1982, 172–88). Strong summarizes the popularity of the Ashokan paradigm conveyed in the numerous narrative retellings:

Much of the appeal of the figure of Ashoka in the *Ashokāvadāna* lies precisely in the fact that he is both great king and simple layman. On a personal level, this involves him . . . with charismatic Buddhist saints who represent the Buddha and confirm for him his royal status; and, on the other, with abbots and ordinary members of the *sangha* with whom he enjoys a routinized relationship. At the same time, however, as a legendary model for Buddhists everywhere, this duality of roles represents a powerful combination; for as cakravartin and greatest donor of all time, Ashoka clearly was an ideal to inspire, while as a giver of ordinary gifts and routine supporter of the community, he was an example to actually be followed.¹⁵

Buddhist exponents in subsequent centuries invoked Ashoka as a model householder and ruler, one whose example challenged later Buddhist kings to see their vocation as a spiritual one. This idea of Buddhist kingship is expressed directly in this text's recounting of a dialogue between Ashoka and his teacher, the monk Upagupta:

[Upagupta:]

You have established your sovereignty, O Lord,
Keep on ruling conscientiously,
And always honor the precious Triple Gem.

The completely enlightened Buddha, that most excellent charioteer of beings, has entrusted us—you and me—with the safe keeping of his teachings which we are to maintain diligently amidst his flock.

[Ashoka:]

I distributed his reliquaries
And beautified the earth everywhere
With mountain-like *stūpas* of many colors,
With lofty banners and bejeweled parasols.
My son, myself, my house, my wives
The whole earth, even the royal treasure—
There is nothing whatsoever that I have not given up
For the Teaching of the Dharma King.¹⁶

The tradition's memory of Ashoka, then, established that charity, justice, concern with the common good, and generosity toward the *sangha* became the norms by which a "good Buddhist ruler" was measured. Since this time, too, Buddhists saw it as natural that communities had to depend on the assistance of upright rulers to realize their ideal of a moral and spiritual civilization. Only with political support can the *sangha*'s integrity be assured, the Buddha's monuments

be maintained, and the teachings be passed down. In this pattern, Buddhist doctrines, monastic officials, and patrons entered into the secular and political history of the societies where it took root. At times, as with Ashoka, Buddhist monks and institutions were supportive of expansive states providing both political and moral legitimation for their integrating tribal peoples on their frontiers (Falk 1973), a process still ongoing in the mountainous regions of Southeast Asia (Lewis 1994; Tambiah 1984).

The Message of Buddhism's Politics

Just as compassion was the Buddha's central trait—witnessed through his choosing to teach tirelessly for forty years after his enlightenment—so did this ideal become central to Buddhist ethics. In many of the story narratives describing the dilemmas of rule, the recurring message is that political power should be wielded as a means of creating a society where compassion flourishes. Holding political power is not just an end, the coronation of one's past good karma, but the means to an end: shaping the world with justice and kindness. As Gokhale has observed, "The state was not merely a punitive instrument but primarily an agency for the moral transformation of man as a political animal. [The Buddhists] found in morality of a higher order the solution to the dilemma of power" (1966, 20).

In many *jātaka* narratives, a good king's duty is likened to a parent caring for children, or as a son caring for an aged parent.¹⁷ Like the Buddha, a just ruler should understand that in a world marked by suffering, attention to collective welfare is needed; and that being in a position of wielding power, one must bear the burden of moral cultivation and detachment so as to dispatch one's political responsibilities fully. As the great Buddhist monk Buddhaghosa observes in his *Visuddhimagga* (IX, 124):

For the Great Beings' minds retain their balance by giving preference to beings' welfare, by dislike of beings suffering, by the desire for the various successes achieved by beings to last, and by imparting impartiality toward all beings. And to all beings they give gifts, which are a source of pleasure, without discriminating. . . . And in order to avoid doing harm to beings they undertake the precepts of virtue. They practice renunciation for the purpose of perfecting their virtue. They cleanse their understanding for the purpose of non-confusion about what is good and bad for beings. They constantly arouse energy, having beings' welfare and happiness at heart. When they have acquired heroic fortitude through supreme energy, they become patient with beings' many kinds of fault.¹⁸

