

## Tracing the Socio-economic Roots of the Buddhist Concept of Universal Monarch (*Cakkavatti*)

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### Introduction

Buddha as one of the leading religious teachers was well aware of the socio-economic and political situation of his time. Buddhist discourses have the records of the responses he made in such situations. Universal monarch (*Cakkavatti*) who is also called the virtuous king (*dhammiko dhammaraja*) reflects one such idea of the Buddha regarding the contemporary political aspect. This theory of the universal monarch appears in the *Cakkavatti Sihanadasutta* of *Dīghanikaya*. It focuses on the early Buddhist perspective of kingship and the relationship between the king and his subjects. The mythical king Dalhanemi has been idealized in the *sutta* as the dhamma king who rules his kingdom according to the Buddhist law. The question here is how this concept emerged and why it was included into the Buddhist scriptures. By looking into the development and changes of the socio-economic and political situation of that particular period, this paper makes an attempt to investigate the background causes behind the emergence of the concept and its inclusion into Buddhism.

### Socio-economic and political changes

The birth of Buddhism marks the period when major changes and developments were occurring in the socio-economic, cultural, religious and political arena in ancient central India<sup>1</sup>. In fact, these changes began before the emergence of Buddhism and were evolving throughout the period that prepared the situation where Buddhism arose and flourished in the middle of the first millennium BC. This period is significant for the establishment of first universal monarchy. This is the period when the tribes were getting united under monarchies<sup>2</sup> which in turn were assembling power and fighting with each other for establishing dominance.<sup>3</sup> The political expansion that was thus happening was engendered by substantial development and progress of economy. Magadha was the first 'universal monarchy of India and Bimbisara was the first Indian monarch<sup>4</sup>. The source of power of Magadha was "its rich farm areas"<sup>5</sup> and "supply of metals"<sup>6</sup>. According to Burjor Avari "iron was the key resource that gave the Magadhans supremacy in both agricultural and military technology"<sup>7</sup>. Following sections explain it more elaborately.

### Economic Advancement: Role of the Means of Production

Extensive changes and advancements were especially noticeable in agriculture which was the basis of economy. The development of the instruments of production played the key role in

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this case. The use of iron tools initiated this transformation and development in agriculture. The availability and spread of iron mines accelerated the use of iron in a large scale in agriculture. The application of iron tools in agricultural activities contributed in the significant qualitative development and growth of agriculture.<sup>8</sup> D. D. Kosambi is credited with the hypothesis of the use of iron as a driving force in agricultural advancement.<sup>9</sup> In a number of research work<sup>10</sup> he made elaborate discussion on the issue. Since then many scholars conducted researches on the subject. Besides, archaeological excavations and contemporary religious texts also validate the use of iron tools such as, ploughshare, sickle, hoe, knives, hooks, arrowheads, chopper, nails and iron-axe in agricultural activities<sup>11</sup>. These researches acknowledge the role of iron as a contributing factor in socio-economic transformation during that period. There are also opinions that disagree with the revolutionary role of iron in the transformation of the society.<sup>12</sup> Other available instruments must have been improved and used along with iron tools. Yet the role played by iron "cannot be minimized."<sup>13</sup> The significant role laid upon the iron tools was in clearing the massive forests and preparing the lands for cultivation. There is another implication that fire might have been used to burn the jungles<sup>14</sup> but tools like iron axe and hoe must have been used in the clearance of the ashes,<sup>15</sup> tree roots etc. and tilling the hard soil. Apart from making agricultural instruments, iron was also used to make weapons and other necessary instruments. Besides, the irrigation system was also developed and domestic animals were used in agricultural activities. This relative development of the means of production caused the qualitative advancement of agricultural production. As a result, two to three times more crops in one season could be produced in the fertile lands.<sup>16</sup> This increased production accelerated the growth of the social production which contributed in the accumulation of enormous surplus.<sup>17</sup> Along with the improvement of the means of production several other occupations appeared such as, "masons, bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters and general labourers for producing weapons and tools from copper and iron"<sup>18</sup>, and progression also occurred in arts and crafts that helped produce durable goods such as textiles, glass, ivory objects, ceramics, beads and textile fabrics, cutlery, fine cloth, jewelry, armour, ceramic, leatherwork, fine pottery, ivory work and

