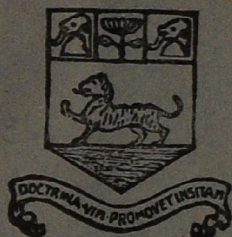


POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1968

POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR



With a Foreword
by
Dr. Sir A. L. MUDALIAR

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FOREWORD

The Sornammal Endowment lectures, founded by that great scholar, Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, have always been considered in the University of Madras as a means to enrich the literature of the world by an exposition of the great classics in Tamil. Tiruvalluvar has been and will continue to be recognised as one of the great thinkers that Tamilagam has produced and his work Tirukkural has been and will continue to receive the utmost consideration, study and thought by all interested in the philosophy, religion and the moral codes practised by Tamilians in ancient days.

The author has made a deep study of this work and has expounded in clear and unambiguous terms Tiruvalluvar's ideas of the State, of the Government, of the responsibilities of Ministers, and, what is of far more importance, of the duties of a good citizen. It is often forgotten in these days that self-government is no substitute for good government and that unless a high level of integrity, honesty, nobility of purpose and a spirit of self-sacrifice is inculcated in the minds of true lovers of the State, that State will not and cannot produce any tangible results in the evolution of what the ancients called "Rama Rajya." In his epic, Tiruvalluvar does not dogmatise but, in inimitable terms, he portrays vividly a picture of all the component parts of good government in any State.

With his practical knowledge of administration, the author has given us some clear indications of the trend of thought in Tiruvalluvar's great work, Tirukkural, and he has to be congratulated on his exposition. It is hardly necessary to try to identify the thoughts in Tirukkural with those outlined in Kautilya or, for the matter of that, with any of the other works of ancient philosophers. Suffice it to say that great ideas and great laws of universal application are, through the hoary centuries, the heritage of all mankind. Mr. Murugesu Mudaliar has done a service in bringing out this publication which, I am sure, will be read with profit by all lovers of Tirukkural.

Madras, }
7th Dec., 1967 }

A. L. MUDALIAR,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Madras.

PREFACE

I am grateful to the authorities of the University of Madras for having invited me to deliver these Lectures on "POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL" under the Srimathi Sornammal Endowment founded in memory of his mother by late Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, a doyen among Tamil scholars and for a long time Head of the Department of Tamil in the University. They were delivered in January 1965.

The Lectures are presented here more or less in the form delivered with some amplification. As one deeply interested in the Tamil legacy and as one connected with Administration for nearly three decades as an official of Government, I felt it my double good fortune to explain the Polity in Tirukkural. I believe my approach to the subject and my exposition will be found useful as no attempt at comparative criticism or modern interpretation has so far been made. I hope that this exposition will be appreciated by both Asian and Western scholars and that these lectures would be a small service to all those interested in Tamiliana.

I am indebted to various authors in the preparation of this volume and I have acknowledged them duly.

But for the encouragement of my friend Dr. M. Varadarajan, the present Professor of Tamil in the University to accept the Lectureship, I would not have had the opportunity of writing these lectures as my humble homage to the immortal Tiruvalluvar and in the process to re-discover his wisdom on one of the most discussed subjects of the present day, namely, social order and government.

MADRAS, }
Nov. 1967. }

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR.

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POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL

CHAPTER I

Theory of State — Relevance of Tiruvalluvar

1. INTRODUCTORY.

This exposition of 'Polity in Tirukkural' aims at a wider world understanding of the theory of State, social order and government found in Tiruvalluvar's great book *Tirukkural*. Except the more recent writers, very few authors on Ancient Indian Polity have given sufficient attention to the ideas and ideals of polity of Tamil classical writers of whom Tiruvalluvar is the best known throughout the world as his work has been translated into many languages and his contribution to Indian thought has been valued by thinkers and scholars like Albert Schweitzer and others. Because Tiruvalluvar is a more fundamental thinker and less traditional, his ideas have an extraordinary freshness and relevance even to the modern times so that a re-statement and interpretation of them today is of value not only as a historical study but also as a foundation for the development of a polity on lines which intrinsically will conserve all that is best in the past. Tiruvalluvar's validity arises out of the fact that he was speaking to a free society and he was rational and did not dogmatically base his authority on any ancient injunctions. He is something even more than rationalistic or pragmatic because his statements are based on a sense of values not circumscribed by the conventions of a static society or the unquestioning authority given to ancient Law-givers. He is not also an utopian but a realist. He does not, however, lose himself in details of state-craft which might look mediaeval and crude at the present day. In many respects he differs from Kautilya, the author of *Arthasāstra*, although it is commonly believed and stated that Tiruvalluvar was indebted to *Arthasāstra* in some respects. It does not appear that Tiruvalluvar has based his ideas of kingship and government on

Kautilya and indeed the Tamil tradition was somewhat different from those which finds embodiment in the Arthasāstra. Tiruvalluvar has not written of the actualities of his time, idealising them in that process, but as thinker and philosopher, he has formulated the substrates of a good polity. In this sense he is somewhat different from the philosophers of the ancient and mediaeval world like Plato, Aristotle and Confucius and Manu and Yajnavalkya. Similarities between them could easily be found because all these are universal minds, and to a greater or lesser degree what they said are universal options. The uniqueness of Tiruvalluvar, however, is that there is no reference in his doctrines to the contemporary conventions, social modes or laws. He like, all other political theorists of the past, wrote only of a monarchical State but his concept of kingship was not based on birth or heredity or the performance of sacrificial rites. In fact in Tirukkural the power of the people is found concentrated in the Ministers to the Prince and by the institutional arrangements in vogue in his time the people had free access to the Prince. Naturally we do not find any elements of 'social contract' which is sometimes spoken of as the beginnings of a democratic form of government, but the insistence is on a good citizenry whose welfare was paramount, and the Minister was the collective voice of the people. Thus Tiruvalluvar, although he does not suggest any institutional forms of government resembling the modern democratic processes, places great emphasis on the role of Ministers and servants of the State as enlightened advisers to the Prince against self-interest, deceit and corruption. Similarly Tiruvalluvar speaks of the role of ambassadors and their art of diplomacy which appear surprisingly modern. A stranger well-acquainted with modern affairs will be struck by the fund of commonsense found in the Kural. These truths are expressed as aphorisms without verbiage and with the greatest measure of simplicity. The writings of the theorists like Locke, Hume. and Mill would appear like expositions of Tiruvalluvar in modern parlance. It would, however, be an exaggeration to say that everything is found in Tiruvalluvar (or Kautilya) and there is nothing outside which is not in them. Our admiration of the past need not lead us to uncritical assessments.

The balanced judgments of Tiruvalluvar lie in the fact that he did not regard polity as something fundamentally different from other human activities or virtues. In fact he did not set about to write a book on polity but it is one of the three main divisions of human aspirations and endeavour, viz., virtue (*aram*), wealth (*porul*) and love (*kāmam*), which are called the purushārtas, about which he wrote in this book. This integral treatment gives balance and dignity to his views about the individual, society and government. It may also be noted that Tiruvalluvar did not include in his book the fourth human aspiration of *vidu* (liberation) which would have got him entangled in theology or religion. He has freed his concepts of the individual and the State from the 'tutelage of religion'¹ and explained them in their own right. His great work is therefore called the *podu marai* (the universal law) by virtue of its validity and preciousness which transcend the limitation of immediacy of age or country for which the author wrote. The relevance of Tiruvalluvar is thus a justification and need for his wider understanding in an era when inspite of its professed democratic basis makes the State more and more powerful, if not authoritarian. It is immaterial whether the authoritarianism is imbedded in the power of the monarch or the power of an elected government but the ethic of the ruler and the ruled and the sense of values on which each functions must be the same. It is therefore irrelevant to argue that Tiruvalluvar, or for that matter any other like him, wrote for a monarchical and not for a democratic state. Democracy is still in the hour of trial and the recovery of faith in it and its survival to the challenges against it depend on a devotion to goodness and nobility which are underlined again and again in the Kural.

2. APPROACH TO KURAL'S POLITY.

In dealing with Polity in Tirukkural, I have organised the topics in such a way that we will not lose sight of the historical perspective as well as a comparative treatment. I have devoted some attention to the determination of the dates of Tiruvalluvar and other writers of the contemporary epoch as it is the first

1. Cf. William S. Haas, *The Destiny of the Mind East and West*, (Faber & Faber, London 1956), p. 86

requisite for a correct understanding of any author and his work. Such an attempt is also necessary to determine the tradition which an author carried forward and influenced it in one way or another by his genius and the compulsions of his own special message. I consider this aspect very important. As Mr. D. Mackenzie Brown² observes in his book *Indian Political Thought*, the contribution of South Indian theorists are only beginning to be recognised with the gradual appreciation of the richness of the South Indian culture. In giving an accent to this aspect, it is not to be misjudged that my intention is to apotheosise any one school of thought or culture against another, as the synthesis known as Indian Culture and tradition is a charming diapason to which each individual note has contributed its distinctive quality. Nevertheless it must be stressed that owing to accidental circumstances the richness of the South Indian heritage has not been sufficiently understood due to lack of exponents and the fact that Tamil has a very selective place in the academic contres all round the world although this position is improving in recent years by the inception of the departments of Tamil Studies in many Universities abroad and the increasing importance and interest which the study of Tamil linguistics has gained in foreign universities and in Indian universities as well. I hope my Lectures will serve as a small breakthrough in the discovery of the political ideas in the Tamil work of Tiruvalluvar.

My next task has been to assess the oft-repeated assumption of Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya's Arthasāstra and to point out the fundamental differences and the trenchant distinctions and also to draw attention to some similarities wherever they exist. The difference between Tiruvalluvar and Kautilya as regards the concept of kingship, the theory of State, and the type of societies kept in view which I have pointed out at some length are sufficient to dismiss the supposition that Tiruvalluvar drew inspiration from Kautilya. The divergence of views as regards the divinity of kingship, conventions of caste and the authority of ancient lawgivers is so sharp that any suggestion of indebtedness could only spring from the absence of a close study of both the books which no Indian writer, except one or two recently, has so far attempted. There are, however, a few

2. D. Mackenzie Brown, *Indian Political Thought*, Jaico Books, 1964.

similarities, sometimes amounting to identity, and these could be explained only as ideas which had become axiomatic and which are often repeated by ancient writers without any derogation to their own individual views on other matters. I have in particular dwelt at length on the concept of '*aram*' (righteousness) in Tiruvalluvar which is in many respects different from *dharma*, *niti* or *danda* of the older Dharmasāstras on which Kautilya based his Arthasāstra. A whole volume could be written on the concept of *aram* in Tamil didactic works and classical literature and it is a keynote difference between Tiruvalluvar and Kautilya.

Excepting perhaps Dr. Saletore in his recent work, very few writers have compared Indian thinkers on Polity with philosophers like Plato and Aristotle and still less with Chinese philosophers like Confucius. In Tiruvalluvar's time it is quite probable that besides Buddhistic and Jaina doctrines, the Greek and Chinese schools were known as there was considerable cultural and trade contacts between South India and those countries. I have therefore attempted a comparative study with my limited equipment and basing my authority on other writers whom I have acknowledged in the footnotes. To my mind the ideal of the Prince in Tiruvalluvar was one better than the philosopher king of Plato and the gentleman image of Confucius. Tiruvalluvar has typified his ideal as '*Sanrōr*' a word for which there is no perfect equivalent in English or probably in any other language and which might be translated as 'noble' or 'perfect.' This comparative study with other ancient and mediaeval philosophers deserves to be taken up more fully by some one who has the facilities. I have not attempted to compare Tiruvalluvar with the modern political theorists and philosophers except incidentally and to indicate the relevance of Tiruvalluvar and his modernity where they deserved to be noted. It is beyond the scope and compass of these Lectures to attempt to do so with even the slightest justice.

In the second half of these Lectures I have dealt with at considerable length Tiruvalluvar's own ideas about the various constituents of Polity, viz., the King, the Ministers and Ambassadors, Fortresses, Army, Wealth, Allies and Citizenry. Tiruvalluvar's lofty concepts on these ingredients of the State expressed in language of matchless beauty and with a remarkable brevity and clarity have to be read to be admired. The commentaries on

the Kural by mediaeval scholars like Parimēlalagar, Manak-kudavar, etc. about whom non-Tamil scholars are not likely to know anything, throw much light on the views of Tiruvalluvar. I have drawn brief attention to these commentaries wherever needed to explain Tiruvalluvar's ideas. In particular, Parimēlalagar (10th Century), a scholar well-read in ancient Dharmasāstras, is the most brilliant, although in a few places he is tempted to read in the Kural the ideas of caste and ritualism found in the ancient works. I have also cited parallel ideas to Kural found in Tamil Sangam classics like *Puranānūru* and epics like *Silappadikāram* and *Manimēkalai*. It does not appear that Tiruvalluvar is much indebted to the pre-existing *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant grammar in Tamil language whose unique distinction is that it deals not only with language but also with life. However, we find some seminal ideas in *Tolkāppiyam* which might have developed and gained expression in literature in later years. The fact that Tirukkural is the earliest didactic work with a perfection and fullness inconceivable in a first work of its kind has misled many scholars into the belief that Tiruvalluvar was largely indebted to the Sanskrit writers. There is no basis for this because many early Tamil works going back to over 2000 years appear to have been lost but the thoughts and ideas surely must have survived in the memory of the race. Nor could it be said that Tiruvalluvar was unaware of the pre-existing and contemporary writers in Sanskrit, but it is well-known that Tamil classicists maintained their own tradition, originality and discipline both in thought and language and this lasted till about the 12th Century. It must be admitted, however that Kautilya goes into elaborate details over many branches of State-craft like the army, spies, taxes etc. while Tiruvalluvar touches only on the principles, the obvious reasons being that organisational details are subject to change and that elaboration would disrupt the scheme and proportions of Tiruvalluvar's work. The great admiration we have for Kautilya's work is for the elaboration and orderly classification of the minutest details of government which will not be found even in the present day manuals of government. In this Kautilya certainly excels and his is more the administrative approach rather than a philosophic approach or as I have termed it an approach of 'values.' The greater acceptability of Tiruvalluvar to the modern mind is doubtless due to this approach of values.

Apart from the organisational part of government or the mechanics of it which are comparatively of lesser importance, I have attempted to stress the distinction between Tiruvalluvar and Kautilya as regards the concept of good government and the means and end thereof. The compendious word that Tiruvalluvar employs for good government or just government is 'Sengōnmai' (செங்கோன்மை) for which there is no exact parallel either in Sanskrit or English. Even the commentator Parimēlalagar equates it inaccurately with *danda-niti*. The concept of good government being based on danda or the authority of the State is alien to Tiruvalluvar. The Tamil polity is not based on the *matsyanyāya* of the old Sanskritists. The internal or external order in its polity is not dependent on the use of power to protect the weak against the strong or the maintenance of right against evil. The cohesive element according to Tiruvalluvar is the 'aram' of both the individual and the ruler. It is not an idealistic or impossible conception because Tamil polity conceives of governments governing the least by force or authority or by elaborate interference with the individual or communal life of the people. It comes nearest to the concept of an ideal democracy of some modern thinkers. The State or the Prince is a witness of a well-ordered polity sustained by its own 'aram' and 'anbudaimai' (righteousness and love). In fact in a most illuminating Kural in the section 'Virtue' (Arathuppal) Tiruvalluvar gives an explanation for the existence of have-nots in this world as due to the fact that only a few preserve virtue while many do not. (Ilarpalar ākiya kāranam norpar silar palar notpa tavar—270). The class conflict which the Communistic philosophy envisages is unnecessary if the State helps to see that the preservation of righteousness is pervasive. Socialism is thus no substitute for a spiritual impoverishment. The politico-economic doctrines of our present day fail to recognise the basic requirement of an egalitarian society based on righteousness and not on mere distribution of wealth by State management of the means of production and distribution. If those who have stuck fast to 'tavam' (righteousness) are the majority, there is least necessity for the State to interfere. It cannot be said that Tiruvalluvar has visualised in precise terms the desiderata for a modern egalitarian society and the State's responsibility therefor, but undoubtedly he has touched on the basic truths.