In the *Buddhacarita*, one of the influential biographies of the Buddha written by the Mahāyāna monk Ashvaghosa (active in the second century C.E.), the ideal

king and the norms of political rule are described in the case of King Suddhodana, the Buddha's father, and the Shākya state he governed. The king "ceased from all evil, practiced all self-restraint, and rewarded the good;" "he surpassed his kindred and citizens by his virtues;" he worshipped the gods and supported brahmins; he commuted the sentences of criminals condemned to death, suppressed anger toward them, and sought to "reform their characters." All his country he viewed "like a father." The effect on the state was profound: "His servants and citizens followed his example, like the senses of one absorbed in contemplation whose mind is abstracted in profound peace."¹⁹ We encounter the idea of virtue's contagiousness again below.

Many popular narratives focusing on kings and the principles that should guide political rule convey a consistent set of virtues, although there are variations in emphasis. In Pali *Jātaka* #376, a sage advises, "O great king, a king should rule his kingdom with righteousness, eschewing the four evil courses, being zealous and full of patience and kindness and compassion."²⁰ Here, an exhortation to the king draws focus to an admonition against anger:

In the village, in the forest, on the sea or on the shore,
Ne'er be angry, prince of warriors 'tis my counsel evermore.²¹

Another Pali story (#387) summarizes the virtues that should be cultivated by compassionate rulers, ending with a sage listing ten political virtues: "Great king, it is good for a king to rule his kingdom by forsaking the ways of wrongdoing, not offending against the ten kingly virtues and acting with just righteousness:

Alms, morals, charity, justice and penitence,
Peace, mildness, mercy, meekness, patience.²²

A similar passage from another Pali story provides an overview of the virtues that are consistently highlighted in individual narratives. It mentions King Janasandha's exemplary practices, especially those that led to his kingdom enjoying prosperity and spirituality:

The good King inspired all India with his almsgiving; the prison doors he opened for good and all the places of execution he destroyed, all the world he protected with the four sorts of beneficence [liberality, affability, impartiality, good rule], he kept the five precepts, observed the holy fasting days, and ruled in righteousness. From time to time, he would gather his subjects and declare the Dharma to them.²³

We now turn to several of the principles of political power that are emphasized again and again in popular Buddhist literature.

Forgiveness and Foregoing Revenge

In a story found in the Theravādin *Vinaya* (X, 2, 20), emphasis on forgiveness as a royal virtue is highlighted, as Prince Dighavu realizes a central ethical lesson: After King Brahmadata murders his parents and destroys their kingdom, he patiently and diligently plots revenge. On the brink of accomplishing it, he recognizes the alternative causalities that would unfold if he undertook immoral or moral action, and sees his only course as forgiveness. With revenge merely a sword thrust away, he relents:

If I should deprive you of life, O king, then your partisans would deprive me of life; my partisans again will deprive those of life. Thus by hatred that hatred would not be appeased.²⁴

The futility of a king or government inflicting capital punishment in karmic terms comes up again and again in the royal narratives, with individual and collective retribution eventually boomeranging back in immediate and/or next life-time effects. In Pali Jātaka #528, for example, when the king captures plotters of a coup against him, the future Buddha convinces him to forgo the ministers' suggestions of the guilty receiving execution or dismemberment, but instead be content with a more humane course: "depriving them of property and after having fettered them and sprinkled them with cow-dung, banishing them into exile." Similar in approach is the widely popular *Simhalasārthabāhu Avadāna*. It tells the story of a caravan trader who is shipwrecked and has his companions trapped and eaten by cannibalistic demonesses; when he later becomes king, he leads an army to attack these murderous spirits, but accepts their surrender in the following terms:

"O Demonesses! After seeing all of your crimes, you deserve to be killed immediately." But after hearing their entreaties for mercy, he continued, "And in this land, you should live no more. You must never come back here so go and live in a dense forest in a far-off land. If you ever return to this town, I will certainly kill you all."²⁵

In a few stories, we find the view expressed that kings should not even resist violent invaders who threaten their domains. In one instance, a king throws open the city gates and admits a marauding gang. After he himself is captured and thrown into a dungeon, the king's only defense is to extend thoughts of *maitrī* (Pali, *metta*; loving-kindness) to his chief tormenter. This causes his captor to feel "great torment in his body," burn as though "with a two-fold flame," and be smitten with great pain.²⁶ A similar story plot is found in Pali Jātaka #351, and the result is the same: Both kings regain their thrones without war or bloodshed.