<sup>1</sup> Hirakawa Akira. "A history of Indian Buddhism from Sakyamuni to early Mahayana" tr. & ed. by Paul Groner. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: 1993, p. 15.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Koka Antonova, Grigori Maksimovich Bongard- Levin and Grogory Kotovsky. "Bharotborsher Ithas" (Bengali Book). Tr. By Mangalacharan Chattopadhyay and Dwijen Sharma. Moscow: Progoti Publishers. 1982, p. 77-78.

<sup>4</sup> Burjor Avari. "India: The Ancient Past (A History of Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 BC to AD 1200)". London: Routledge. 2007, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Hirakawa Akira. *op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> D. D. Kosambi. "The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline". UBS Publishers' Distributors Pvt. Ltd., 2009, p.109

<sup>7</sup> Burjor Avari. *op. cit.* p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> Koka Antonova et al. *op. cit.* p. 113.

<sup>9</sup> K. T. S. Sarao "Background to the Origin of Early Buddhism" ([http://www.indologica.com/volumes/vol15-16/vol15-16\\_art23\\_SARAO.pdf](http://www.indologica.com/volumes/vol15-16/vol15-16_art23_SARAO.pdf) (Accessed on-02/12.2015);

<sup>10</sup> D. D. Kosambi. "The Beginning of the Iron Age in India", in 'Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient', Vol. 6, No. 3 (Dec., 1963), pp. 309-318; "The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline" in 'Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala'. Source: <http://vidyaonline.org/dl/cultddk.pdf> (Accessed on 02.12.2015); "AN Introduction to Study of Indian History", p. 144-184 Source: <http://bookzz.org/book/1067191/bc448c> (Accessed on-02.12.2015). These texts contain the discussion regarding the use of iron.

<sup>11</sup> Romila Thapar. "History of Early India from the Origins to AD 1300". London: Penguin Books. 2003, p. 139-146; Burjor Avari. "India: The Ancient Past (A History of Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 BC to AD 1200)". London: Routledge. 2007, p. 93-96; Uma Chakravati "The Social Dimensions of Early Buddhism", (New Delhi: 1996, p. 16-35); Koka Antonova, Grigori Maksimovich Bongard- Levin and Grogory Kotovsky. "Bharotborsher Ithas" (Bengali Book). Tr. By Mangalacharan Chattopadhyay and Dwijen Sharma. Moscow: Progoti Publishers. 1982. (p. 113-114); K. T. S. Sarao "Background to the Origin of Early Buddhism" [http://www.indologica.com/volumes/vol15-16/vol15-16\\_art23\\_SARAO.pdf](http://www.indologica.com/volumes/vol15-16/vol15-16_art23_SARAO.pdf) (Accessed on-02/12.2015) provide elaborate discussion based on archaeological excavations, religious texts and other research works that record

woodwork<sup>19</sup>. Royal workshops for producing weapons and other necessary tools also spread. Blacksmiths, potters, carpenters, were respected in every village.<sup>20</sup> In a conversation between Ajatasattu and Buddha twenty five kinds of occupations are mentioned and 18 kinds of crafts are stated in another book.<sup>21</sup> This diversity of occupation shows the division of labour on the one hand and the picture of wider social production on the other.

### Expansion of Trade and Commerce

The upgrading of the production system and manufacturing of different kinds of goods leads to the expansion of trade and commerce. Different historical documents and cotemporary religious texts contain the records of the expansion of trade and commerce at that time. *Jataka* stories often mention the traders going to distant places with hundreds and thousands of caravans.<sup>22</sup> The “intensification of agriculture”<sup>23</sup> and spread of trade and commerce led to the urbanization in this period.<sup>24</sup> The cities were the hub for businessmen, artisans and people of various other professions. They form special professional organizations which were called guilds that strengthened the position of the merchants.<sup>25</sup> The traders of a particular area used to trade one particular commodity. This escalation of trade necessitated the development of communication systems. Thus new trade routes were built and communication was established among the capitals of different kingdoms. Moreover, sea- trade was also introduced.<sup>26</sup> This gradual transformation and amplification of the entire economic system influences the existing social system and causes changes in the social structure.