Tiruvalluvar's treatment of the qualifications of Ministers, Ambassadors, and servants of the State are interesting and have a modern relevance in the context of the prevalence of political and administrative corruption and ineptitude. Tiruvalluvar requires in a Minister not only dignity of conduct, but also dignity of speech which is indicative of the fact that the polity he was describing was not an 'illiterate democracy' but a cultured one and the society he was addressing was cultured and born of a tradition of civilisation which had qualities not found in the complex material civilisation and advancement of today.

Tiruvalluvar has not devoted much space to questions relating to army, fortresses etc., at least not to the same extent as Kautilya has done. The reason is that Tiruvalluvar has not visualised unrighteous or imperialistic wars but only wars to blot out tyranny and to succour the weak and the helpless. In a discussion on polity there is not enough scope to enlarge on Tiruvalluvar's ideas on war and peace, but it is enough to state that the ideas of ancient philosophers are not wholly inapplicable to modern times as the problems of individuals and nations are essentially the same although they repeat themselves in different forms according to the circumstances and tempers of the times.

Conflicts and tensions arise, as has been discovered today, in men's minds rather than in external circumstances and hence Tiruvalluvar again and again stresses on the purity of mind and motives and positiveness in speech and action which admits of no dubiousness which is false diplomacy and the foundation for policies of treachery and deceit.

Tiruvalluvar devotes the largest space to a discussion of the virtues of a good citizenry. It must be noted that he does not treat the body politic as the 'ruled' but as members of an orderly system subject to the rules of virtue and goodness. He sees in a good citizenry the virtues of correct conduct (ozhukkam), truth (vāimai) and sense of decency (nān) and above all not stooping below one's dignity (tannilayil tāzhamai). Just as Tiruvalluvar uses the compendious word 'sengōumai' for a good government, he uses the word 'sānranmai' for the attributes of a good citizenry. As Parimēlalgār says, this nobility is that which is not exhausted by other qualities but something which

gives integrity and fullness to it. Its five distinctive features are love to all, sensitiveness to shame, complaisance, indulgence to faults of others, and truthfulness. It is no wonder that philosophers and thinkers like Gandhi and Bhave were attracted to the teachings of the Kural. The quality of the State depends on the quality of the individual and his integrity and his desire to live and let live. The grassroots of a good polity are the enlightened citizenry—a polity whose aim is the sustenance of a Great society which is the dream of some of the modern States.

The criticism is sometimes levelled against Tiruvalluvar that he has postulated two kinds of morality, one for the State and the other for the individual. This criticism is in a sense true but it overlooks the sense of realism and the sense of the practical in Tiruvalluvar. For example in one Kural Tiruvalluvar says, "If thou cannot break openly with a foe who pretends friendship with thee, feign thou also friendship to his face but keep him off from thy heart." This might look like double-crossing which will not be allowed in an individual. V. V. S. Ayyar, a translator of the Kural, explains this correctly as follows³ :—

"We must understand that the author makes a clear distinction between private morality and State necessity. In private life, for instance, forgiveness is one of the greatest virtues and Chapter 16 sings its praise abundantly. But, for the king as a representative of the State it is only a limited virtue."

The standard of truth cannot be the same for the individual and the State. Truth has no pragmatic value if it does not contain in its womb the productivity of good. Similarly, non-killing which Tiruvalluvar has prized beyond measure in the individual cannot be applicable to the State when dealing with the enemy or treachery. Nowhere has Tiruvalluvar given the slightest suggestion that the State should be sustained by subterfuge or violence or the grosser practices of State-craft. There is no element in Tiruvalluvar of Chānakyanism or Machiavellinism which are both admired for their cleverness and perfection and disapproved as wanting in ethics to a smaller or

3. V. V. S. Ayyar, *The Maxims of Tiruvalluvar*, Madras—p. xl.

greater degree. The moral rearmament of the State depends to a large extent on its near perfection in ethics as absolutes cannot work. Tiruvalluvar does not lay down impossible standards.

Tiruvalluvar's polity in essence does not contemplate a 'police state' always in surveillance over the ruled or a 'belligerent state' always at discard with others or even a 'weak state' torn by divisions, treachery, divided counsel or the tyranny of the Prince, which keep the door open to an aggressor. Tiruvalluvar's concept is that of a State in which people live in harmony among themselves, with the Prince and at peace with neighbours, but strong, united and upholding the highest ideals of righteousness and goodness and correct economic doctrines and free from want and disease where men⁴ have freedom to rise to the full stature of their human excellence. Tiruvalluvar has visualised the ideal of a Welfare State which may not be the same as it is conceived of today because Tiruvalluvar believes in a manly society which raises its own economic and human resources and what is more important its moral stature, instead of the State becoming the universal provider by working economic levers reducing the citizenry to a stereotyped society of taxpayers and producers for the State.

The relevance of Tiruvalluvar for the modern age is, without exaggeration, a matter for deep satisfaction and value and it is hoped that it will be appreciated more and more not only in the country of his birth but also all round the world, that his lofty principles may become guidelines of State policies and his concepts of war and peace and better understanding among peoples may evoke a kindly response in the Chancellories of the world and that the re-discovery of Tiruvalluvar may bring about a welcome realisation that here is a polity and philosophy which have been well articulated presenting an ideal which they have been looking for.

Writing about Tiruvalluvar's genius, V. V. S. Ayyar, says⁴ :—

“The prophets of the world have not emphasised the greatness and power of the Moral Law with greater insistence or force, Bhisma, Kautilya, Kamandaka,

4. V. V. S. Ayyar, *The Maxims of Tiruvalluvar*, (Madras, 1925, p. xl, (preface)

Rama Das, Vishnu Sharman or Machiavelli or Confucius have no more subtle counsel to give on the conduct of the State."

I remember that on one occasion an American Ambassador in India who was referring to India's criticism of one aspect of American Foreign Policy took consolation in the fact that it is a sign of good friendship which takes the liberty to criticise a friend in best interest. A Vice-Chancellor of a Southern University in India offered a prize to the students who identified the Kural⁵ couplet which the Ambassador referred to.

Alexander Pyatigorsky, the Soviet Indologist, who has translated the Kural into Russian recently (1964) has expressed the relevancy of this work and its excellence in the following words :—

"It (Tirukkural) is an integral, homogeneous work of art, the author of which addresses neither king, subject nor priest, but *men*. And he (Tiruvalluvar) does not address man either as law-giver or prophet but as well-wisher, teacher and friend. He neither prophesied, nor spoke in hints and riddles; his words contained no shade of doubt, he had full conviction of the truth of what he said, both as artist and thinker.

The Kural of Tiruvalluvar is rightly considered as chef d'oeuvre of both Indian and world literature. This is due not only to the great artistic merits of the work but also, and this is most important, to the lofty humane ideas permeating it, which are equally precious to the people all over the world, of all periods and countries."

Today as never before the reading of the *Tirukkural* by Heads of States, Ministers, Generals, tribunes of the people and public servants and no less by students at the Universities, will be found a satisfying and beneficent experience. Tiruvalluvar, like many great men, is not to be circumscribed to one country or to one age. The light will shine far beyond.

5. See *Kural*, stanza 784.

CHAPTER II

Tiruvalluvar and ancient Hindu Thought

I. THE CONCEPT OF POLITY

I must first enter on a brief consideration of Polity before I discuss Tiruvalluvar. What exactly is Political theory? The word 'theory', of course, cannot be defined like the word 'law'. Theory is employed to mean thought, ideas or speculation. Political theory is thus ideas on government or philosophising about it. It enquires into or reflects upon ends, goals or values and upon the conception of good and right. Ends or goals may be immediate, intermediate or ultimate whereas value is normative and intrinsic and not phenomenal. In this sense theory becomes philosophy. It is less important to consider for example what Plato or Aristotle said about ends and means than it is to examine the interrelation of the concepts as value judgement. Political theory thus essentially fits under the concept of political philosophy. Vernon Van Dyke in his book '*Political Science—Philosophical Analysis*'¹ classifies political theory as institutional approach, legal approach, power approach and influence or value approach. These may roughly be equated as consideration of form of government, jurisprudence, statecraft and philosophy. It is easy to recognise into what groups Plato and Aristotle and Yajñavalkya, Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar will fit in. In my view Tiruvalluvar falls into the category of those whose approach considers value more than any other thing as important. The focus of interest in the study or theorising of State or polity in the Kural is not form or shape, strategy or power, law or jurisprudence but only value, which according to one American writer Harold D. Lassal will comprise well-being, skill, enlightenment, rectitude and affection. Value is something more than ethics and it connotes goodness and underlying obligations. A comparative reading of Arthasāstra and the Kural will convince that Tiruvalluvar was only dealing with values and not about

1. Vernon Van Dyke-*Political Science—Philosophical Analysis*, Stanford University Press (1960), p. 144.

the mechanics, form or legalistic basis of government. The keynote of polity in Tirukkural is thus value. Tiruvalluvar does not paint an Utopia or hold up any patterns of government as ideal. He does not also dwell upon fading ideas and forgotten issues and fossilised beliefs. In this sense he completely differs from all other writers, ancient and mediaeval, on Polity. He deals with the totality of the political phenomena comprising social order, government and universal good of the individual and society.

II. WORLD CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

In discussing the polity of Tiruvalluvar it is necessary to do some chronological spade work so that we may view Tiruvalluvar in the correct historic perspective. A chronological approach is a corrective lens to set right some myopic beliefs and assumptions.

The earliest date for all considerations of Indian civilisation, culture and institutions is now indisputably the period of the Indus Valley civilisation which goes back to 2500 B.C. The Aryan advent is placed somewhere about 1500 B.C. The Babylonian civilisation goes back more or less to 2500 B.C. and the date of Hammurabi, the Babylonian Law-giver is fixed at about 1800 B.C. The revolt of Moses against Ramses II is about 1200 B.C. The hymns of the Rig Veda go back to 1500 B.C. but the Vedas were not compiled till about 900 B.C. and Mahabharata period is also about the end of that period. The date of Manu the Law-giver is about 1900—1800 B.C. and the subsequent writers of Dharma Sastras, Brihaspati, Usanas, Bharadwaja, Visalaksa and Parasara cover the period 1700—1200 B.C. Others like Katyayana and others extend from 1200—400 B.C. The unnamed teacher of Kautilya and Kautilya himself are placed between 400—320 B.C. (although there is a contrary view regarding the date of Kautilya). The Dharmasastras of Gautama, Apastamba, Baudhayana and Vasishta cover the long period 600—200 B.C. Plato lived in 428—348 B.C., Aristotle in 384—322 B.C. and Confucius in 537—479 B.C. Gautama Buddha lived from 563—483 B.C. and the probable date of the death of Mahavira is 467 B.C. The invasion of India by Alexander of Macedonia is about 325 B.C. and the visit of Megasthenes to Chandragupta's court is about 300 B.C. The composition of

Manusmriti, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana is put at about 200 A.D. and those of Yajnavalkya smiriti about 100—300 A.D. and the 18 Puranas about 250—350 A.D. Panini is put about 300 B.C. The post-Kautilya writers on Artha, who generally took up the concepts of Kautilya and of the Mahabharata are Visnu (circa 200 A.D.), Yajnavalkya (circa 350 A.D.), Narada (circa 500 A.D.), Kamandaka (circa 700 A.D.) and Somadeva Suri (950 A.D.) The last two, being Jaina writers, considerably departed from Kautilya.²

This is the all-India picture in the world context.

III. THE TAMIL TRADITION

I now come to the Tamil tradition. If we refer to it as the Dravidian or proto-Dravidian tradition, as it justifiably can be, we must hark back to the period of the Indus-Valley civilisation. viz., 2500 B.C. if not to the lost continent of Lemuria nearly more than 10,000 years ago which is not proved to be a myth judging from the recent geographical investigations. The evidence of the Adiccanallur excavations, revealed typological parallels in Palestine at about 1200 B.C. and also in Syria and Cyprus about the same time. I shall skip over the archaeological and epigraphic evidence in the intervening period till we come to the indisputable evidence from Arikamedu excavations (also in S. India), which gives a Roman synchronism about 100 A.D. Whatever may be the view and counter-views of scholars about the historicity of the first two Tamil Sangams, there is no dispute at all about the date of the last Sangam (third) as its existence is attested by the Sinnamonur plates. Tangible accounts of the Tamil kingdoms, their rulers, polity and culture and their trade are found in the Sangam literature and the writings of European writers of the first and second Centuries of the Christian era, particularly Pliny the Elder of the first century A.D. and Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandria of the second century A.D. *Tolkappiyam* is the earliest and most comprehensive Tamil grammar of life and letters of the Tamils actually available to us now and it comes nearer to the Sangam period. As the tradition is that grammar

2. J. N. Spellman - *Political Theory of Ancient India*, Clarendon Press, 1963, pp. xvii and pp. 45-46.

follows literature, a body of literature must assuredly have preceded Tolkāppiyam for a long period of time. The determination of the date of Tolkāppiyam, and for our present purpose of the date of Tirukkural are thus important. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar considered that Tolkāppiyam must have been composed not later than the first or second century A.D. and that a vast body of literature must have existed before then. He says, "Five centuries would be a modest estimate for the period during which the literature grew".³ Before this period with its perified poetical conventions, there must have been another period in which those conventions became realities. Mr. Ayyangar ascribes another five centuries for this period, thus reaching about 1000 B.C. for the earlier limit of the birth of Tamil poetry which spoke of the incidents in love and war of heroes and chiefs and the life of the people. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar⁴ says more definitely that Tolkāppiyam must be assigned to the third or fourth Century B.C. As against views like these, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai⁵ considers that Tolkāppiyar could be given a date only posterior to Kautilya, i.e., 200 A.D. and that the earliest date which could be assigned taking into account Tolkāppiyar's alleged indebtedness to Bharata Natya Sastra and Vatsyayana's Kamasutras, is fifth century A.D. He also suggests that no poet of Sangam age could be earlier than second century A.D. I shall show presently that pushing back or forward of dates is not of material consequence to the consideration of the Tamil tradition of polity as reflected to some extent in Tolkāppiyam and elaborated in Tirukkural and in other Sangam works. It has relevance only for those who seek to prove Tolkāppiyar's indebtedness to Manusmṛiti and Dharmasastras and Tirukkural's indebtedness to Kautilya's Arthasastra. It must be remembered that Kautilya's date itself is uncertain, most Indian scholars ascribing to third century B.C. and European scholars like A.B. Keith and Winternitz to 300 A.D.

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3. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *History of the Tamils* (1929), pp. 70 etseq.
 4. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, Luzac & Co. (1930).
 5. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, N.C.B.H. (1956), pp. 13-14 & 51 p. 22 *ibid*.