This same spiritual method of nonviolent defense is evident in other Mahāyāna narratives as well. In one of the stories that is part of the *Pañcarakṣā*,

one of the most popular Buddhist texts translated across northern and eastern Asia, the king responds to invasion by telling the citizens not to fight, as he alone resorts to ritual:

He proclaimed, "My dear subjects! It is my duty to safeguard the country and countrymen. You need not be afraid of anything. I will do all that is needed." After saying this, King Brahmadata bathed and cleansed himself with many kinds of sweet-smelling waters. Purified in body, speech, and mind, the king appended the amulets of the *Pratisarā dhārānī* to his crown and armor, then went alone to meet the enemy. The men in the army of the enemy kings retreated and ran away in a panic.²⁷

In another Mahāyāna story, we find the same threat again, but after the citizens express frank skepticism,²⁸ the king assures them that they can relax because he alone will repel the marauding army relying on his "meritorious actions": "King Brahmadata went to the holy river and bathed. Then he went to the . . . temple that night, fasted, and worshiped Mahākāla.²⁹ He meditated on Mahākāla constantly. . . . As a result, the deity Mahākāla in his terrifying form appeared before the king."³⁰ The king praised Mahākāla and received the boon of the "eight supernormal powers," including being invisible, capability to be invulnerable to enemies, and gaining the power to vanquish enemies. The result? "Armed with such precious powers, when King Brahmadata went like a lion to the battlefield with his hand raised high, his enemies were panic-stricken and ran to him for refuge."³¹

Thus, an observant Buddhist king need not perpetuate the endless cycle of revenge, even on those mindlessly assaulting civil order; instead, he can rely on the powers of tradition themselves: the force of loving-kindness, the causality of karmic retribution, and the power of rituals and chants bestowed by the Buddhas.³²

Support of Buddhism and Spiritual Teachers

The good political ruler, as we have seen, can rely on the force of merit for benefiting his subjects. So it follows that performing meritorious deeds is a central attribute of Buddhist kingship. In the Buddhist reckoning of merit making, no action is more productive of generating good karma than making donations to spiritual seekers, with Buddhist saints the most productive "field of merit." We know from the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang that some Indian kings followed the example of Ashoka and were generous to the ascetics in their realm (Beal 1983, 63), including their sponsoring the *pañcavārsika* ("Five-Year Assembly") that Ashoka reputedly inaugurated, whereby every monk and nun in the *saṅgha* was fed and given robe cloth on a lavish scale (Strong 1983, 91–96). As many of the story narratives also reveal, royal donations to monasteries and sages

were often repaid by their being sources of service to citizens³³ and purveyors of good advice. As one virtuous king notes:

Because, O Prince, I never grudge great sages what is meet:
Ready to pay them honor due, I fall before their feet.

Me envying none, and apt to learn all conduct meet and right,
Wise sages each good precept teach in which they take delight.