### Changes in the Social Relations: Emergence of the Merchant Class

The acceleration of economic production system leads to the breakup of old social classes<sup>27</sup> and appearance of the new ones such as “the free peasants and farmers”<sup>28</sup>, “merchants and craftsmen.”<sup>29</sup> One of the most significant factors in this case was the emergence of the merchants. These merchants “were relatively wealthy but their rank in the social structure under the Brahmanism was quite low”<sup>30</sup>, the third position which was repulsive to them<sup>31</sup>. Due to the strengthening of trade and commerce this traders become more and more affluent and started

<sup>12</sup> K. T. S. Sarao, *op. cit.*; Uma Chakravarti, ‘Footnotes’, 68, *op. cit.* p. 17, refers to scholars who disagree with the idea of the crucial role of iron.

<sup>13</sup> Romila Thapar, *History of Early India*....., *op. cit.*, p. 144.

<sup>14</sup> Romila Thapar, *History of Early India*....., *op. cit.*, p. 144; K. T. S. Sarao *op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> K. T. S. Sarao *op. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> Koka Antonova, et al. *op. cit.* p. 113; Romila Thapar, *History of Early India*....., *op. cit.*, p. 142-143.

<sup>17</sup> Jean C. Darian. “Social and Economic Factors in the Rise of Buddhism” Source: Sociological Analysis, Vol.

<sup>38</sup> No. 3 (Autumn, 1977), pp. 226-238. Published by: Oxford University Press; K. T. S. Sarao, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Burjor Avari. *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>19</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*; Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 22; Burjor Avari. *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>20</sup> Koka Antonova et al. *op. cit.* p. 116.

<sup>21</sup> Shorot Kumar Ray, “Bouddho Bharot”, Kolkata, 1923, p. 113-115.

<sup>22</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Romila Thapar. “Ethics, Religion, and Social Protest in the First Millennium B.C. in Northern India” Source: *Daedalus*, Vol. 104, No. 2, Wisdom, Revelation, and Doubt: Perspectives on the First Millennium B.C.

(Spring, 1975), pp. 119-132.

<sup>24</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 20; K. T. S. Sarao, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> Koka Antonova et al., p. 116-117.

<sup>27</sup> Hirakawa Akira, *op. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and History*....., ‘Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala’. *op. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Hirakawa Akira, *op. cit.* p. 15

<sup>30</sup> Koka Antonova et al., p. 148

<sup>31</sup> Romila Thapar. *op. cit.*

<sup>32</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and History*....., ‘Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala’ *op. cit.*

playing a crucial role in the contemporary politics and economics. Kosambi points out that “traders had become so wealthy that the most important person in an eastern town was generally called the *shresthi* (*semmi*). The term not known earlier, is derived from the word for ‘Superior’, or ‘Pre-eminent’... Even absolute, despotic kings treated them with respect, though they had no direct voice in politics.”<sup>32</sup> AnathapiG

kia is the most renowned example of *semmhī* (*shresthi*) mentioned in Buddhist literature. Moreover, the word ‘*gahapati* (skt. *grihapati*) meaning ‘lord of the house’ who was simply a ‘host or sacrificer’ assumes a new significance. He became ‘the head of a large patriarchal household of any caste’ who commanded respect primarily because of his wealth.”<sup>33</sup> This evolution of the merchant class and their dynamic role in economy make them a significant class in the society.