IV. DATE OF TIRUVALLUVAR

Coming to the date of Tiruvalluvar, I might recall that it was very ably dealt with by Dr. S. Natesa Pillai of Ceylon who delivered the first Lecture under this Endowment in 1959. There is general consensus among scholars that Kural is of later date than Tolkāppiyam. If Tolkāppiyam is scaled down in date, naturally Tirukkural has also to be so done. It is also accepted that Silappadikaram and Manimekalai are later to Tirukkural as is evident from the presence of some Kural texts in them. Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai says that the earliest date to which Valluvar can be assigned is 600 A.D. and suggests that it accords with his date for Tolkappiyar. Of course it will also well accord with his date 800 A.D. for Silappadikāram and Manimekalai, but the point is whether it is acceptable. Mr. Pillai says that Tiruvalluvar is largely indebted to well-known treatises in Sanskrit such as Manu, Kautilya and Kamāndaka, the Ayurvedic treatises and the Kāma-sūtras.⁶ It will be noticed that he includes Kāmandaka's Nīti-sāra also in the list and suggests actually that Tiruvalluvar had greater partiality for Kāmandaka, whose date has been fixed as 700 A.D. by A.B. Keith. Further on, I shall be discussing in detail how far Tiruvalluvar is indebted to Kautilya and Kamandaka apart from superficial resemblances in a few things which could not obviously be different. The point is whether the Arthasāstra of Kautilya (who by the way is also believed to be a Dramila who hailed from the South) was of universal acceptance outside the Mauryan influence and whether the main theories and concepts of polity in Kautilya and in the Kural are identical. We must be gratefull to Mr. Pillai that he has attributed Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness more to Kamandaka than to Kautilya. For, it is important to point out that Kamandaka, although he bases his work mainly on Kautilya, has differed from him in many respects, has made his work briefer and cut out many portions relating to State-craft and other absurdities like magic and superstitions. Little is known as to where Kamandaka lived and I shall not be surprised if it is discovered that he also

6. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Literature*, N.C.B.H. (1956) pp. 81 et seq.

belonged to the South. There was considerable intercourse in trade between the north and south and we have evidence of this in Kautilya's Arthasāstra itself which refers to imports from Dakshinapāta of goods like diamonds, conch shells, sapphire and gold. But the Tamil country was outside the cultural or political influence of Magadha even in the period of Asoka as history testifies. It is thus unlikely that Tiruvalluvar was obliged to import the theories found in Kautilya. It is reasonable to accept the view of Dr. Natesa Pillai arrived at after elaborate enquiry that Tiruvalluvar's date is not latter than 200 A.D. I suggest that the dates are relevant only to prove any hypothesis of Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya or vice versa. What is more relevant is for whom Kautilya wrote and for what purpose Tiruvalluvar wrote, and what is more crucial is the radical differences in the theory and concept of polity in the two authors. The tradition that Tiruvalluvar was a contemporary of Elela Singha and that his work was published in the Madurai Sangam in the reign of Ugra-peru-valudi are sufficient to fix the date of Tiruvalluvar. Elela is the sixth descendant of a Chola prince, who according to Mahavamsa of Ceylon carried on a successful war against that Island about 2960 of Kali era. This works out to about or the first Century A. D. The date of accession of Ugra-peru-valudi is fixed by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar as about 125 A. D.⁷ There are thus sufficient data to put Tiruvalluvar's date indubitably not later than 2nd Century A.D. M. Raghava Iyengar fixes the date of Tiruvalluvar as 5th Century A. D. in his work on Ceran Cenkuttuvan. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar is definite⁸ that Tiruvalluvar's date is the close of the first Century or the beginning of the second century. (In his translation of the *Kural*, 20 years afterwards, he says⁹ in the Preface that he finds no reason to change that view.). Professor A. Chakravarti, who identifies Tiruvalluvar with Elacharya (also called Kunda Kundacharya of

7. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *History of the Tamils from the Earliest times to 600 A.D.* (C. Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons, Madras, 1928), p. 588.

8. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, (Luzac & Co., London, 1930), p. 54.

9. do. *Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar* (in Roman transliteration with English Translation), Adyar Library, Madras (1943), p. ix,

a school of Jaina ascetics), seems to fix the date as 1st Century A. D. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar says that Tiruvalluvar cannot be assigned to any century earlier than the sixth Century.

Soviet Indo-logists prefer to agree with Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai¹⁰ although it is contradictory to tradition.

V. KAUTILYA AND TIRUVALLUVAR.

Before I discuss whether Tiruvalluvar is indebted to Kautilya and if so how far, I must dwell on the different schools of political thought in India in the period from say 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. It must be said to the credit of Kautilya that he was a realist and he dealt with politics by itself as distinct from religion although he based his theories on Dharmasastras. Prof. Saletore says¹¹ that Kautilya's was a daring attempt at divesting politics from religion and that the whole treatment of the subject was based on *ānvikshiki* or reasoning or philosophy. He however points out that Kautilya was not free from supernaturalism and superstitions. It would be idle to look to Kautilya for modern concepts of the State and of political theories of the nature of the State although we find very elaborate treatment of the functions of the State and methods and procedures, while in the Kural we find a balanced treatment of the concept of the State and its constituents and functions, the reason being that Kautilya was engaged in writing a book on State-craft whereas Tiruvalluvar was moved

10. "The discrepancy in the dating of the Kural is rather great; it is much greater than the interval in such sources as the Arthasastra, for instance. The lack of modern linguistic analysis of ancient and mediæval Tamil texts, as well as the incompleteness of historical, religious and philosophical researches have been largely responsible for the discrepancy in dating stretching over a period of nearly one thousand years from 300 B.C. to 700 A.D. The latter date was ascribed to the Kural by the great Tamil scholar Vaiyapuri Pillai who died in 1956. Soviet Indologists agree with Vaiyapuri Pillai's point of view, "although it is contradictory not only to the traditions of mediæval commentators but also to the opinion of the majority of Tamil scholars of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century"—Alexander Pyatigorsky in an article in the "*Mail*", Madras, in 1959.

11. B. A. Saletore, *op. cit.*

by no other purpose than stating the moral values which the State should secure. This is due not merely to the fact that the conditions of political and social life were obviously different even in the same stratum of time but also the fact that the traditions were different. According to Satapata Brahmana a Kshatriya to become a king had to perform a rajasuya sacrifice and the Brahman was excluded from kingship. A king who ruled over his entire land had to perform aswamedha sacrifice. We find no trace of such concepts in Tiruvalluvar. When there is such a great difference, it is not correct to suggest that Tiruvalluvar based his polity on Kautilya.

Kautilya says in his very first sutra that his work is a compendium of almost all the Arthasastras composed by ancient teachers. In the last sutra he says that the Sastra was written by him "who, from intolerance of misrule, quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda King." He also says that his Sastra can not only set on foot righteous economic and aesthetic acts and maintain them but also put down unrighteous, uneconomical and displeasing acts. In the first four chapters of the Kural considered as Pāyiram (or preface), Tiruvalluvar on the other hand does not put forth any ephemeral reason for writing his book. It is obvious he did not write for any particular occasion or from any particular motive. The keynote of these chapters is the glory of righteousness for life here and hereafter for the individual and for society, and that there is no material happiness without the influence of good men who have renounced. It is obvious that Tiruvalluvar was influenced by the ferment of his times when the Brahminical religion, Buddhism and Jainism were trying to gain ascendancy through temporal power. He was therefore stating the fundamentals of a righteous life, of a good society and of an enlightened polity guided by men of virtue. His work is not certainly conventional ethics in Arattuppal, conventional economic and political theories in Porutpal or conventional love in Kama-thuppal. He was stating the highest values based on reason and judgment. So far as Porutpal is concerned, with which we are concerned in these Lectures, it is my thesis that Tiruvalluvar is expounding a theory of political values, a philosophy of politics and an integral concept of individual and social happiness, morality and love, and wealth and good government. His aim

was not to write a book on politics or State-craft which has, as its basis and objective, power and force to maintain social order. He did not conceive of the State as an embodiment of force to keep individual conduct and social behaviour to subserve moral good.

VI. CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ORDER.

I would like to lay stress on the society for which Tiruvalluvar wrote and the type of culture that existed at his time. Doubtless society and culture were in a process of change due to the impact of the changes in Northern India as a result of the Aryan advent and subsequent invasions and absorptions. It is unnecessary to go into these details as it may be agreed that such a phenomenon existed. Tiruvalluvar's task was apparently to present the fundamentals of a stable social order and good government sustained by 'aram' according to the Dravidian tradition. If it is agreed that the Harappan culture was proto-Dravidian it is necessary to hark back on the form of society which must have existed in the Indus valley. The Mohenjo-daro excavations have disclosed a certain amount of information as to the mode of life of their inhabitants. Archaeologists have in particular been impressed by the absence of remains of weapons of offence and defence. The ruins of those well-planned cities have shown no traces of walls, ramparts or fortifications. It has to be inferred that these early societies were comparatively free from fear of war and violence. C. E. M. Joad,¹² who luckily is a philosopher and not a historian troubled only by dates and events and not by the thought of men, answers the question how these early societies succeed in dispensing with those means of defence of which almost all the early societies of mankind seem to have felt the need. All known human societies seem to have been based on force within and to have feared force from without and what is more, the earlier the society the more universal, the more persistent the evidence of fighting. Quoting Gerald Heard (from his book *The Source of Civilisation*) Joad suggests that the explanation is found in the practice of a psychological technique by virtue of which these early societies not only in the Indus Valley and elsewhere but also

12. C. E. M. Joad — "*The Story of Indian Civilisation*", (Macmillan), 1936, pp. 134-136

in Egypt and Mesopotamia had developed their consciousness in such a way that violence of any kind was abhorrent to it. This is the happy result of integration of personality in these peoples which while removing the will to violence, did not withdraw people's attention from the duties of our common life in the every day world. Joad also points out that absence of palaces and temples and forts and municipal buildings indicate that the inhabitants dispensed with the machinery of government and religion. This is apparently the reflection of the basic culture on which there were impositions after the Aryan advent later and the concomitant skirmishes and wars with chariot and horse. Neither in the Sangam literature nor in the Kural do we notice reference to wars of the kind we read about in the Mahabharata. Joad, in my opinion has rightly found the key to the integrated personality of the people of these early Dravidian societies when he states that they practised the psychological technique of value in all human activities. This integrated personality was later conventionally divided in Tamil literature into *aham* and *puram* i. e. subjective reactions and objective events, centering round 'love' and 'war'. But Tiruvalluvar maintains throughout the ideal of integrated personality of individual and society and deals with the totality of life. And this I regard as a feature completely exalted over all other ideals of polity. Albert Schweitzer naturally observes¹³ that the world and life affirmation found in the Kural is so much different from that in the laws of Manu. This is the philosophic element in the idea of polity in the Kural. It is a polity meant for a society not based on force deriving its strength from a hegemony bound by supra-ethical and sometimes superstitious rules and beliefs. The dictum that culture makes the State is only too true. The conquests of such a State will be more in the field of culture and not of people or territory because government is not based on power. This is what has happened in India before 200 A. D. from a reading of history.

VII. IDEAS OF KINGSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTRACT.

Having this background in view let us examine briefly the form of social contract, if any, in the old Dharma and Artha-

13. Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought and its Development* (Hodder and Stroughton) 1936 - pp, 200.205.

sastras and in the Kural. Social contract is the opposite of divine right of kings. It was Dr. K. P. Jayaswal that suggested that a passage in the Rig Veda which says, "Let all the people desire thee (as king) is a contractual basis for kingship." Dr. P. V. Kane does not agree with this view as the hymn was only a benediction to be sung perhaps at the royal coronation. There is also a passage in the Atharva Veda which contains the statement "the people (visah) chose thee to govern the kingdom, these quarters, the five goddesses chose thee." In Aitereya Brahmana there is a passage which says that after the Mahabhiseka (coronation) the king is required to take on oath before the consecrating priest, "From the night of my birth to that of my death for the space between these two, my sacrifices and my gifts, my place, my good deeds, my life and my offspring mayest thou take if I play Thee false." Kane does not agree with Jayaswal that this is a contract. Mr. Spellman¹⁴ however considers that this contains sufficient to say that there was in embryonic form at least the concept of a contract which however was not later developed. When the king is ordained to rule by virtue of caste there is obviously no contract. At least in the early Vedic societies there may be some such element of consent when janapada (or the rural area) was the unit of government. There is obviously no contract after the introduction of caste and imposition of Manu dharma under which the king also takes taxes as his wages. On the other hand the Buddhistic theory of kingship by governmental compact (or mahasammata) in the scheme of its cosmic evolution suggests a quasi-contractual obligation to protect. In some of the Jataka stories there is reference to election of a king. Spellman¹⁵ rightly points out that from the religious point of view it was easier for the Buddhist to suggest a human origin for kingship than the Brahmanical religionists. The Jaina conception is also similar to the Buddhist's. Some writers like Somadeva and Hemachandra follow the smriti principle of the ruler's obligation or authority while Jinasena speaks of a purely sectarian obligation based on a sectarian view of the kingship. Kautilya exploits both the divine right theory and the contract theory in his Arthashastra to suit the

14. Spellman - *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20

15. Spellman - *op. cit.*, p. 24

ideas current in his time. For example Sutra 1 xii. 26 says :—

'People suffering from anarchy (*matsyanyaya*) first made Manu, the *Vaivaswata*, to be their king; and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings maintain the safety and security of their subjects, and if they do not impose punishment and taxes (properly) are answerable for the sins of their subjects. The king stands in the place of *Indra* and *Yama* and kings are visible dispensers of punishment and rewards; whoever disregards kings will be visited with divine punishment. Hence kings shall never be despised.'

Dr. U. N. Ghosal observes¹⁶ that *Kautilya's Arthasastra* is really "wanting in a true theory of the king's relation with his subjects, although he exploits current ideas of the king's origin and office for the purpose of political propaganda in the interest of public security. *Kamandaka* in *Sukranitisara* slightly varies the *Smṛiti* idea by attributing the king's authority to be derived, from his superhuman origin on the ground of his virtue and past merit as well as from his office and functions, while he repeats the *smṛiti* principle of the king's ethico-religious obligation of protection.

VIII. TIRUVALLUVAR'S VIEW

Let us see what is found in the *Kural*. *Tiruvalluvar* must obviously be aware of the *Smṛiti* ideas of kingship as well as the theories of the Buddhists and the Jains. It will not be stretching a point if we say that he was likely to have been aware of the Greek theories as there was considerable trade with Greece and according *Silappadikāram* *Yavanas* were living in *Kaveripumpattinam*. It is quite likely that he was aware of *Kautilya's Arthasastra* and *Kamandaka's Nitisastra* as most scholars find parallelism in a few places between *Kautilya* and *Tiruvalluvar*. Indeed *Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai* has suggested, as mentioned earlier, that *Tiruvalluvar* had greater partiality for

16. U. N. Ghosal - *op.cit.*, p. 533

Kamandaka. But we do not find anywhere in the Kural any suggestion of divine origin of kingship. Parimelalagar explains in his prefatory remarks to the chapter “இறைமாட்சி” that Tiruvalluvar calls the king as இறை only as the king protects the world in the form of lokapalika and cites *Tiruvaimozhi* which says that seeing a virtuous king is seeing Tirumal, the protector in the Trinity. In the first chapter in the Porutpal called இறை மாட்சி Tiruvalluvar says that the king who administers impartial justice and protects his subjects will be looked upon as god among men. Parimelalagar interprets the words இறை and வைக்கப்படும் in the following Kural :—

“முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்
கிறை என்று வைக்கப்படும்.”