I listen to the bidding of these sages great and wise:
My heart is bent to good intent, no counsel I despise.³⁴

If respected, the *sangha* can thus serve as a “repository of the conscience of the state” (Gokhale 1966, 22). Fostering political as well as social stability, members of the *sangha* often served in governmental administration in education, welfare, and in diplomatic relations (Gard 1962, 47).³⁵

Some stories provide a negative lesson on this theme, showing the results of kings failing to heed the advice of wise monks and virtuous counselors. In the case of the *Sringabheri Avadāna*, it is the queen who offers her husband the king some good advice, to cease his daily hunting; ignoring her, he dies young and falls victim to great suffering in his subsequent lifetime.³⁶

The Measure of Wielding Power: Seeking and Promoting Justice

A Buddhist in power must pursue justice in his realm and be just in his ruling practices. The popular texts counsel kings to choose their ministers wisely and monitor their agents carefully. Paying those in their employ regularly and fairly is important.³⁷ Rulers should also respect prisoners and appoint their punishments with compassion; invest in schools, resthouses, water systems, and medicines; exact taxes sensitive to the plight of farmers; and make certain that the police truly protect the citizens. The reckoning of Buddhist justice extends to nonhumans, including animals and suffering spirits.³⁸

Kings in ancient India were often preoccupied with dispute resolution, deciding cases in their courts that arose between individuals. Being fair, not accepting bribes, and implementing a just solution are often cited as moral markers in the *jātaka* narratives.³⁹ In a frame story to one, for example, the Buddha addresses a king from the early state of Kosala: “My lord king,” replied the Master, “To judge a cause with justice and impartiality is the right thing; that is the way to heaven.” He then notes that a king closely following the Buddha’s precepts and acting rightly is not surprising.⁴⁰

Justice must be sought in every part of the kingdom and extended to every kind of individual, regardless of class, caste, or occupation. As the poetic verses in Pali *jātaka* #501 eloquently convey:

To friends and courtiers, warrior king, do righteously; and so
By following a righteous life to heaven the king shall go.
In war and travel, warrior king, do righteously; and so . . .
In town and village, warrior king, do righteously; . . .
In every land and realm, warrior king, do righteously; . . .
To brahmins and ascetics, warrior king, do righteously; . . .
To friends and courtiers, warrior king, do righteously; . . .
To birds and beasts, warrior king, do righteously; . . .
Do righteously, warrior king, from this all blessings flow
By following a righteous life to heaven the king shall go.⁴¹

The Politics of Collective Karma: Buddhist Polity as Commonwealth

It is commonly thought that the karma doctrine of Buddhism (and Hinduism) embraces a strict nexus of individualistic retribution: that is, what one person sows by intended action, one reaps oneself, whether in the present lifetime or in a future rebirth. But in fact this is not the full reality of human connection and karmic causality. *Jātaka* stories told by the Buddha about his previous lives clearly portray how a person’s worldly and spiritual destiny can also be profoundly affected by simple proximity to significant others, especially spouses, shipmates, monks, and kings.⁴²

But the potential for those wielding political power to affect their subjects is a relationship of the greatest magnitude. This truth is memorably and dramatically conveyed in Pali *Jātaka* #276 (a plot line also found in #483 and #494), when the deity Indra seeks to find out why heaven⁴³ is suddenly becoming so crowded. He investigates and discovers that the spiritual rule of a virtuous king is the reason; not only does the king’s virtue lead citizens to reach the heavens, it also leads to the land’s prosperity:⁴⁴

Then their king practiced the Kuru precepts and the Five Virtues. And then in the realm . . . the rain fell; the three fears were allayed; the land became prosperous and fertile . . . and then with his subjects went to fill the heavens.⁴⁵

Many stories about rulers make this point, utilizing the same simile:

Beneath the mild sway of a righteous king,
Like shade from sun-stroke sheltering,
His subjects may all dwell in peace,
Rejoicing in their wealth’s increase.

. . . If the bull a course direct shall steer,
The herd of cows straight follow in his rear.