### Political Changes: Decline of the Republic and the Emergence of Monarchical System

The political scenario of the period was based on two distinct systems: monarchical and republic (*gana-sangha*). But a fundamentally significant change commenced in politics via gradual disappearance of republic states and the emergence of the monarchical kingdoms. It was happening through conflict and war between the two systems. This expansion of empire was triggered by the accumulation of surplus generated by economic growth, expansion of trade and commerce, development of weapons i.e., use of iron made weapons in the war.<sup>34</sup> The surplus from the collection of tax was perhaps “used to equip the large standing army and thus often results in political expansion.”<sup>35</sup> There was constant conflict and power struggle among the different states which results in the smaller and weaker nations being conquered and included into the stronger ones.<sup>36</sup> This is how sixty nine small states (*janapadas*) were combined with the sixteen greater ones (*mahajanapadas*)<sup>37</sup> which in turn were merged into the four most powerful empires i.e., Magadha, Kosala, Vamsa and Avanti. Furthermore, these four strongest empires were also in conflict with each other which forms the key feature of political history of that period.<sup>38</sup> Consequently within next two hundred years (roughly 550-350 BC) these were amalgamated into the greatest one namely Magadha<sup>39</sup>, the first universal monarchy in ancient India.<sup>40</sup>

Republic states were fighting against the emerging and expanding monarchical kingdoms to protect their distinct socio-economic and political system. It has added a new dimension to the conflict between the two systems.<sup>41</sup> The conflict culminated into the mingling of the republics into the monarchies. The two most significant republic states were the Licchavis or

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, p. 88

<sup>34</sup> D. D. Kosambi. “The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline” in ‘Chapter 5.5, Magadha and Kosala’. Source: <http://vidyaonline.org/dl/cultddk.pdf>; Burjor Avari. “India: The Ancient Past (A History of Indian-Subcontinent from 7000 BC to AD 1200)”. London: Routledge. 20007, p. 86- 91; Romila Thapar. “History of Early India from the Origins to AD 1300”. London: Penguin Books. 2003, p. 137-138, 146-

156; Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 7-16; J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*; Hirakawa Akira, *op. cit.* p.15;

make an elaborate discussion referring to significant texts and references on how and why the monarchical kingdoms emerged and the republic states declined.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 88

<sup>36</sup> Hirakawa Akira, *op. cit.* p. 15

<sup>37</sup> Burjor Avari. *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>38</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 8

<sup>39</sup> J. C. Darian. *Op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilization*....., in ‘Chapter 5.5, Magadha and Kosala’ *op. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 10

<sup>42</sup> Romila Thapar. *History of Early India*....., *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, p. 147.

<sup>44</sup> Pious, Richard M. “Democracy.” *Microsoft ® Encarta ® 2006* [DVD]. Redmond, WA: Microsoft Corporation, 2005

Vajjis and Mallas. “The Vajjis were a confederacy of eight clans, said to have 7,707 *rajās*; the Mallas were said to have 500 *rajās*”<sup>42</sup>. Apparently the term *gana-sangha* which is translated as republic or oligarchy, implies the equality existing among all the citizens but it was not the real case. Equality prevailed only among the chieftains of the clans and *rajās* who control the government system. The common folk were deprived of all kinds of rights and resources.<sup>43</sup> This occurrence can be compared with that of ancient Greece and Rome. Greece is called the birth place of democracy but the political rights were confined to the slave masters and the elites who controlled the state system. “The majority of the populace, notably slaves and women had no political rights. Roman democracy resembled that of Greece.”<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, these republic states of ancient India were called republican because “they did not subscribe to the institution of monarchy”<sup>45</sup>. They had their own distinct political and administrative system. In the conflict with monarchies both Vajjis and Mallas were conquered by the rising monarchy, Magadha. The conflict between Magadha and Vesali “over the control of the river trade”<sup>46</sup>, is worth mentioning in this regard. Vesali exercised a republic system of government<sup>47</sup> and Magadha was based on a monarchial system. Old ideas, customs and norms were followed in Vesali. But the changed socio-economic and political condition in Magadha demanded for newer ideology. As a result this conflict between the old and the new culminates into the conquest of the old by the new. The stronger economic, political and military power wins over the weak one. It is said that Magadha used two new weapons in this war namely, “*mahashilakantaka*, a large sized catapult used for hurling rocks and *rathamusala*, a chariot fitted with a mace for driving through the enemy’s ranks to mow them down”<sup>48</sup>.