[398]

as follows :—

“பிறப்பான் மகனே யரயினும் செயலான் மக்கட்குக் கடவுள்.” (i.e., though human by birth, by function godly). For வைக்கப்படும் Parimelalagar says மக்களிற் பிரித்து உயர்த்தி வைத்தல், i.e., superior to and different from ordinary men. Manakkutavar and Pariperalumal interpret that, because the king protects, he is considered as the chief (மனிதனுக்கு நாயகன் என்று எண்ணப்படுவான்). Parithiyar says that the king will be looked upon as Parameswaran (பரமேஸ்வரன் என்று எண்ணப்படும்). Kalingar says that the king is placed first before men and looked upon as god (உலகத்து மக்கள் யாவர்க்கும் இறையவன் என்று முன் வைத்து எண்ணப்படும்). It is clearly not the intention of Tiruvalluvar, even according to the commentators, to suggest that the king is divine in origin or descent. The king is only looked upon with the same veneration as god as both protect. The king is not looked upon as the Viceregent of God as in Christian countries in the mediæval age or the Khalif in Islamic countries. Of course he is not considered divine by divine consecration as in the Smṛiti literature. The words ‘வைக்கப்படும்’ are measured and have a limited import. The social contract between the king and his subjects is not because of payment of taxes or other mutual obligation or on any elective principle but purely based on justice. The king in open to criticism and then only the subjects will not like to leave his protecting umbrella. Kural 389 says, “Behold

the prince who hath the virtue to bear with words that are bitter to the ear; his subjects will never leave the shadow of his umbrella.”

செவிப் பகைச் சொற் பொறுக்கும் பண்புடை வேந்தன்
கவிசைக்கீழ்த் தங்கும் உலகு. [389]

There is a concept in Tiruvalluvar which is probably not found anywhere else. He says ‘Behold the Prince who is liberal and gracious and just and who tendeth his people with care. These four excellences make him the light among kings.’

கொடையளி செங்கோல் குடியேயம்ப னுன்கும்
உடையாளும் வேந்தர்க் கொளி. [390]

The word ‘ஒளி’ is significant. It is not used simply to denote that such a king is an enlightened one among kings. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai¹⁷ has given a wonderful exposition for this word ‘ஒளி’ in his book “திருவள்ளுவர் நூல் நயம்.” He says—

“உலகம் காக்கின்ற வேந்தரிடத்து ஓர் ஒளி உண்டென்றும் அவ்
வொளியே உலகினை காக்கும் பெருந்திறமா மென்றும், அவ்வொளியே
அவர்மாட்டுள்ள தெய்வத்தன்மையை உணர்த்துமென்றும் தமிழ் நூல்கள்
கருதுகின்றன. அவர்பாலுள்ள ஒளியால் அவனை மக்கள் வேண்டு
மென்றும் கருத்தை நாயனார்—

‘இனையர் இனமுறையர் என்றிகழார்
நீன்ற ஒளியோடு ஒழுகப்படும்.’ [698]

என்று அரசனிடத்துள்ள ஒளியை புகழ்கின்றனர்”.

“Trifle not with the Prince because he is young or because he is kinsman. Act with deference to the light that resides in him.” (Translation). Here also Tiruvalluvar refers to ‘Oli’.

I find that Parimelalgar interprets ‘ஒளி’ as the ‘உலகம் காக்கின்ற தெய்வத்தன்மை’

I also find that in another Kural, Tiruvalluvar has clearly stated that this light resides in a king only so long as he is just :—

மன்னர்க்கு மன்னுதல் செங்கோன்மை அஃதின்றேல்
மன்னுவாம் மன்னர்க் கொளி [556]

17. R. P. Sethu Pillai, *Tiruvalluvar Nool Nayam*, Kazakam, Madras.

The Tamil classic *Jivaka Chintamani* has a passage which also refers to this ஒளி as protecting the people even when the king is asleep.

உறங்கு மாயினும் மன்னவன் தன்ஒளி,
கறங்கு தென்திறை வைபவங் காக்குமால்
இறங்கு கண்ணிமை யார் விழித்தேயிருந்து
அறங்கள் வெளவ அதன்புறம் காக்கலார்.

The word ஒளி has a profound significance in the Tamil religious and philosophical tradition. St. Jnanasambandar in திருவெழுக்கூற்றிருக்கை refers to Lord Siva having showed the ஒளி நெறி to the four rishis—

ஒரானீழ் லொன்கழ் விரண்டு
முப்பொழு தேத்திய நால்வர்க் கொளி நெறி
காட்டினே. (Tevaram. I. 28-6-8)

‘Oli’ in the Tamil tradition means Divine knowledge. So, Tiruvalluvar in referring to this must not have meant mere glory or Divine origin, but grace born out of wisdom. It is the King’s grace that binds the subjects to him than any other manifestation of social contract. Dr. N. Subramaniam in his paper ‘Political Philosophy of Ancient Tamils’ (*Madras University Journal*, Vol. XXXII No. 2, January 1961) says that divine qualities were attributed to the King and that his divine right to rule was accepted. This is not absolutely correct so far as Kural is concerned. Even Dr. U. N. Ghosal, who is the only non-Tamil Indian author who has devoted some attention to Tamil classics, in discussing Indian political ideas says, “that the influence of the Smṛiti ideas of divine kingship is found in all Sanskrit literary works like Ramayana, Pancatantra, etc. as well as the Kural and Silappadikaram of the Tamil classical literature.” This does not appear to be entirely correct so far as Tiruvalluvar is concerned.

Prof. Spellman¹⁸ classifies different gradations of kingly divinity and they are interesting :—

- (1) God is king.
- (2) King is God.

18. Spellman, *op. cit.* p. 24 et seq.

- (3) All kings are divine.
- (4) Religious kings are divine.
- (5) King's descent is from god.
- (6) King is a divine agent.
- (7) King incorporates particles of god in him.
- (8) Institute of Kingship is divine.
- (9) King's functions are comparable to god.
- (10) King achieves occasional divinity through sacrifices and ceremonies.
- (11) King is endowed by superhuman attributes.
- (12) King is a special concern of the gods.

Tiruvalluvar's very carefully qualified statement that —
 “The Prince who administereth impartial justice and protectereth his subjects will be looked upon as god among men,”

முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்
 கிறை என்று வழங்கப்படும்.

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does not seem to fall into any of the above classifications. Manu claimed king's divinity as one of the reasons for the king being entitled to obedience. But there were so many other things also which were considered sacred in the ancient tradition. Narada Sutras say, “a Brahman, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, the waters and a king as the eight” are sacred. On this Prof. A. L. Basham dryly remarks that ‘divinity was cheap in India.’ Kural at any rate does not endow any kind of cheap divinity to the king in its polity.

I have dealt with at some length on this aspect of kingship as it is the fountain head for all other concepts of polity. Listing of qualifications for the king, his education, his council, his need for forts, army and other resources are all ordinary considerations, which any writer on polity could compile. What I wish to emphasise is that in Tiruvalluvar the idea of polity is completely secular and there is nothing sacred or sacerdotal attached to it which will not stand validity at the present time.

IX. OLD THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT.

Before discussing in detail the ideas of polity in the Kural it is necessary to examine the theories of government and the State in the ancient world before the age of Tiruvalluvar. The usual starting point for such an examination hitherto was the Rig Veda but we have now to start from Mohenjo-daro civilisation. I have already referred to the state of society in the Harappan culture and its probable system of government. We can neither ignore it nor exaggerate it. That civilisation was not, of course, a state of nature—"a lush paradise where righteousness prevailed, no laws were necessary, no king needed; everything was perfect." After the disappearance of the Harappan culture in the Indus valley either by flood or by annihilation, it persisted in other areas in a decadent form but still maintaining some distinguishing features. Its dominant characteristic was, judging from the seals, the monotheistic idea of God and the absence of any evidence of divine kingship. The most important seal only bears the figure of Pasupati. The earliest reference to kingship in Rig Veda is on the divine level rather than on human level. To Indra was given the Kingship — "the hero who in all encounters overcometh, most eminent for power, destroyer in conflict, fierce and exceedingly strong, stalwart and full of vigour". In Aitareya Brahmana the story is given in greater detail in the war between gods and asuras. In Satapata Brahmana it is even more specific. In the evil fight the gods yielded to the excellence of Indra — "Indra is all the deities, the gods have Indra as chief." In the historical situation of the Vedic times, the king was predominantly a military leader with supernatural powers. Throughout the Vedic times upto the time of Manu, the fear of anarchy was almost endemic which is a symptom of an unstable society. The doctrine of Matsyanyāya was predominant, the strong dominating the weak like the big fish eating the smaller fry. The Satapata Brahmana states that the stronger seizes the weaker. Manu states, "The creator created the king for the protection of all this world when every thing ran through fear hither and thither, as there was then no ruler of the world." We find these ideas stressed in the Santi Parva of Mahabharata. This idea of rulership as a safeguard against anarchy must naturally engender some important political concepts of rights and duties, but even

upto the time of Kautilya the development of ideas was onesided. The king had no doubt the obligation to protect but the citizens had no right to revolt if their unalienable rights were usurped. Mr. Spellman says,¹⁹ "The idea of Matsyanyaya became more than simply the *raison detre* for kingship. It underlay the concept of *varnasrama dharma*. Just as the various classes had been created separately, they should remain distinct. If it were otherwise and a confusion of castes resulted, one would be encouraging social chaos and eventually a kind of anarchy. It is one of the functions of the king to ensure that people remained in their assigned places in society. The doctrine of Matsyanyaya was thus the dominant justification for the theoretical basis of kingship. This in due course gave rise to the organic theory of the State as consisting of several elements of which the people (or *rashtra*) are the most important. The Matsya Purana states "The king was the State and the subjects were the tree". Later on the State is said to be composed of seven *angas* — (1) the ruler (*Swāmin*) (2) the minister (*amātya*), (3) the territory and the people (*rashtra* or *janapada*), (4) the fortress (*durg*) (5) the treasury (*kosa*), (6) army (*danda*) and (7) friends and allies (*mitra*) Superimposed on this purely secular concept is what Mr. Spellman calls the sacrificial theory of State according to which the State exists for maintaining the *varnasrama dharma*, the performance of which is considered as a grand sacrifice to please the gods. The *danda niti* of the king is for ensuring the performance of these duties. The importance and privileges given to Brahmanas were to ensure them to perform the rituals necessary for the welfare of the State. Even in Kautilya we find this concept underlined. Sutra I-III-6 says, "Of a king, the religious vow is his readiness to action; satisfactory discharge of his duties is his performance of sacrifice; equal attention to all is the offer of fees and ablution towards consecration." The king is divinely appointed in a *Rājasūya* sacrifice when he takes on the *amsa* of *Prajapati*. Strangely enough it is not stated how the first king came to be appointed and even Kautilya is silent as to how kings were appointed or elected. According to the Brahmanas the king is divinely appointed from the *Kshatriyas* and the oath for him to carry out his royal duties was administered by the priest. (Dr.

19. J.W. Spellman, *op cit* pp. 7-8

U. N. Ghosal has dealt with this topic exhaustively but still the exact manner of election of king is not clear.) Between the theory of divine kingship and that of the theory of social contract, which are the two extremities, there are intermediate theories. One is semi-divine appointment by rishis. In Atharva Veda we have a passage²⁰ which says, "Desiring what is excellent, the heaven finding Rsis in the beginning sat down in attendance with (upani-sad) ardour and consecration; thence was born royalty, strength and force; let the gods make submissive to this man".

In Mahabharata also we find many stories of kings created by rishis. This is occasional divinity as distinguished from functional divinity by virtue of varna. Prof. Saletore calls these occasional divinity and divinity through incorporation. The theory of Social Contract, a concept elaborated by Rousseau, is of course totally absent in these early theories of kingship in India and the citizen has no right to depose a ruler, and no remedy, apart from regicide or rebellion, which the Sastras did not allow, to correct a king who fails in his duties.

X. KURAL'S CONCEPT OF 'ARAM'

Let us see whether Tiruvalluvar's task was only to continue or repeat the ideas in Dharmasastras.

It is superficially stated that later writers on Dharma niti or artha merely repeated or explained what was contained in the Smritis and Srutis. This is not exactly so, as even Kautilya himself has criticised some of his predecessors. But the Dharma-sastra attributed to Manu has pervaded for a long time and probably throughout the country, whether tacitly or otherwise. There is, however, a lot of confusion as to what exactly Dharma, niti or danda means although in the Tamil tradition the word 'aram' has been used from time immemorial with more or less the same connotation and embraces niti. Parimelalgar calls it துணைக்கரணம் for 'aram' and its fulfilment as porul and inbam. The Manu of the northern tradition mentioned in the Rig Veda, Atharva Veda and the Taittiriya Samhita is only a legendary

person to denote the father of the race. In the Yajur Samhitas and in the Brahmanas and later in the epics he is spoken of as a king or consecrated person. In the Dharmasastras, Manu refers to the Vedas being the root of Dharma and hence the law-giver is different from the Manu of the Vedas. Kautilya doubtless follows this Manu of the Dharmasastras in many particulars and there is evidence to indicate that there was an earlier Manava Dharma Sutra as distinct from the Manu Smriti. Brihaspathi's Arthasastra is said to be a summary of an earlier work on danda niti. The date of this Brihaspati is fixed at 200-400 A.D. by Dr. P. V. Kane and at 600-700 A.D. by Professors Buhler and Jolly. Similarly Parasara is attributed to 100-500 A. D. and Yajna-vaalkya to 400 A. D. There appears to have been more than one person bearing the same name in each case. The identity of Kautilya is itself in doubt, some scholars assigning him to 400 B. C. and some to 300 A. D. Kamāndaka, author of Nitisara is attributed to Circa 587 A. D. and by some others to 700 A. D. Apart from the identity doubts and chronological uncertainties of these writers on dharma, artha and niti, there is no unanimity either about the exact connotation of the words and their relationships. This is very important to indicate that canonical laws were not distinct from similar theories of polity. Prof. Macdonnell interpreted dharma as law, custom and morality, Prof. Keith as duty and morality, and Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar as precepts and canonical law. Even such a learned scholar in Dharmasastras like Dr. P. V. Kane²¹ considers that the exact meaning of the term is uncertain. He says that its most prominent significance came to be 'the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the castes, as a person in a particular stage of life.' The commentators of Manusmriti also refer to dharma as five-fold, viz, varna, dharma, asrama dharma, varnasrama dharma, naimithika dharma and guna dharma. When applied to polity, only the last is relevant, as it alone is bound by ācara (law) and vyavahāra (administration). Referring to Artha, Dr. Kane says that, "Though Arthasastra and Dharmasastra are often contra-distinguished on account of the difference of the two sastras in ideals and in the methods

21. P. V. Kane - *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. I, pp. 2-3

adopted to reach them, Arthasastra is really a branch of Dharma sastra as the former deals with the responsibility of the kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on Dharma. The purpose of Arthasastra as stated in Kautilya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving power over the earth.' (*Prithivya labapaleno upaya sastram Arthasastramithi* - p. 15-1) Referring to danda or niti, Prof. Saletore²² says that even Vijnaneswara, the famous commentator of Yajnavalkya Smriti does not enlighten us on the content of dharma and its relation to the science of danda niti or niti-sastra. Later on Emperor Asoka in the Brahmagiri edict uses dharma in the sense of the sum of moral duties. Danda niti is clearly a penal or corrective code as 'danda' is the stake to which an offender is tied. Dr. Ghosal states the relation between Arthasastra and danda niti fairly clearly. He says that the scope of danda niti is simply defined as comprising policy and impolicy, while Arthasastra is shown by definition as well as its content to mean the art of government in the widest sense. Rajadharma is referred to in both the dharmasastra and Arthasastra but in the former it is stated as a class duty while in the latter it "concerns itself as a rule with the inductive investigation of the phenomena of the State. It is evident from a study of these sastras that some placed emphasis on trayi (the Dharma-sastras derived from Vedas), some on anvikshiki (the philosophies like Sankhya etc.) and some on danda niti (the coercive power of the ruler). It is Kautilya and to a greater extent Kamāndaka that placed emphasis on varta, the economics and politics of the State, as mankind is principally devoted to the pursuit of wealth.