So should their chief to righteous ways be true,
The common folk injustice will eschew,
And through the realm shall holy peace ensue.⁴⁶

A good king's virtue is highly influential through his example as leader. As another *jātaka* concludes:

Should their chief to righteous ways be true,
The common folk injustice will eschew,
And through the realm shall holy peace ensue.⁴⁷

Another idea found in these stories is that the natural world itself responds to a king's moral actions,⁴⁸ affecting all the citizens as a result.⁴⁹ Pali *Jātaka* #334 provides a good example of this view of connectivity: "In the time of unjust kings, oil, honey, molasses and the like, as well as wild roots and fruits, lose their sweetness and flavor; not only these but the whole realm becomes bad and flavorless; but when the rulers are just, these things become sweet and full of flavor, and the whole realm recovers its tone and flavor."⁵⁰

A king's actions also affect the supernatural beings that share our world, a causal nexus that also can affect an entire nation. This is made clear in Pali *Jātaka* #213, where the result is not collective blessing but collective disaster:

All the spirits that dwell in the realm of Bharu with one mind were angry with the king, and they brought up the sea, and for the space of three hundred leagues they made the kingdom of Bharu as though it were not. And so for the sake of the king of Bharu alone, all the inhabitants of the kingdom perished thus.⁵¹

One final aspect of the king's collective influence is in his role as ritual leader. Ritual acts, in traditional Buddhist assessment, are choreographed moral actions garnering merit, drawing on the canonically sanctioned power inherent in repeating the Buddha's words and venerating his relics or images. Ritual texts for this purpose were translated into all Asian languages and utilized extensively, although few have been translated into Western languages (Lewis 2002). Many of the stories appended to them state that kings are especially enjoined to perform rituals to aid their countries. The most important ritual a king can do for his realm is enshrine or worship the Buddha's relics, or venerate a special Buddha image.

Another example of the linkage between political power and ritual power is the previously cited *Pancarakhā*, a text that contains special chants (*parittas*, *mantras*, *dhāranīs*) that were revealed by the Buddha to help kings protect their cities, farm animals, elicit supernatural assistance, and free the realm of diseases, including epidemics.⁵² The king as promoter of rituals directed to solicit the compassionate intervention of the celestial bodhisattvas was pivotal in the Mahāyāna

Buddhist polities of highland and east Asia, and is featured in many texts, such as in the aforementioned *Simhalasārthabāhu Avadāna*.

Going further is the *Manjusrīmūlakalpa*, an early and widely disseminated Mahāyāna text, that attests that a just king must be on the Buddhist path and one who has produced the thought of enlightenment. In the text's description of the royal consecration, the ritual encodes many of the ideas already mentioned; the king also is asked to identify with Manjushrī, the celestial bodhisattva who symbolically wields a sword that cuts through delusion; and he must strive to be a *cakravartin* ruler who will serve all beings, human and nonhuman (Snellgrove 1959, 205–7).

Buddhism and Nonbelievers: Politics and People outside the Tradition

Whether or not people convert to Buddhist tradition—taking refuge in the Buddha, his teachings, and in the *sangha* of monks and nuns—believers aver that the destiny of all beings in this world is shaped by karma. So whether individuals follow the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path, Buddhists believe that its general moral framework is universal, because all humans must proceed on the same progressive religious path: Starting with morality, one advances through many births to be capable of meditation; and as this is slowly mastered, there is the arising of salvific insight (*prajñā*); when this is complete, there is enlightenment and escape from future rebirth, that is, *nirvāna*.

This cosmic law operates regardless of whether individuals adhere to views of the world at variance with the Buddha's. So from the Buddhist perspective, those who adhere to monotheistic or polytheistic theologies, or who propitiate spirits, or those who are atheists or irreligious . . . are simply immature in their spiritual development, but eventually—in this or future lifetimes—will find the Buddhist path. Therefore, non-Buddhists must certainly be shown compassion because they are simply underdeveloped, like children, in their spiritual capacity. Toleration of non-Buddhists in Buddhist polities follows from this outlook.

What is also striking in the stories we have examined is that kings are urged to support all true spiritual seekers and teachers in their realms, including Brahmins; in many instances, and somewhat surprisingly to non-Buddhists, many texts lack any special call for favoring Buddhist monks or nuns to the neglect of others. So all beings and all spiritual seekers in a polity must be protected by the Buddhist ruler, even foreigners. As one story's praised king reflects on the success of his rule:

Thus merchants prosper, and from many a realm they come and go,
And I protect them. Now the truth, Uposatha, you know.⁵³

So the general Buddhist view of political rule regarding nonbelievers is to accept pluralism, to protect and support all beings regardless of their religious affiliation, and to use power to support morality and mold a compassionate world. The measure of a political regime's success is its citizens' worldly prosperity, justice implemented in the state's workings, the presence of a vital *sangha*, and merit-making practices by citizens that would hold the promise of their heavenly rebirth.