This conflict and the extension of empire was not merely based on political interest. Economic interests were also chiefly involved in these expansionist acts. Ajatasattu’s conflict with Kosala over Kasi and with Vajjis which possessed both financial and strategic significance for various valuable goods and for being located on the river Ganga. Bimbisara’s takeover of AÖga also indicates the same purpose which is to seize the port of Campa.<sup>49</sup>

The economic and political expansion led to the appearance of complex economic, social and political institutions that in turn demanded the necessity of a strong and well-organized administrative system. Darian remarks “an expanding empire leads inevitably to a broader unit of economic organization that provides the financial resources for large standing armies, public works, and a growing administrative apparatus.”<sup>50</sup> Thus bureaucracy began in this period. Uma Chakravarti opines “Bimbisira appears to have been the first known king in India to realize the value of an efficient bureaucracy.”<sup>51</sup> Gradual expansion of the territory led to the spread of trade and commerce more and more. Thus the scope of economic activities also augmented. Consequently “this process of political consolidation and expansion led to the need for an efficient administrative system through which political control could be effectively exercised.”<sup>52</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Burjor Avari. *op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>46</sup> Romila Thapar. *History of Early India*.....*op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>47</sup> *Satta Vajji-Aparihāniyā Dhammā* explained in MahāparinibbānasuttaA (DN 16) hints at the governance system practiced in Vesali.

<sup>48</sup> Romila Thapar. *History of Early India*.....*op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>49</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 9

<sup>50</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

<sup>51</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 8

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p. 8

<sup>53</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

## Conforming Interests of the Merchants and the Rulers

There was a necessity of huge revenues to accomplish these vast administrative and military activities. The merchants and the affluent householders were the key providers of this vast amount of tax. The lands were the main source of most of this tax. But, although the *Brahmins* and the *Kshatriyas* possessed enormous lands and properties, they did not pay any tax. As a result the state was deprived of a large amount of tax.<sup>53</sup> In such circumstances, a conflicting situation between the kings and the *Kshatriyas* and the *Brahmins* appeared. So the existing caste system becomes an obstacle for the rulers to control the needed resources. The kings adopted various policies to seize the properties from the *Kshatriyas* and the *Brahmins*.

Furthermore, the expanding market-type economy comes into conflict with Brahminist ideology. Due to the expansion of market-type economy and urbanization, the cities become the epicenter of trade and commerce. For the purpose of business, merchants had to travel from one city to another, even from one country to another.<sup>54</sup> So they had to “come into daily contact with people of different castes and with those beyond the frontier.”<sup>55</sup> Thus the pre-existing social values and ideologies came into conflict with the new economic system. Buddhism lacks this kind of conflict.<sup>56</sup> Thus the agriculturists and traders had to face various problems and difficulties on their way. On the one hand, a good communication system was necessary for their travelling and on the other hand, they also needed security from the dacoits and robbers to save their cash and goods. Besides, the warring situation among the kings was another obstacle for business. Both the kings and the merchants were looking for the solution of the problems that they were facing. Kosambi says “a part of this demand could be satisfied only by the growth of a ‘universal monarchy’, a single state that would end petty warfare and police the entire countryside.”<sup>57</sup> This demand of the rulers and the merchants is reflected in the contemporary political theories and ideologies. The Buddhist concept of universal monarch was one such theory that mirrored the socio-economic and political situation of the period.

## Buddhist Concept of the Universal Monarch and the Governance System

From the above discussion it is clear that the collapse of republic states and the emergence of a universal system of government is a real factual phenomenon and a very significant demand of the time which was caused by the changes and development in the socio-economic system. Kosambi states “there was a parallel move towards a universal government for all society. The basis was identical both in religious and secular movements: the new needs of *gahapati*, traders and farmers.”<sup>58</sup> This practical change is the basis which was manifested in the political and religious theories of the time. But this entire transition from the old to the new was encountering opposition from the existing social and religious values. As a result “the development of new social institutions required a new ideology to rationalize the goals and values of these institutions.”<sup>59</sup> It is opined that “Buddhism was the creation of a city culture”<sup>60</sup> and hence was