The point I am driving at is that it is in the Kural that we find the advent of a rationalistic concept of politics based primarily on virtue and wealth, 'aram and porul', which are not governed by class duties laid down in canonical books like Manu which cannot obviously hold validity for all times. Prof. Keith has clinched the point when he says that the arthasastra and nitisastra were opposed to the dharmasastra in as much as they are not codes of morals but deal in the main with action in practical politics and conduct of the ordinary affairs

of every day life and intercourse. Both Kautilya and Yajna-
valkya gave precedence to Dharmasastra over Dandaniti and said
that when there was conflict, the injunction of the former should
prevail. Tiruvalluvar gives importance to 'aram' out and out
but it is not the canonical law, and not even ethical law,
but moral value and goodness. Consider for example the
following Kurals :—

இருமை வகை தெரிந்து ஈண்டு அறம் பூண்டார்
பெருமை பிறக்கிற்று உலகு. (23)

அழுக்காறு அவாவெகுளி இன்னாச்சொல் நான்கும்
இழுக்கா இயன்றது அறம் (35)

என்பிலதனை வெயில் போலக் காயுமே
அன்பிலதனை அறம் (77)

அல்லவை தேய அறம் பெருகும் நல்லவை
நாடி இனிய சொலின். (96)

It may be noted that Tiruvalluvar uses two different words
'அறம்' and 'அறன்' (*aram*) and (*aran*). The latter refers to ethical
merit or conformism to the ethical law or the unalterable fruit
of action. For example, in the Kural we notice the word
'*aran*' in the following lines :—

அறனினும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீ தின்றி வந்த பொருள், (754)

திறனறிந்து சொல்லுக சொல்லை அறனும்
பொருளும் அதனினு உங்கு இல் (644)

அறனறிந்து ஆன்றமைந்த சொல்லான் எஞ்ஞான்றும்
திறனறிந்தான் தேர்ச்சித் துணை (635)

அறனறிந்து மூத்த அறிவுடையார் கேண்மை
திறனறிந்து தேர்ந்து கொளல் (441)

அறனிழுக்கா தல்லவை நீக்கி மறனிழுக்கா
மானம் உடைய தரசு. (384)

'அறன்' (*aran*) is of a lower order than 'அறம்' (*aram*) which is
absolute goodness. This is clear from the following Kural—

மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல் அனைத்து அறன்
ஆருவ நீர பிற.

(44)

'அறன்' (*aran*) apparently refers to ethics whereas 'அறம்' (*aram*) is goodness. In Arattuppal Tiruvalluvar lays stress on 'aram' more than 'aran'.

The State morality must be based on goodness whereas individual morality is necessarily subordinate to social ethics and conventions and religious injunctions which may have only limited goodness although conventionally meritorious. Tiruvalluvar transcends the conventions and prejudices of the earlier times and thus presents a theory of values based on 'aram'.

CHAPTER III

Tiruvalluvar, Plato and Confucius

I. TIRUVALLUVAR AND THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

It will not be irrelevant to compare Tiruvalluvar's ideas with those of Plato in his *Republic* for both are principally philosophers. Plato lived in the first half of the 4th Century B.C. He was an aristocrat and related to the thirty tyrants who ruled in Greece. He was a youngman when Athens was defeated by the democrats, and a pupil of Socrates whom democracy put to death. He therefore turned to Sparta for the administration of the ideal commonwealth. Being an admirer of Socrates, his approach to political problems was more teleological than rational explanations. He considered the God-state to be the one which 'most nearly copies the heavenly model by having a minimum of change and a maximum of static perfection and its rulers should be those who best understood the eternal good.' Like the Pythagoreans he believed that only a man who knew the good could be a good statesman and those who do not have a combination of intellectual and moral discipline if allowed a share in government, will corrupt it. He, therefore, insisted on much education in a Ruler. In common with most Greek philosophers he thought that leisure was essential for wisdom and therefore would relieve those who have to govern from the burden of having to work for their living.

In his *Republic* Plato deals with three aspects. The first is the construction of an ideal commonwealth, the second the concept of a philosopher-king and the third different kinds of constitution and their merits. His main idea is to define what justice is and because the state is a magnification of the individual, he deals with the attributes of a just State. In Plato's utopia citizens are divided into three classes: the common people, the soldiers and the guardians. The last are the rulers to wield political power. The guardians will be chosen by legislators and thereafter by heredity. The guardians are

to carry out the intentions of the legislators. The education of the guardian is to comprise many things including geometry, gymnastics and music. Gravity, decorum and courage are to be cultivated by this education. The guardians should have only small houses and simple food and should have no private property. Plato's idea of justice consists in every citizen doing his just business without interference with others. It implies more a sense of law than one of equality. On this basis the reposing of more power in the guardians is justified because they are wiser. This really, as Thrasymachus put it crudely, is 'Justice is nothing else than the interest of the stronger,' although it is refuted in the Dialogues. Bertrand Russell¹ who thinks that Plato is more praised than understood puts the question: What will Plato's Republic achieve? He answers 'It will achieve success in wars against roughly equal populations, and it will secure livelihood for a certain small number of people. It will almost certainly produce no art or science because of its rigidity. . . . Plato had lived through famine and defeat in Athens; perhaps subconsciously he thought the avoidance of these evils the best statesman could accomplish.' Plato's ideas are sometimes described as communistic because he disfavoured private property and he desired that citizens should be as sons and elders as fathers. Plato's communism is disapproved by Aristotle. He criticises Plato's utopia as giving too much unity to the State and that without private property there would be no virtue like benevolence and generosity. Both Plato and Aristotle were not aware of the system of Government in non-Hellenic states although Aristotle makes references to Egypt, Babylon, Persia and Carthage. But he is influenced by the causes of revolutions in Greece and therefore his defence of democracy is qualified. Monarchy is better than aristocracy and aristocracy is better than democracy, but the corruption of the best is the worst and hence tyranny is worse than oligarchy and oligarchy worse than democracy. Aristotle makes an interesting distinction between oligarchy and democracy. There is oligarchy when the rich govern without consideration for the poor and democracy when the power is in the hands of the needy and they disregarded

1. Bertrand Russell, p. 200

the interest of the rich. Aristotle considers that foreign conquest is not the end of the State except wars against barbarians and slaves. In small States war is not an end but only a means for its happiness. Even in Aristotle's days this proved obsolete as the city state was overrun by Macedonia. For Plato, the only chance for happiness is to put Government in the hands of philosophers—men of good strata, good physique, good mind and good education and create a ruling class of such men unchanged and uncorrupted. The ideal of Aristotle is the state which produces cultured gentlemen, i.e., men with aristocratic mentality with love of learning and arts. It must be noted that Plato does not equate a philosopher king to a man of learning. A good and noted guardian of the city, he considers, will be by nature philosophical and spirited and quick and strong. There was much scepticism even in his own time about philosophers being able to rule and remaining uncorrupted.

I shall later on refer to Tiruvalluvar's concept of learning and wise counsel for the Prince in the *Kural* which is entirely different from those of Plato and Aristotle.

Plato conceives of a State without war but that a city suffering from luxury, or inflammation as he calls, it, will lead to war with neighbours. "If we are to have enough for pasture and ploughland, we must take a slice from our neighbour's territory. And they will want to do the same to ours, if they also overpass the bounds of necessity and plunge into wreckless pursuit of wealth."

Plato considers that the State will need a professional army and that according to his idea, will mean not a citizen army but a special class or caste and that the business of war is a matter of craftsmanship. The army would largely be drawn from the higher caste to which the philosophers belonged and that has not all of that caste would be fit for ruling, the rest would remain as soldiers and auxiliaries.

What is Plato's conception of the common man, the governed, the citizen? There is little indication of what his education should be, and what his laws of property, marriage etc., should be. Plato seems to have thought that once the rulers

or guardians are properly instituted, the rest would automatically follow. It is for this defect that Plato's *Republic* is considered more as an utopia than as practical proposition. He considered that his Republic would decline not so much by other factors as by the process in the decline of the 'guardians.' The first and least bad decline is what is called Timocracy. Timocracy is the regime where honour is the dominant principle giving rise to love of gold. A property qualifications is introduced and wealth becomes the principle of power. The result is that the State is divided into rich and poor, the one conspiring against the other. Plutocracy is the natural offspring of Timocracy. Plutocracy passes into democracy when the civil conflict becomes open and the masses of the poor get the power. Plato thinks that democracy is worse than oligarchy and says that "the excess of wealth and neglect of all else but money-making destroyed oligarchy" and that the excess of the good in democracy dissolved it in its turn. The thirst for the wine of liberty will lead to defiance of the rulers who will not satisfy it and the rulers will naturally have to use strong measures. Thus democracy leads to a form of tyranny. Liberty will go beyond limits and lawlessness "will make its way down into private homes and end by implanting itself in the very animals." The tyrant in Democracy is full of promises to the individual and the public, grants release from debts, distributes lands to the public and pretends to be gracious and good-natured to all. All his time is consumed in keeping rivals under check and will stir up conflicts to keep the public in need of him, while taxes might impoverish them. The whole argument of Plato was that a just man is better and happier than the unjust and that the philosopher is better fitted to rule than the vulgar caught up in constant bouts for power and pleasure. It will be interesting to note that Plato later more or less abandoned his argument of government by philosophers and in his old age he appealed to the authority of religion in his work "The Laws". He considers that the strongest motive to hold men to their duty is judgment after death. He advocates a moderate democracy where government by philosophers is abandoned but in which there will be weightage of power to

the richer classes while excluding no one from political influence. The communism of the Republic is also abandoned and only the avoidance of extremes of poverty and wealth is recommended.

I have dwelt at some length on the concepts of polity and the political theory of Plato only to show by contrast that Tiruvalluvar has placed his concepts above the quicksands of conflicts between the rich and poor and the competitions between tyrants. His is the concept of constitutional rule by a Prince of inherent qualities for rulership and aided by a council of competent ministers and the rule being based on justice and manly action as will be seen from Chapters 55, 56, 60 and 62 of the Kural. Tiruvalluvar's concept of the Prince appears to be somewhat similar to the concept of Philosopher-Ruler in the *Republic*. The philosopher-ruler represents the highest talent given the highest training both by education from books and instruction by wise men and put at the disposal of the State. Although Plato contemplates hereditary succession after creation of the class of philosopher-ruler, Tiruvalluvar does not refer to hereditary succession at all. The Philosopher-Kings of Plato's ideal do not serve the State because they want to but because they have the supreme vision and have a duty to their fellow men and thus they discharge by doing work of the government. They are a dedicated minority. The perennial attraction in this conception is that it puts the highest talent at the disposal of the community, a ruler whose heart is in heaven but dedicates himself to the service of society. One criticism against this concept is that a self-perpetuating minority of experts is undesirable and undemocratic. There is no democratic election because Plato thought that as bad a way of choosing rulers as choosing them by their wealth. Another criticism is that the ideal of a philosopher-ruler is more an ideal than fact to be found in practical life and hence the moral problem of power corrupting a ruler who is supposed to be ideal. The argument against Plato's system is not that it trusts the common man too little but it trusts the rulers too much.

Tiruvalluvar rightly stresses more on the virtues of the councillors than the king himself and the duty of the councillors to correct the king where need be. Mr. Gosman regards Plato

as a reactionary who encouraged in practice the 'dictatorship of the virtuous Right.' Dr. Proppert considers him a totalitarian and a Utopian who prepares in advance a blue print of the society he aims at and then is ruthless in trying to put it to effect. Mr. Weldon styles Plato's concept as 'the illusion of the geometrical method,' a phrase which has cynical reference to Plato's prescription of training in mathematics and astronomy for the philosopher ruler. Tiruvalluvar differs from Plato and also from Manu and Kautilya in this respect.

Manu and Kautilya dwell more on the sacraments to be performed by the ruler as a Kshatriya including the performance of sacrifices. Kautilya advances on the injunction of Manu as he insists on the instruction of the king by experienced man in addition to guidance by men learned in the Vedas. The king has to learn the sacred canon (trayi) and philosophy (anvikshika) from cultured persons, economics (vartha) from the heads of administrative departments and politics (dandaniti) from those versed in theory and practice. Kautilya has no doubt an eye more on the practical requirements of state-craft than sacerdotal obligations. He gives a formidable list of qualifications for the king and even prescribes a daily time-table of his duties. He insists on the king keeping company with aged professors of sciences and law for proper discipline (*asya nityas-ca vidyaniddha samyoga vinaya — vridhdyartham tat mulatvat vinayasya*, Art. I. V. 10). He even goes to the extent of saying that where the letter of the sacred law (Sastra) comes in conflict with the rational interpretation of dharma (dharmanyāya), then reason shall be held authoritative.

Tiruvalluvar steers clear of the sacerdotal theories or the theory of kingship by karma found in Manu, Kautilya and the Mahabharata. There is no reference to any caste or sacerdotal or karmic qualifications. He doubtless enumerate the qualifications for the Prince, his education, and his instruction by the wise and this some scholars ascribe as a debt which Tiruvalluvar owes to the Arthasastra. This is on the face of it untenable as no writer on Polity can omit to refer to it. On the other

hand what is important is whether the qualifications prescribed are a mere copy of the old or traditional, either because of reverence for the old or because the society depicted in Arthasastra is better and a model for all times and all societies. It is no doubt true that Tiruvalluvar does not discuss the origin and criteria for kingship just as Plato or Kautilya does because it is immaterial what the custom approved by society is, but what is more important is that the Prince should have the competence and wisdom and training to uphold a just government no matter whether he is elected or succeeds by heredity. That the Prince is not to be a Rajan remote from his subjects is clear as he is enjoined in Kural 386 to be accessible to all his subjects and never to be harsh of word.

காட்சிக் கெளரியன் கடுஞ்சொல்லன் அல்லனேல்

மீக்கூறும் மன்னன் நிலம்

(386)

In the Chapter on கல்வி (learning) Tiruvalluvar does not mention any particular sastras as does Kautilya of 'trayi'. It is safe to infer that Tiruvalluvar wants the Prince to learn all that is worth knowing in his own society and in others. Otherwise how is the relevance of Kural 397 in the Chapter கல்வி (learning)? All lands and places are acceptable for those who wish to learn, then why not continue to learn till life lasts?—asks Tiruvalluvar.

யாதானும் நாடாமல் ஊராமல் என் ஒருவன்

சாந்துணையுந் கல்லாத வாறு.

(397)

Tiruvalluvar's prescription is universal and is valid for all times. His concepts transcend the limitations of geo-politics which are circumscribed by factors of location and environment, both in place and time. Lack of fulness of knowledge in an intercommunicating society, Tiruvalluvar holds, is like playing at chess without squares.

அரக்கின்றி வட்டு ஆடியவற்றே நிரம்பிய

நூலின்றிக் கோட்டிக் கொளல்.