Conclusion

The Buddhist approach to political power and rule builds upon the faith's core philosophy that sees as a universal truth the fact that all beings suffer and that compassion is the ethos to guide human action in the world. Beyond the basic principles articulated in the early texts surveyed, it is important to note that later Buddhist theorists did not develop many finely nuanced policies for wielding political power. In ancient India, however, the detailed articulation of statecraft methods received great attention by Hindu writers. We do know that statecraft in South Asian polities did follow the principles of the *Dharmashastras* and the *Arthashastra*, and not many of those in the Ashokan Buddhist model.

In fact, across the Himalayan, Sri Lankan, and Southeast Asian frontiers of India, where Buddhism spread and established its network of institutions, it was accompanied by Hindu and Brahmanical traditions at the ruling courts. Thus, Hindu theories of divine kingship, rule by force, and royal court ritualism at times influenced these otherwise predominantly Buddhist polities. The history of these frontier countries—up to the present—therefore cannot be viewed as being influenced solely by the Buddhist theories of political rule but by the confluence of these two Indic traditions (Reynolds 1972; Tambiah 1976, 102–31; Pathak 1974; Lewis 1994).

Having surveyed the features of Buddhist political philosophy, its acceptance of religious pluralism, and the universal exhortation not to resist evil or capital retribution, one might finally wonder how the tradition has even survived to the modern era or up to the present. The past 500 years have brought a multilayered and interlinked series of crises to Buddhist Asia: the decline and fall of kingship throughout the Buddhist world (in all countries but Thailand and Bhutan), the forceful imposition of colonial law by foreigners, the imperial quest for wealth, and confrontation with world religions that more readily sanction violence to defend or extend themselves.

Because most of the discourses and prescriptions for political action in Buddhist societies are based upon the presence and necessary intervention of a king, Buddhist societies have faced the unprecedented challenges of colonialism—and now independence—lacking the guidance of primary resources from their canon-

ical tradition. Across Asia, there has been an urgently felt need to redefine the political foundations of Buddhism in a kingless world.⁵⁴ The rise of lay organizations across Asia and the general decline of monastics and monastic influences have dramatically changed the classical balances imagined in the early texts.

Is the history of Buddhism's decline and near disappearance from medieval South Asia (the Gangetic plain; ancient Gandhara and Sind, which correspond to modern Pakistan and Afghanistan), from Central Asia, and from Indonesia a product of its distinctively passive approach to political power and rule? Or did the tradition decline in these places centuries ago because there were no longer Buddhist kings to protect the faith? Does the exile of the Dalai Lama-led Gelugpa State in Tibet after 1959, the failure of Buddhists in Burma to resist military authoritarianism since 1960, or the inability of Buddhists to muster effective resistance to communist regimes in Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) reflect the inapplicability of the traditional political views to the postcolonial and posttraditional era (Gard 1962; Sarisyanz 1965; Lewis 1997)?

We conclude this essay with the sort of question commonly posed today in Buddhist societies: How can a Buddhist society following its classical political ideals hope to survive in the modern world where nations' "civil religions" require universal loyalty, violent retribution is often regarded as virtuous, and where showing compassion is regarded as political weakness? Modern Buddhist reformers now face many questions from citizens and rulers concerning the relevance and applicability of the traditional Buddhist norms of political rule.