<sup>54</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 20

<sup>55</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

<sup>56</sup> *ibid*

<sup>57</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and History*..... in ‘Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala’ *op. cit.*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*,

<sup>59</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> K. T. S. Sarao, *op. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 16

influenced by the changes happening in the urbans. Buddha was a direct witness of this huge transformation and he made a wise and well-timed response by providing an ideological support to the newly emerging system. Buddhist political ideas contain the instrumental influence of these occurrences happening at that time.<sup>61</sup> The Buddhist concept of universal monarch is one idea that reflects the contemporary demand of a universal government system that sprang up through socio-economic and political development of the period. We can infer that the mythical universal monarch Dalhanemi is the idealized image of the emerging powerful monarchs like king Bimbisira, Ajatasatru and Pasenadi. A number of special moral qualities, duties and responsibilities are attributed to the universal monarch in Buddhism. As Romila Thapar points out “he was seen as the one who maintains law and order in what would otherwise be a kingless, chaotic society”<sup>62</sup>. The imposition of the moral qualities and responsibilities to the universal monarch also had a practical social basis. The transitional period was experiencing various types of social and political problems. On the one hand, the small kingdoms were in constant conflict for expanding territory and establishing domination and on the other hand, there were other social and moral violence such as robbery, stealing and so forth. The universal monarch, according to Buddhism is supposed to solve all the conflicts among the small kingdoms by conquering them and bringing them under his control and establish law and order by following Buddhist principles. It is noted that “the concept of a just and moral king (*dhammiko dhammarajo* and *cakkavatti*)... would put an end to the petty tyranny of the many and establish instead a universe where not only social order but also moral would prevail.”<sup>63</sup> But, although on the theoretical level these moral qualities and responsibilities are attributed to the universal monarch, it cannot be said with certainty how far the real existing monarchs possessed and practiced them. As Kosambi states “the benign advice to the *cakravartin* to rule by creating full employment, to provide cattle and seed for the farmer and capital to the merchant, was very far from the actual practice of the growing Magadhan state of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.”<sup>64</sup> But we can say that this concept reflects the demands of the rulers, merchants and the peasants. Pali texts contain Buddha’s recognition of the agricultural expansion in place of ‘pastoralism’<sup>65</sup> and also the increase of the trade and commerce that makes Buddhism popular among the townspeople<sup>66</sup>. Moreover, “the rulers could find in Buddhism a powerful solvent to the caste system and a means of reducing the political and economic power of the traditional ascriptive status groups.”<sup>67</sup> Consequently, the kings and merchants patronized the spread of Buddhism. Kosambi further mentions “for the time being, however, neither Kosala nor Magadha provoked a war. Both kings were of relatively unaggressive temperament; both patronized the new religious philosophers with pleasure. They are reported as being close friends and admirers of the Buddha.”<sup>68</sup>

## Conclusion

We have discussed how the concept of the universal monarch appeared and was incorporated into Buddhism. It implies twofold notable points: first it reflects the socio-economic transformation that led to the fall of old institutions and the emergence of the new and second,

<sup>62</sup> Romila Thapar, *History of Early India*....., *op. cit.* p. 153

<sup>63</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *Op. cit.*, p. 163-164

<sup>64</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *The Culture and History*..... in ‘Chapter 5.5 Magadha and Kosala’ *op. cit.*

<sup>65</sup> Uma Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 18-19

<sup>66</sup> Burjor Ayari, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>67</sup> J. C. Darian, *op. cit.*

<sup>68</sup> D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.* p. 114

the evolution of the society and state system i.e., the collapse of the former clan states and their unification into the monarchical system which was an inevitable outcome of the evolution process. Besides, this transitional period underwent the chaotic circumstances and instabilities in the social and political arena. Therefore, in the concept of the universal monarch, Buddha prescribed a number of instructions for the universal monarch so that he can control the situation and establish peace and harmony. The universal monarch is also characterized with some moral characteristics and is attributed some significant duties and responsibilities which if followed properly, might be useful for the people and the country.

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