(401)

II. MANU AND HAMMURABI.

Now, I wish to make a brief reference to the Babylonian concept of the State as Dravidian pre-history goes back to the contacts with Sumeria in 3000 B. C. Hammurabi was the Babylonian law-giver. Manu could be hypothetically assigned to circa 1800 B. C. It is the same age to which Hammurabi has been assigned by Prof. Gordon Childe. There is some resemblance in the two codes as they appear to have been made when city states were absorbed in territorial states comprising larger societies. There is abundant evidence of the existence of cities in the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa epoch (circa 2500 B.C.) but beyond their general lay-out, civic amenities and their trade and articles of merchandise, no information is available about the state of polity. There is, however, little doubt from the seals, even in their present state of undecipherment, that there was foreign trade, that there was orderly civic government and that its polity must have been highly evolved. Manusmriti itself was believed to be valid only in Aryavarta, in the country between the Himalayas and Vindhya, the different regions of it being Brahmavarta (the land between Sarasvati and Drsadvati, Brahmarsa (the land comprising Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pancala or Kanyakubja and Surasena or Mathura) and the Madhyadesa (the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhya to the west of Vinasara and the east of Prayaga. It is clear that the codes of Manu and Hammurabi were made after a sort of politico-social consolidation was made. There is said to be similarity of views between Hammurabi and Manu on the questions of landed property and wages. Slavery was known both to Hammurabi and Manu, but we do not find a whisper of it in Tiruvalluvar. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves — he who is made captive in war, he who works for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought, he who is given as gift by another and he who is inherited from ancestors. The Babylonian law-giver conceded property rights to the slave but Manu would not, and it is stated that the priest could seize the property of a slave. Kautilya also has a chapter on slaves but he is a little more liberal. According to him the king shall punish those who do not protect the rights of the slaves (dasas) and hirelings (chatikas) but it seems that an Arya could never be made slave except when taken captive in war. In Hammurabi, Manu and

Kautilya we find differences in penalties and protection based on social differences and there is no equality before the law or the king's code. But we are not concerned here so much with this aspect as with the concept of the State. The Babylonian concept of kingship was based on the 'idea of *ishakku*', the king being the vice-regent of the city of god. He is one who rules by divine right and could be opposed only by priests who were the repositories of magic and the messages of the gods.

In the official hierarchy also the priests played a part. Prof. Saletore⁴ thinks that the king in Manu was not an unbridled despot although as in Hammurabi he had the power over the life and death of his subjects. He states that the king in Manu was properly more afraid of the Kshatriyas than the king in Hammurabi who was afraid of the priests.

III. ROMAN THEORISTS.

Considering that ancient South India had contacts with Rome and China both in trade and culturally and also with the early Christian civilisation, it is necessary to touch even though briefly on the contemporary development of political thought in those civilisations. There was no striking originality in Roman thought and for the most part the ideas current were those of the Hellenistic period. Plato and Aristotle made little impact and Rome's influence was the development of jurisprudence which later profoundly influenced the Western world. The stoic doctrine of the brotherhood of man and citizenship of the world (which is a parallel to the Sangam poet's *yādum urē, yāvarum kelir*) suited Rome which had its eyes on pax Romana. Cicero in his *De Republic* says that people are brought together because of their consent to law than by anything else. The distinguishing feature of this concept is that whether power resides in a king or the people or a tyrant it is vice, that wrongdoing produces inequality and that all men are capable of virtue. It is observed that it is here that the study of State begins with human nature as by that nature men are equal. This is the turning point and the beginnings of a theory of society

4. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 166

of which Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity of the later French revolution is an expression. This idea of the equality of men is the profoundest contribution of the Stoics to political thought which changed the conception of law and influenced modern political philosophers like Locke. For Plato and Aristotle men are bound to be ruled by natural superiors and aristocracy becomes the form of government. But to Cicero law is coeval with man and man shares it with god and by nature he shares it equally with men of whatever race or city and this precedes the establishment of any State or government. This led to the replacement in the Middle ages of the old Greek idea that great men are a law unto themselves or that the discretion of the philosopher-king is higher than the fixity of law. (The impact of this could be traced in the differences in concepts in the Old and New Testaments). It is well to take note of this also as it is sometimes suggested that Tiruvalluvar was influenced by the Christian doctrine of faith, love and charity if not of political ideas. The old Jewish tradition was purely theocratic with a later development towards monarchy but there is little evidence of any theory of government or the nature of political relations. In the New Testament we find many cross-currents of thought particularly in the Epistles of St. Paul and in the words of Jesus, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"—This finds crystallisation after Christianity was established in Rome. In his *City of God* St. Augustine says, "A people is not an assemblage of men brought together in any fashion but an assemblage of a multitude associated by consent to law and community of interest".

In Tiruvalluvar we do not find any reference to the supremacy of any law except the natural law in the governance of a State and of course no theocratic element. There is therefore not much in common in Tiruvalluvar with the Roman and Jewish traditions.

IV. TIRUVALLUVAR AND CONFUCIUS.

Let us now turn to Chinese thought. Confucius who lived in 557—479 B. C.⁵ was born in a common family and later became

5. C. N. McIlwain - *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*. The Macmillan Co. New York (1960), p. 115

Grand Secretary of Justice and the Chief Minister in the Chou dynasty. He re-gained some territory lost to a neighbouring State by his moral force, executed a Minister who created disorder and restored peace in the land. He travelled from State to State and was consulted by dukes and princes but no one would put his doctrines into force. His judgements on social and political events were such that "unruly ministers and villainous sons were afraid to repeat their evil deeds."⁶ His teachings are found in his *Analects*. He placed emphasis on virtue *te* as contrasted with physical force *li*. His concept of *Chun* or the ruler is bound by a particular code of morals and manners so that the word *Chun-tzu* implies not merely superiority of birth but also superiority of character and behaviour. The requisite of birth is waived. The way of the *Chun-tzu* may be called the way of the Gentlemen. One recognises him by the fact that his movements are free from any brusqueness or violence, that his expression is one of complete openness and sincerity, that his speech is free from any low or vulgar tinge. As regards his conduct, he must be extremely careful to make friends only with people of his own sort but he need be never lonely. If he behaves like a gentlemen he will be welcomed by his brothers everywhere within the four seas. The whole world is his club and country. Because it is only small men that develop hostility, while gentlemen are loved and respected. He has no politics, but sides with the right wherever he finds it. He must not lay himself open to the accusation of talking too much, still less should he boast or display his superiority (except in sports). He must not exalt himself by denigrating the people which is the method of small men. His education is for building up his *te* or character. He will face emergencies without fret or fear and his head will not be turned by success nor his temper soured by adversity. The success of Confucianism and its triumph over other schools of his time in the second Century B. C. was due to its moderation. Confucius placed much store on culture (*wen*) and on keeping faith (*fen*) more than merely telling truth. He also gives importance to 'learning much' and he did not attach any importance to rituals. It seems to me that the Confucian doctrines come very close to the image of a good Prince in the *Kural*. Particularly the

6. Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, George Allen & Unwin, London (1949), pp. 34 et seq.

importance of keeping faith rather than adhering to literal truth corresponds to Tiruvalluvar's definition of வாழ்மை. (*Vaimai* or truth). Confucius also speaks of a Saviour King (*Wang*) who, unlike monarchs of the world ruling by magic, moral force or by feudatory succession, would make goodness universal.

In my view Tiruvalluvar's conception of the Prince as சான்றோன் ('*Sanrōn*') is comparable to Plato's 'philosopher king' and the Confucian ideal of the 'gentleman king.'

V. BUDDHIST AND JAINA SCHOOLS

I would now like to touch on the Buddhist and Jaina theories of State and Kingship as it is likely that they were known throughout the country at that time. (It is sometimes claimed that Tiruvalluvar was a Buddhist or Jaina.) The Buddhist concept of Kingship is mostly based on the Buddhist works like *Tripitakas* and the Jataka stories. Of these, the Digha Nayaka is said to contain some useful material. There is no agreement about the date of Tripitakas and it is assigned to a period ranging from 4th Century B.C. to 4th Century A.D. The Buddhist tradition relates that the Jataka stories were taken to Ceylon by the Royal missionary Mahendra during the reign of Asoka. Dr. Salestere⁷ states that Buddhists and Jainas led two vigorous protestant movements against Hinduism from the 5th Century B.C. onwards and both were essentially concerned with ridiculing the earlier Hindu political concepts although that did not prevent them from either adopting or modifying some of them. The Digha Nayaka gives an insight into the fanciful picture of the primeval human society. Only after the degeneracy of this society from its ethereal to physical plane, the two human institutions of family and property began and in order to maintain social order, the people on agreement chose a chief to maintain order and lawfully inflict punishment. The institution of kingship arose in this way and the rise to power of the Great Elect or the Mahasammata also arose in this way. The King was 'Rajan' because he delighted the people and was their leader and guide. Asvoghōsa says that

7. Salestere of at p. 322—323

the king was elected by the princes among themselves and not out of any divine right and that the King had councillors. Arya Sura in his work *Jatakamata*, attributed to 4th Century A.D., says that the King was a Bōdhisattva and was the embodiment of all virtues pertaining to dharma, artha and kama. He ruled his subjects like his own children and he dispensed law and protected his state by the sword. There is a curious story that when there was famine, the Bōdhisattva was advised by the Brahmin councillors to perform a Vedic sacrifice, but he refused. The Buddhists denied that one of the duties of the king was to maintain the social order by maintaining the four varnas in their respective spheres. This was because they did not subscribe to the Caste system and they denied the restriction of kingship to Kshatriyas. They ruled out hereditary suecession because the king was mahāsammata. The king wielded the sword only to command the respect of other kings. There are some republican elements in these ideas of the State, but it is clear that except for the departure from divine right and heredity as a general rule, the Buddhist theory was more or less similar to Kautilya's but purified from the earlier Manu's doctrines. Emperor Asoka's edicts themselves are said not to follow strictly the Buddhist doctrines. The references we have in the Tamil classic *Manimēkalai* are more relevant to our evaluation. For the first time we find that in Buddhistic theory the king is said to be an embodiment of Dharma, Artha and Kama excellences.

The Jaina school was more or less contemporary with the early Buddhistic school although in its origin it was older, but Jainas continued to flourish in the country and particularly in South India long after the Buddhist school was on the wane. Of the most important of the Jaina canonical works is the *Jaina Sūtras*. The date of these sutras is unsettled although they are undoubtedly old and Prof. Jacobi said that their earliest redaction was in A.D. 453. Prof. Beni Prasad considers that the sutras are on the whole disappointing to the student of governmental theory. *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtras* contains information about kingship and royal duties in the form of conversation between Nami who was descended from the Gods and born a man and Indra disguised as Brahmin. The main concepts in the Jaina school are :—

- (1). the duty of the Kshatriya and the king is to fortify the capital,
- (2) he must establish public safety by punishing the wicked,
- (3) he must suppress recalcitrant chiefs,
- (4, he must uphold dharma by performing sacrifices and feeding Bramanas and Sramanas and
- (5) he must increase wealth in the shape of gold and silver.

Prof. Saletore says that there is agreement between *Jaina Sutras* and *Manuṣmṛiti* although such a verdict is not liked by Jaina scholars. The Jaina sutras list universal monarchs from Bharata, Sagara, Maghavan etc. down to Mahabharata of Hastinapura. This also seems to correspond to the concept of universal monarchs of the ancient Hindus. It is pointed out that the Jaina sutras for the first time gave a description of anarchical states in the *Acāranga* sutras. They are states ruled over by (1) ganas, (2) yuvarajas (3) dvirajas (two kings) (4) vairrajya and (5) vairuddha rajya. There were later Jaina works in the 9th Century A.D. with which we are not concerned at the moment. They speak of patriarchs or Kulakara of whom Pratisruti was the first in a line of fourteen. They fall into four categories according to the functions performed by them. They are (1) Manus, those who taught the means of livelihood, (2) Kulakaras, those who taught the Aryas how to live together, (3) Kulādharas, those who established families and (4) Yugādhipurusas, those who were the embodiments of age cycles. The important fact to be noticed is that the Jaina school adhered to the Caste system with some modifications. There is also a curious fact relating to the evolution of danda niti or punishment. In the pristine state there was complete obedience. Later the punishments merely consisted in crying *he* (alas), *ma* (warning against repetition of the offence), and *dhih* (crying shame). When earth no longer remained *bhōgabhumi* but became a *karma bhumi* did the Jaina school think danda necessary for social order and preventing *matsya-nyāya* preponderating. We find a long succession of Jaina writers on Polity commencing from Jivasenacarya, Somedeva Suri (who served

under a Deccan ruler in circa 958 A.D., and Hemacandracarya (circa 1089 A.D.) the author of *Trisasti Salakaprusa Caritē*. This indicates the continuance of the Jains in temporal power long after, particularly in South India. The important contribution of the later Jaina School is the emancipation of the socio-political system from divine ordainment and the fact that ahimsa should be the basis of State action rather than merely danda which is merely that of a police State.

In *Silappadikaram* we have authentic overtones of purified concepts influenced by the Tamil tradition and culture. In the *Kural* itself we find that the importance of *danda* is not minimised and is referred to in two or three Couplets only while preponderantly we find that the insistence is on *aram*. This is the important distinction of the *Kural* from the Buddhist and Jaina schools of thought on polity.

CHAPTER IV.

IS TIRUVALLUVAR INDEBTED TO KAUTILYA ?

I. Some fundamental considerations

Before going into detail about the ideas on Polity in Tirukkural, I wish to dispose of the question of the oft-supposed Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya. I have already referred to the relative chronology of Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar. There is doubt among scholars whether Kautilya the author was really the minister of Chandragupta and his date is put down to 200 A. D. Some scholars are inclined to identify Kautilya with Vatsyāyana, the author of Kāmasūtras. We shall assume for purposes of discussion that Kautilya was anterior to Tiruvalluvar in date. Sometimes a sweeping suggestion is made that Tiruvalluvar's Arattuppāl is based on Dharmasastras, Porutpāl on Arthasāstras and Kāmathuppāl on Kāmasastras. This is based on ignorance. Arthuppāl is certainly not based on Manu as will be evident to even a casual student. Similarly any one who suggests that Kamathuppāl is based on Kamasutras only betrays abysmal ignorance of Aham literature in Tamil and the excellence of Tiruvalluvar's philosophy of love over Vatsyayana's mechanics of love. This is attributable to the craze among scholars to trace a Sanskrit origin for everything in Tamil. Even P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar¹ says that Tiruvalluvar borrows freely from Sanskrit sastras in regard to Aram and Porul as, before Tiruvalluvar's time, there was no didactic poetry in Tamil literature. As regards Kamattuppāl, Mr. Ayyangar recognises however, that Tiruvalluvar has followed the Tamil tradition of Karpu and Kalavu propounded in *Tolkappiyam* and whether he borrowed his material from Sanskrit or Tamil, he displays an originality of treatment and a sequence of ideas entirely his own. Mr. Ayyangar also says that the author of the Kural must have been a good Sanskrit scholar and must have made a special study of Niti and Arthasastra literature and that he must have been familiar with Pancatantra and Hitōpadēsa and Bhartruhari's works. He concludes that it is reasonable to assume that

1 P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar *opcit* pp. 587 et seq.

Tiruvalluvar follows mainly in his Arattupal the most popular Dharmasastra of Manu and in his Porutpal the well-known Arthasastra of Kautilya. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai² has very forcefully and clearly refuted this suggestion in his திருவள்ளுவர் நூல்கள். He has examined Perimelalagar's statement that அறமாவது மனு முதலிய நூல்களில் விதித்தன செய்தனும், விலக்கியன் ஒழித்தனும். மென்பது அவ்வறம் வடநூல்களில் ஒழுக்கம், வழக்கு தண்டமென் மூவகைப்படும். Parimelalagar himself finds it difficult to explain why Tiruvalluvar has not dealt with even slightly வழக்கு and தண்டம் in Arathuppal. Prof. Sethu Pillai is right in saying that Tiruvalluvar who set about writing a treatise applicable universally and to all times did not base it on Manu which was based on customs and prejudices of his time. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar³ who has referred to Prof. Pillai's criticism did not rebut it but merely says, "We do not propose to examine here these views (Prof. Pillai's) which are yet to be proved before they could be adopted as conclusive. It may be that Tamilian genius developed itself on independent but parallel lines and the process of such slow but sure development culminated in the genius of the Tirukkural's author". Prof. Pillai also points out that Tiruvalluvar wrote about the three fundamental aspirations of man, viz., aram, porul and inbam, following Tolkappiyar.