Notes

1. Buddhist terms in this chapter will be rendered in the more familiar Sanskrit form, with the Pali term indicated in parenthesis at first usage. For citations of Pali texts, the original will be preserved, with the Sanskrit term indicated in brackets.
2. In this chapter, due to space limitations, I cannot include more than passing references to the unique and complex case of Tibet. In this vast high-mountain region, schools formed that allowed monastic officials to assume political power in a manner unseen elsewhere in the Buddhist world. See Dargyay 1988; Goldstein 1989, 1997; Richardson 1962; Stein 1972; Shakabpa 1967.
3. Translated in Warren 1995, 326.
4. E.g., see Pali *Jātakas* #407 and #270 (Cowell 1957, vol. 2, 242–43) where all land animals have the lion and among fish there is the "Ananda" (of uncertain identity, perhaps a dolphin); the story details birds seeking a king, as they reject the owl and decide on the golden goose. In more than half of the *jātakas*, the future Buddha is born as king of his group or species.
5. In one *jātaka*, the bodhisattva remembers his previous life as a king and how he had to be born in purgatory to "work off" the bad karma of royal acts. Accordingly, he feigns mental illness and physical disabilities to avoid becoming king.

46. Cowell 1957, vol. 4, 114–15.
 47. Cowell 1957, vol. 4, 74.
 48. This idea that the earth or nature will respond to the actions of a notable spiritual person—who declares his or her truthfulness and goodness—is actually found often in the canonical literature. There are numerous examples: the earth quakes after the enlightenment of a Buddha, and to affirm his imminent attainment of *nirvāna*. Trees blossom in response to a Buddha's deeds. The recitation of the Buddha's words can alter a region's environment, pacify serpents, and cause rain to fall. Early Buddhists also believed in a ritual practice called "An Act of Truth" that calls upon the unseen forces of the world to change worldly reality when a morally advanced person speaks the truth about his spiritual practice.
 49. Many ritual traditions practiced in Buddhist polities—the king plowing the first furrow in planting, welcoming the rains, etc.—were based upon this belief (Gard 1962, 45).
 50. Cowell 1957, vol. 4, 72.
 51. Cowell 1957, vol. 2, 120.
 52. The *Karunīkarāṅga-prajñāparimitā Sūtra* is another Mahāyāna ritual text designed for "protecting the country" (Gard 1962, 56).
 53. Pali Jātaka #462, in Cowell 1957, vol. 4, 85.
 54. The title of the recent book by H. L. Seneviratne (1999), *The Work of Kings: The New Buddhism in Sri Lanka*, captures just this reality: Buddhist reformers having to reinvent their Buddhist polity in the one country that has in many respects led the revival of Theravada tradition during the colonial and postcolonial eras. The initial results of these efforts—the rise of intolerant Buddhist nationalism, ethnic fratricide, civil war—have exposed the failure to invent modern Buddhist politics there and have led to the tragic failure to achieve the canonical ideals of tolerant and compassionate rule. The same pattern of Buddhist institutions and Buddhists succumbing to nationalism can be discerned in early modern Japan, where the Buddhist establishment likewise fueled nationalism and fomented imperialistic wars (Victoria 1997; Ketelar 1990).

References

- Beal, Samuel, tr. 1983. *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
 Brown, D. Mackenzie. 1955. "Didactic Themes of Buddhist Political Thought in the Jātakas." *Journal of Oriental Literature* 1(2): 3–7.
 Cowell, E. B., trans. 1957. *The Jātaka*, 6 vols. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
 ———. 1969. *Buddhist Mahayana Texts*. New York: Dover.
 Dargyay, Eva K. 1988. "Strong-Btsan Sgampo of Tibet: Bodhisattva and King." In *Monks and Magicians*, ed. Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara. Oakville, Canada: Mosaic Press.
 Falk, Nancy Auer. 1973. "Wilderness and Kingship in Ancient South Asia." *History of Religions* 13(1): 1–15.
 Filliozat, J. 1967. *Studies in the Asokan Inscriptions*. Calcutta: R.D. Press.
 Gard, Richard A. 1962. "Buddhism and Political Authority." In *The Ethic of Power: The Inter-*