அந்நிலை பருக்கின் அறம் முதலாகிய

மும்முதல் பொருட்டும் உரிய என்ப,

—Tolkappiyam ()

In my opinion a complete departure from Manu is found in Tiruvalluvar's unequivocal lines :—

பிறப்பு ஒக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பு ஒவ்வா

செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்.

—Kural (972)

It is a man's work and not his birth that determines worth, as all men are equal by birth. This cardinal doctrine which is revolutionary from the point of all earlier Dharmasastras is

2. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai - *Tiruvalluvar Noolnayam*, S. India Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Co., Madras (1952), pp. 120—22.

3. V.R.R. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 126

sufficient proof that Tiruvalluvar was not adapting Manu or any other ancient law-giver whose influence in the Tamil country was only partial. Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai⁴ says, "Never before, nor since, did words of such profound wisdom issue forth from any sage in Tamil land. It is true that Valluvar drew his material from Sanskrit sources (as indicated above) but his genius transmuted them into real gold. Manu had features which were peculiar to his own time and to the times of his subsequent redactors. His society was god-ordained, hierarchic in structure and unalterably fixed by Karmic influence. It denied equality between man and man. Valluvar, the Tamil sage excels each one of these ancients (Kautilya and Vatsyayana) in his respective sphere." Scholars like Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar and even Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai have attempted to indicate or list out parallelisms, sometimes even amounting to identity, between the maxims of Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar but these are few, by and large. Nevertheless, these parallelisms, have to be explained rationally. Dr. N Subramanian in a recent paper 'Political Philosophy of Ancient Tamils' (1961) says, "It is our view that while Valluvar was in all probability quite aware of Kautilya's Arthasastra, in fact Valluvar was not indebted to Kautilya for his views. The political conditions and institutions of South India were not broadly speaking fundamentally different from North Indian Polity,—the King, his advisers, aristocracy and its checks were all there in both places. These institutions provoked certain thoughts in the minds of Kautilya and Valluvar. There is no wonder that Kautilya and Valluvar reacted alike in certain circumstances and it is notable that they reacted differently elsewhere. When this is the position there is no ground for saying that there was any 'indebtedness' suggesting that the Porutpal is all but a translation of Artha Sastra. . . it is very clear that Valluvar as well as Kautilya have both borrowed from a common source namely, anonymous purvachariyas and existing practices." Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar⁵ in his '*Ancient Indian Polity*' makes a statement that, "In the most representative political thought of ancient India, there is complete agreement on two matters, viz. (1) on the idea of what constitute the essential elements of a State and (2) on the natural necessity for the

4. S. Vaiyapuri pillai *op. cit.* p.86

5. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 40

State." (Prof. Ayyangar was, of course, not instituting a comparison of Kautilya with Tiruvalluvar and I may state that even in the elements or 'angas' of the State the views of Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar are not identical as we shall presently see). It is well-known as observed by many scholars including Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai that Kautilya himself made many departures from the earlier dharmasastras and arthasastras because he was more a statesman and politician than a lawgiver and it is obvious that he did not want to emphasise differences in birth because the overthrow of the Nanda line and the restoration of the Mauryas which he is supposed to have brought about was not propitious to dwell on them and it was politic to push them to the background. Dr. U. N. Ghosal⁶ in referring to certain similarities suggests that the old Arthasastra tradition was important in the concept of the author of the Kural. If there is any historical truth in the tradition that Kautilya was a Dramila from the South, it is likely that some of the more liberal ideas that are definitely found in his Arthsastra than in the earlier works were due to the prevalent ideas in the South having travelled to the North. It may be said that Kautilya was a synthesiser, while Tiruvalluvar adhered to the original heritage of the South.

The most important thing to be remembered in instituting comparisons of the two works is that Kautilya presents as a political theorist the image of statesman and politician comparable in later days to Machiavelli, Richelieu and Wolsley, while Tiruvalluvar presents the image of a philosopher comparable to Plato, Aristotle Confucius and Marcus Aurelius.

2. DIFFERING SOCIAL ORDER AND ETHICS.

To compare Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar it is necessary to compare the contemporary societies and their backgrounds. Let us first take up the backgrounds. Anthropologists and political theorists conceive of men as nomads first before they cry a halt to their wanderings and settle down in groups. Many peoples of history have gone through this stage. This is particularly true of

6. Dr. U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p.

the Aryan settlers in the north of which there is sufficient evidence. We have not sufficient information as to when the Dravidians in the South passed through this experience. If we accept the theory of some scholars that South India was the original home of the Dravidians, this element of nomadism is completely ruled out. On the other hand if the Dravidian people were from the Mediterranean or Caucasian regions, there is irrefutable evidence that the wanderings of the Dravidians were some millenia before the similar phenomenon in the case of the Aryans who colonised and merged with the original inhabitants history have gone through this stage. This is particularly true of the Aryan settlers in the north of which there is sufficient evidence. We have not sufficient information as to when the Dravidians in the South passed through this experience. If we accept the theory of some scholars that South India was the original home of the Dravidians, this element of nomadism is completely ruled out. On the other hand if the Dravidian people were from the Mediterranean or Caucasian regions, it is irrefutable that the wanderings of the Dravidians were some millenia before the similar phenomenon in the case of the Aryans who colonised and merged with the original inhabitants of the Gantgetic plains. As there is an irrefutable link with the Mohenjo-Daro and Dravidian elements in the culture of the two peoples, it is evident that the original Dravidians were a more evolved society, but they had not the same challenges to meet as the Aryans to form into exclusive groups for political purposes. Neither the Aryans nor the Dravidians were however the makers of large States. Till the time of Asoka, the Aryan States were only small States. Similarly the contemporary States of Mūvendars in the South were also relatively small. The original States were only tribal communities in all countries of the ancient world and later on they grew by incorporation of smaller classes and tribes. In South India there were not any clans or tribes, but distinctive geopolitical features grew up on the basis of *tinai* (regional characteristics) till the time of Muvendars. The stage of imperial expansion came very much later in South India than in the North but so far as State-making is concerned, as Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy⁷ has

7. M. Ruthnaswamy—*The Making of the State* (Williams & Norgate, London), p. 446.

observes in his excellent work "*The Making of the State*" it was the Dravidians of the South who set the example and the pace to the Aryans in the business of the formation of States. Hence it may be assumed that Tiruvalluvar had in his time more settled ideas of the theory of a State than Kautilya who however, displays more remarkable ideas about State-craft and strategies. The need for State-craft and strong government were felt by the Aryans from the earliest times as apparently they found it extremely difficult in overcoming the original inhabitants. As Prof. Ruthnaswamy remarks, "The prayers that they addressed to Indra and Agni must have been wrung from hearts stricken with anxiety and depressed by despair of overcoming their formidable enemy. Across the ages, the Vedic hymns still palpitate with the fear and trembling of a people who had ventured far from their bases and had counted on easy settlements on fertile fields. In their despair the Vedic peoples invented charms, spells and sacrifices and pressed them into service to defend against their terrible enemy." We find echoes of this patina of magic and ritualism even in Kautilya, which later Kamāndaka has wisely eliminated or reduced in his Nitisara. Dravidian civilisation continued to be more agricultural and devoted to the arts and culture peculiar to the different regions because of leisure and freedom from political challenges. Dravidian social organisation in the South, it must be admitted, was weak and they were only makers of small States till the times of the Imperial Cholas, and even their conquests within India and outside were more cultural than territorial. From the time of the Upanishads, there has been considerable cultural exchanges between the North and South and one remarkable feature is the infusion of Tamil monotheistic philosophy into the philosophy of the Upanishads which will be evident to even the most casual student and is distinctly different from the beliefs and religious practices found in the Vedas and Brahmanas. It is possible that some ideas of State-craft from the North spread in the South but it is clear, so far as the Kural is concerned, that the concepts are more philosophic and less sophisticated. The Kural therefore seems to owe nothing to Kautilya in its Weltanschauung. While Kautilya deals only with Polity, the Kural deals with Moral order and Love also. It is obvious that dharma, artha

and kama were not separated in the culture and civilisation of the era which Tiruvalluvar represents. The archaeological findings at Arikamedu relate to the period about 1st century A.D. The current excavations (1964-65) at Kaveripoompattinam are also tentatively said to relate to the 2nd century A.D. Here the excavations have revealed irrigation works, a sea-wharf and Buddhist chaitya besides coins, some of them bearing the figure of linga, bull, tiger, etc. There is no basis for suggesting that the culture of Dravidians before the Aryan advent was primitive and poorish (as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri⁸ states unjustifiably in one of his books). A civilisation, it must be remembered, takes aeons to bloom and flower. A primitive civilisation could not have suddenly become rich and refined, as evidenced by the Sangam literature, in one or two centuries as if by a magic touch. The same must be said as regards polity which is an even more leisurely process. It must be admitted that Tamil social organisation was not so well-knit as the Aryan hegemony. There was no need for it. The view that the Tamils were makers of only small States before the first two centuries of the Christian era is probably true but the justification for a State lies in its moral basis than on its aggressiveness and State-craft and its Imperial ambitions.

Another important difference between Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar is that in Kautilya and the preceding Arthasastras generally, 'artha' is largely identified with State [and only secondarily with what is called 'vartha' or wealth. In a state of society where there is no social justice, wealth will distort the other two desiderata, viz., Dharma and Kama. Tiruvalluvar says in plainest words that worldly happiness is impossible without wealth as the other world is impossible for those who do not have compassion and love :—

அருள் இல்லார்க்கு அவ்வுலகம் இல்லை பொருளில்லார்க்கு
இவ்வுலகம் இல்லை

(247)

He goes a step further and says that compassion which is the child of love requires the kindly nurse of wealth.

(To be continued)

8: K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—*The History and Culture of the Tamils*, (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1964), p. 7.

அருள் என்னும் அன்பின் குழவி. பொருளென்னும்
செல்வச் செவிலியால் உண்டு

(757)

But this wealth must be acquired with means that are not evil, to sustain both aram and inbam.

அருள் ஈனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள்

(754)

One who has produced untained wealth is assured at once the other two objects of life, viz., righteousness and love.

ஒன்பொருள் காழ்ப்ப இயற்றியவர்க்கு என்பொருள்
ஏனை இரண்டும் ஒருங்கு

(760)

Wealth is important for both individual happiness and for the happiness of the State and it is the individual that sustains the State, although the more direct responsibility is that of the King, Ministers and all the rest.

Dr. M. Varadarajan⁹ in his book “திருவள்ளுவர் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை நலம்” has clearly explained that there will be a clash of family duties and State duties without wealth and even married love would become unhappy without wealth righteously acquired. He calls them நாட்டுக்கடமை and வீட்டுக்கடமை. This politico-economic theory of State is particularly emphasised in Tiruvalluvar although it is true that Kautilya deals elaborately with the revenues of the State, etc., but wealth viewed as such is only an appurtenance and does not have a meta-economical significance. M. Ariel has observed that what is wonderful in Tiruvalluvar is that “he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason, and that he proclaims their very essence—in their eternal abstractness, virtue and truth—and he presents as it were in one group of the highest laws of domestic and social life.”

9. M. Varadarajan திருவள்ளுவர் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை நலம் (Pari Nilayam, 1955)—pp. 77 - 80.

Making of the State - Tiruvalluvar's concept.**1. MONARCHY OR DEMOCRACY ?**

Neither Kautilya nor Tiruvalluvar wrote for a form of Government now known as democracy. It is therefore beside the point to discuss that Tiruvalluvar did not conceive of a democratic form of government but what is relevant is to examine whether the principles of government expounded by him are not valid for all times and whether Tiruvalluvar was writing for autocratic kings. At the time Tiruvalluvar was writing, the South was essentially a country of monarchical States and not of republics of an oligarchical or democratic nature. Being a self-contained country, the progress in the South and development of political and administrative institutions proceeded as Dr. T. V. Mahalingam¹ says "on almost independent and indigenous lines. Although there were Kings at Madurai, Puhar and Kanchi, there were a number of chieftains, and administrative interests were intensely local." Monarchy was, however, a political necessity to follow a leadership. Thus "the growth of monarchy as a political institution in South India was not due to any preference shown to it by the people as against any other form of Government." It is not, however, correct to say that the state in South India was not 'monistic' but 'pluralistic' in character. The central government did not interfere with the smaller kingdoms and principalities. The king was leader and protector in war and exemplar in peace. The alternative to monarchy was anarchy. As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri points out Tamils did not sanction resistance to the King's will and tyrannicide was unthinkable. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar speaking generally of Hindu kingship says "while in form the Hindu Government may be described as a monarchy and even an autocracy and while it may readily even be conceded that the Hindu monarchy had autocratic powers for application in times of emergency, the actual use of the power was made in a way to

T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, (Madras University, 1961).

2. Dr. N. Subramanian's paper, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

satisfy the exacting demands even of a pure and complete democracy, not only in form but more completely in spirit, and that is what is really wanted, not the form of it." Dr. N. Subramanian² contends that the real test is not whether autocracy was benevolent or not but whether the people had legal and constitutional check against the King. This criterion is, of course, correct but the real check was applied by the Minister who advised the king taking into account the wishes and sentiments of the people. It is idle to suggest that democracy of the modern concept was present in those times but it is well to remember that modern democracy is not ideal and it cannot be pretended that an elected government does really carry out the wishes of the people. What is necessary to look for in ancient polity as in Kural is whether power resided only in the King and whether he was free to do anything he liked. It is important to examine this further as it will decide the question of the relevance of the Kural's teachings to the present day, which I presume is the object of all research and discussions. Dr. M. Varadarajan has pointed out in his book *Tiruvalluvar* or *Vazhkkai Vilakkam* that Kural's concepts are applicable both to முடியாட்சி (mudiyatchi) as well as குடியாட்சி (kudiyatchi). Significantly he has pointed out that nowhere does Kural speak of dynasties, successions and accessions, and not even the flowers that the King shall wear on victory, etc. as described in Sangam literature. Kural speaks of the justice and valour of the King. The qualities that Kural attributes to a king are equally applicable to the head of a republic or democracy. Dr. Varadarajan has made a painstaking analysis of the number of places in which Tiruvalluvar refers to the king in each of the sections of the Porutpal. Porutpal consists of 25 Chapters on Arasiyal, 10 on Amaichiyal, 2 on Aram, 1 on Koozh, 2 on Padai, 17 on Natpu and 13 on Kudi. In Arasiyal, Tiruvalluvar has referred to the king (as இறை, வேந்து, etc.) in 46 places. In Amaichiyal only once; in Aram thrice; in Koozh once; in Padai twice, in Natpu twice; and in Kudiyal consisting of 13 Chapters not even once. The last feature is remarkable and significant. It is clear that though political power formally resided in the King, it really was endowed by the people and the ministers. Although Tiruvalluvar uses the words அரசு, வேந்து, மன்னன், etc. to denote the ஆட்சித் தலைவன், he frequently refers only to his functional descriptions

as கோலோடு நின்றான் (552), and காவலன் (560) etc. In the Kural polity, the people or மக்கள் are not mere subjects to be ruled but citizens who participate in the political power and responsibilities. *Res populi* is really *res publica* in the Kural and this corresponds to the theories of certain political philosophers that the idea of State is in fact a myth. Tiruvalluvar was not making his polity an Utopia or myth.