- play of Religion, Philosophy and Politics*, ed. Harold W. Lasswell and Harlan F. Cleveland. New York: Harper & Row.
 Geiger, Wilhelm, ed. 1958. *The Mahāvamsa*. London: Luzak and Company.
 Gokhale, B. G. 1966. "Early Buddhist Kingship." *Journal of Asian Studies* 26: 15–22.
 ———. 1969. "The Early Buddhist Theory of the State." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 84(4): 731–38.
 Goldstein, Melvyn C. 1989. *A History of Modern Tibet, 1913–1951*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 ———. 1997. *The Snow Lion and the Dragon: China, Tibet, and the Dalai Lama*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
 Hopkins, Jeffrey. 1998. *Buddhist Advice for Living and Liberation: Nagarjuna's Precious Garland*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Snow Lion.
 Jones, J. J. 1949–56. *The Mahāvastu*, 3 vols. London: Luzac and Co.
 Ketelar, James Edward. 1990. *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
 Khoroché, Peter. 1990. *Once the Buddha Was a Monkey: Arya Sura's Jātakamālā*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 Lewis, Todd T. 1989. "Mahāyāna Vratas in Newar Buddhism." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 12 (1): 109–38.
 ———. 1994. "The Himalayan Frontier in Comparative Perspective: Considerations Regarding Buddhism and Hinduism in Diaspora." *Himalayan Research Bulletin* 14(1–2): 25–46.
 ———. 1997. "The Anthropological Study of Buddhist Communities: Historical Precedents and Ethnographic Paradigms." In *Shamanism, Altered States, Healing: Essays in the Anthropology of Religion*, ed. Steven Glazier. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
 ———. 2000. *Popular Buddhist Texts from Nepal: Narratives and Rituals of Newar Buddhism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
 ———. 2002. "Representations of Buddhism in Undergraduate Teaching: The Centrality of Ritual and Story Narratives." In *Teaching Buddhism in the West: From the Wheel to the Web*, ed. Victor Hori and Richard P. Hayes. Surrey, U.K.: Curzon.
 Nattier, Jan. 1991. *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Philosophy of Decline*. Berkeley, Calif.: Asian Humanities Press.
 Nikam, N. A. and Richard McKeon, eds. and trans. 1959. *The Edicts of Ashoka*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 Nyanamoli, Bhikkhu, trans. 1976. *The Path of Purification (Visuddhimagga) by Bhaddacariya Buddhaghosa*. Berkeley, Calif.: Shambhala.
 Pathak, Suniti Kumar. 1974. *The Indian Nitishastras in Tibet*. Delhi: Motilal Barnarsidass.
 Rahula, Walpola. 1956. *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo: Gunasena.
 Reynolds, Frank. 1972. "The Two Wheels of Dhamma: A Study of Early Buddhism." In *The Two Wheels of Dhamma*, ed. Bardwell Smith. Chambersburg, Pa.: American Academy of Religion.
 Reynolds, Frank E., and Mani B. Reynolds. 1982. *Three Worlds According to King Ruang*. Berkeley, Calif.: Asian Humanities Press.

- Rhys-Davids, T. W., and Hermann, Oldenberg, trans. 1982. *Vinaya Texts*. 3 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Richardson, Hugh E. 1962. *Tibet and Its History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sarkisyanz, E. 1965. *Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- Seneviratne, H. L. 1999. *The Work of Kings: The New Buddhism in Sri Lanka*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Shakabpa, Tsepon W. D. 1967. *Tibet: A Political History*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Smith, Bardwell L. 1972. "The Ideal Social Order as Portrayed in the Chronicles of Ceylon." In *The Two Wheels of Dhamma*, ed. Bardwell Smith. Chambersburg, Pa.: American Academy of Religion.
- Snellgrove, David L. 1959. "The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism." *Studies in the History of Religions* 4: 204-18.
- Stein, R. A. 1972. *Tibetan Civilization*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Strong, John S. 1983. *The Legend of King Asoka*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. 1976. *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand against a Historical Background*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1984. *Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thapar, Romila. 1980. "State Formation in Early India." *International Social Science Journal* 32(4): 1-28.
- Victoria, Brian. 1997. *Zen at War*. New York: Weatherhill.
- Warren, Henry Clarke. 1995. *Buddhism in Translations*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Wijayaratna, Mohan. 1990. *Buddhist Monastic Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.