III. KURAL AND ARTHASASTRA – A COMPARISON.

Let us now make a brief comparison of the groundwork of the two works, *Arthasastra* and *Tirukkural*. *Arthasastra* is very careful in the arrangement of the topics and Prof. Kane observes that the unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The subjects of its 15 *adhikaranas* are —

(1) the discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of *anvikshaki* and politics, qualification of ministers and *purohita*s and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards the harem, and king's personal safety.

(2) About superintendents of various State departments, founding villages, pastures, forests and forts, duties of the chamberlain (*Sannidhata*), the commissioner of revenues from forts, mines, forests, roads, etc., accountant general's office, embezzlements of public funds, royal edicts, examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines; superintendent of gold (i.e., of coins, issued from the mints); superintendent of store house (of agricultural produce etc.) of commerce, of forests of arms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor-houses of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, and of the capital and cities.

(3) Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, *sridhana*, twelve kinds of sons, other titles of law;

(4) Removal of thorns – protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc.; suppression of those who live by foul means; detection of juvenile crime; arrest

of criminals on suspicion; accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions; protection of all kinds of State departments; fines in lieu of cutting off of limbs, sentence of death, death with or without torture; intercourse with maidens; punishment by fine of various wrongs, conduct of courtiers, award of punishment of treason; replenishing of treasury in case of emergency; salaries of State servants; qualifications of courtiers, and consolidation of royal power.

(6) Constitution of the mandala, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work as the source of property, sixfold royal policy and threefold sakti.

(7) Circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy; the six gunas (samdhi, war, neutrality, marching, taking shelter, dwandhi-bhava); causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies; combination of States; samdhi for the acquisition of friend, gold or land; an enemy in the rear; recouping of lost strength; a neutral king and a circle of States.

(8) about vyasanas (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty; troubles of the king and kingdom; troubles of men and of the army.

(9) work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection, traitors, enemies and their allies.

(10) about war, encamping the army, march of the army, battlefields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants, etc. and array of troops for battle in various formations.

(11) concerning corporations and guilds.

(12) concerning a powerful enemy, sending of envoy; intrigues, spies, with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries, capture of the enemy by strategems, and final victory;

(13) capture of forts; sowing dissensions, entering of kingdom by strategem; spies in a siege; restoring peace in a conquered country.

(14) secret means, stratagems for killing an enemy, producing illusive appearances; medicines; incantation,

(15) division of this work into sections and their illustration.

It will be seen from the above synopsis that *Arthasastra* is something more than a treatise on polity as it deals in a large part with the machinery and controls of government. It looks as if the State Kautilya had in view was a State which is both a welfare and police state with imperial aims.

Turning to the *Kural*, Tiruvalluvar's Porutpal consists of 70 chapters, and divided into three sections viz., (1) Kingship (2) Body politic and (3) Miscellaneous. The first section Arasiyal, consisting of 25 chapters deals with kingship, his duties, qualifications, just government and so on. The second section (Angaviyal) consisting of 32 chapters deals with the elements of the State, the first (10) dealing with Ministers and ambassadors, the second (5) dealing with territory, fortresses, wealth, and army, and the third (6) dealing with friendship and allies and the fourth (11) dealing with follies and dangers (sometimes called துன்பவியல்). The third section consisting of (13 chapters called ஒழிபியல்) which treats in common of virtues essential both for the ruler and the citizen like honour, worth, courteousness, sensitiveness to shame, husbandry and avoidance of degradation.

It will be seen that Tiruvalluvar has taken for discussion the general principles and philosophy of government and social order instead of going into the mechanics of them. As Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai observes, "Kautilya was more a politician than statesman. He found in his great work room for statecraft motivated by an unquenching thirst for conquest and characterised by mechanistic efficiency and thoroughness which we now associate with Germans. He would consider humane considerations a weakness ... His political wisdom is characterised by a breadth of vision at once noble and elevating." As regards the *Kural*, Mr. V. V. S. Ayyar in the preface to his translation of it says, "As in the first part (Arathupal), the poet shows himself as a moral teacher of the very highest

order, so in this part, he appears as a consummate statesman and a thorough man of the world. Not a single function of the statesman is unfamiliar to him. Everywhere he reveals the firm grip that he has of the fundamental principles that underlie the art of government. There is no confusion, there is no haphazard imaginings, there is no mere wordiness in any of his 700 verses on the subject of wealth. Everything is in the right place and is seen in proper proportion. It is the dry light of reason illuminating the whole field of the statesman's art."

It is not possible in the space at my disposal to go into detail the views of Kural in each of these sections and compare them with Kautilya. A summary of the sections are given in the books of Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai and Dr. Varadarajan. Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar has given in his *Studies in Tamil History and Literature* a fairly exhaustive list of parallels and sometimes even identical ideas in Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar. To quote a few examples, the Kural says—

படைகுடி கூழ் அமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்
முடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு

(381)

The parallel in Kautilya is—

Svāmyamātya-janapāda-durga-kōsa-dandamitrāni

(VI—I)

The Kural says—

வினைவலியும் தன்வலியும் மாற்றான் வலியும்
துணைவலியும் தூக்கிச் செயல்

(471)

The parallel in Kautilya is—

Yadi vā pasyēt svadandir mitratavidaindar
va samam jayāmsam va karsayitu mutsapae

(VII-4)

Dr. U. N. Ghosal is the only non-Tamil author who has devoted a section of five pages in his book *A History of Indian Political Ideas* to the Tamil classics. While it is a good summary, the author however, in some places has vaguely stated that Tiruvalluvar 'evidently followed the Smṛiti tradition or the older Arthasāstras.' I have sufficiently discussed

earlier that the *Kural* is not an adaptation of dharma-sastras and artha-sastras. Tiruvalluvar has nowhere claimed that he is a new law-giver or is propounding a new theory of dharma or polity. Nor has he stated that he is following the earlier writers. In this respect I am tempted to compare Tiruvalluvar with Sri Meikantadeva (13th century) who wrote the *Sivajñānabōdha* sutras in which the tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta are codified. Although the latter is considered the quintessence of Veda-agamas, Sri Meikantadeva has not referred to any earlier texts at all but only stated his முடிந்த முடிவுகள் (final and logical statements) on the problems of philosophy. Similarly, Tiruvalluvar has not tried to find authority or support in earlier writers or to refute them or even proclaim his doing any of these things. He has not modified them or even referred to Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil source, where we find some seminal ideas relating to polity. Tiruvalluvar's writings are not subjective and the sage's utterances to my mind are reflections valid for all time. Hence he is called தெய்வப் புலவர் (divine poet) and his treatise is called பொதுமறை (universal vēdā) or உத்தரவேதம் (uttara vēdā). It is clear that the standpoint and contents of *Arthasastra* and the *Kural* are distinctively different.

CHAPTER VI.

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE.

We shall discuss here a few selected maxims in the *Kural* to show its distinctive ideas, and its relevance to the modern times in ideas of polity, ethics, social order and government.

The first chapter in Porutpal deals with இறைமாட்சி and the first Kural therein starts with an enunciation of the elements of the State.

படைகுடி கூழமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்
உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு

(381)

This Kural states :—

He is a lion among princes who is endowed with (1) army, (2) citizenry, (3) resources, (4) ministry, (5) allies and (6) fortifications.

In Book VI, Chapter 1 of the *Arthasastra*, Kautilya enumerates the following as the elements of sovereignty :—

(1) The King, (2) the Minister, (3) the country, (4) the fort, (5) the treasury, (6) the army and (7) the allies.

(Kamya, amātya, jana pāda, durga, kōsa, danda and mitrāni)

It will be noted that Kautilya mentions the King as one of the saptāngas of the State whereas the Kural places the King apart from the other six elements. Kamāndaka's *Nitisara* says—

*Nyāyō nār jana marthasya rakshanam
vardhanam tata sutpātra pratipattiseha
rajavruttam chaturvidam*

(1-20).

The Kural identifies the King with the State while Kautilya treats the King as only a limb of the State. Kalingar, one of the commentators of the Kural, gives an explanation for this difference :—

He says “அரசனையும் உறுப்பாக்கி கொண்டு இவை ஆறினோடும் கூட்டி இராச்சியமெல்லாம் ஒன்றாக்கி வடநூலார் கூறும் ஆற்றின் சில வேறுபடுத்தி மாசனம் (mahajanam) முதலாக நாட்டிற்கு இவ்வாறினையும் உறுப்பாக்கிக் கூறினர் என்பதாம் காண்க. இனி இங்குச் சொன்ன இறை முதலாகிய எழுவகைப் பொருளுமே இப்பொருட்பால் நடைப்பொருள் என அறிக.”

Hence இறைமாட்சி of Tiruvalluvar, which includes the King, is an integral theory of the State. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam¹ says “the Kural makes the King the most important of the seven elements of sovereignty and considers the rest as subordinate to him. This significant distinction by the great author of the Kural throws much welcome light on contemporary political thought. The King was the main pivot of the administration, and the strength and durability of the government very much depended on his personality.”

In *Purananuru* (in a song sung by Kiran of Mosi) the King is described as the life of the country and the people.

நெல்லும் உயிர் அன்றே ; நீரும் உயிர் அன்றே
மன்னன் உயிர்த்தே மலர்தலை உலகம் (Puram, 186)

This is the traditional conception of the Tamil metaphysicians also. God and soul are regarded as உயிர் and மெய். The souls have real existence but not absolute except with God, just as although consonants are not derived from anything else, can exist only with vowels.

In *Kambaramayanam*, Rama is spoken of as the life of the people in accordance with the Kural concept.

பெருநிலவரைப்பல மன்று மன்னுயிர்க்கு ராமனின்
மன்னவரில்லை

The people of Ayodhya followed Rama as body follows life. The people are not the life, but Rama. Thus the concept of the state from Tiruvalluvar down to Kambar in the Tamil tradition is different from that of Kautilya.

The Kural speaks of many necessary qualities of the King like diligence, valour, learning, courage, alertness etc. which

1. T. V. Mahalingam, *op. cit.*

we may perhaps skip over as these attributes are quite common.

But there is one qualification which deserves attention, i.e.,

அறனிழுக்கா தல்லவை நீக்கி மறனிழுக்கா
மாணம் உடைய தரசு.

(384)

(Tr.) The Prince shall not fail in virtue and shall abolish unrighteousness; he shall guard his honour jealously but shall not sin against the laws of valour.

It is to be noted that the Prince has to stand by *aram* himself and eliminate that which is not *aram* in his State.

Purananuru also speaks of அறநெறி as the basis of the King's power.

மாண்ட அறநெறி முதற்றே அரசின் கொற்றம்.

The 'aram' is more powerful than elephants, horses, chariots and warriors (கொல் களிறு கதம்பரிய கலிமா நெடுங்கொடிய சியிர் தேர் நெஞ்சு உடைய புகல் மறவா). The bard மதுரை மருதன் இளநாகனார் compares this 'aram' to the unique third eye of Lord Siva which gave victory to the Devas. *Jivakachintamani* (2361) refers to the deeds, which a King who guards his valour, will not do. Kautilya also speaks of an unrighteous King as the worst enemy but one of the elements of unrighteousness is considered by him to be not being born of a royal family and not coming directly from father and grandfather.

It is in the commentary on the Kural mentioned above that Parimelalagar reminds us that—

அரசு என்பது அரசனது தன்மை; அஃது உபசார வழக்கால் அவன் தன்மேல் நின்றது.

It cannot therefore be said that there is no abstract theory of State in the Kural. Dr. N. Subramanian's view that the abstraction known as the State was not known to the Sangam Tamils is therefore open to argument.

Another important element of polity is contained in the following Kural—

இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த
வகுத்தலும் வல்ல தரசு.

(385)

(Tr.) The Prince shall know how to develop the resources of his kingdom and how to enrich his treasury, how to preserve his wealth and how to distribute it worthily.

Tiruvalluvar here strikes a profound keynote of politico-economic theory of State. In referring to the resources of the State he does not speak of the taxes alone, but to all resources of the State and he uses a very significant word இயற்றம் which means production of wealth, a concept familiar in modern economics. Tax alone is not wealth of the State. It is not the 'national product,'—to use an economic term. Tiruvalluvar is a fundamental thinker. It will be remembered that in Arathuppal, he has placed the chapter on the Glory of Rain next to Invocation to God. He refers to the creation of wealth by the utilisation of natural resources and production. Tiruvalluvar assigns to the king in the State the essential functions of public finance without which no polity could exist. If taxes alone were to be the strength of the State it would become tyrannical.

வேலோடு நின்றான் இடு என்றது போலும்

கோலோடு நின்றான் இரவு

(552)

(Tr.) The demand of the king for what is not due is like the bandit who demands, stand and deliver.

On the other hand the real wealth of the State is indicated in the Kural as follows:—

ஊறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும் தன் ஒன்றர்த்

தெறு பொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள்

(756)

(Tr.) Escheats and derelicts, customs duties and prizes acquired in war, all these contribute to the wealth of the State.

I am tempted to dwell at greater length on this aspect of political economy but I shall desist as the economic ideas in the Kural has been the subject in a series of Lectures under this Endowment on an earlier occasion.

Tiruvalluvar lays stress on the necessity for the King being graceful, loving and liberal besides being impartial in justice.

முறை செய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்

கிறை என்று வைக்கப்படும்

முறை is not merely technical justice according to the law of the land which is a narrow concept. I suppose in all land governed by civil law, whether ancient or modern, that kind of justice could be found. Parimelalagar interprets முறை as அறநூலும் நீதிநூலும் சொல்லும் நெறி. Not only must the King enforce the law but also render natural justice. That is *murai*, the essence of constitutionalism.

Tiruvalluvar says that the King must not be averse to criticism if he wants his people to be happy and loyal.

செவிகைப்ப சொற் பொறுக்கும் பண்புடை வேந்தன்
கவிகைக்கீழ்த தங்கும் உலகு (389)

(Tr) Behold the Prince who hath virtue to bear with words that are bitter to the ear; his subjects will never leave the shadow of his umbrella.

This has relevance to the modern times more than to the age of royal princes. We come across criticisms that men in power in a democracy prefer yes-men around them and resent criticism in Parliament and the press and by popular forums. Tiruvalluvar suggests that the king must put up with criticism even if it is bitter and unjust. This is a truly democratic concept.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILOSOPHER KING.

Tiruvalluvar devotes three chapters for learning, neglect of instruction and listening to advice of the wise and crowns them by a chapter called அறிவுடைமை or understanding. The insistence on the proper education of the Prince is in conformity with the injunctions of other ancient philosophers like Plato, Aristotle and Confucius. Learning in a prince is desirable but what is most essential according to Tiruvalluvar is that he should act in accordance therewith. Such learning and conduct are necessary even for a person of high birth. The power of a prince who is unlettered is dangerous and it will soon vanish. Even if a prince's learning is not perfect, he must improve it by enquiry and listening to the wise. Without such discipline, says Tiruvalluvar, the King does not acquire humility of speech. The end of all learning and enquiry is wisdom or அறிவுடைமை which is a fortress and a defence which no one can storm or take by surprise. Kautilya speaks of learning enjoined by Manu, Brihaspati and Usanas who speak of three, two and one science only to be learnt by a Prince but he considers that a Prince should learn from sciences, viz., Anvikshaki (i.e., philosophy), Vedas (i.e., Dharmādharmam), Varta (wealth and non-wealth) and Nyayanyaya (i.e., expedient, and inexpedient or balā balē (i.e., potency and impotency). He also attaches importance to dandanīti as the power of the sceptre depends on it. He has no concept like கேள்வி (enquiry and oral instruction) of Tiruvalluvar but insists on the Prince keeping company with aged professors of the sciences referred to above.

Tiruvalluvar does not treat of dandaniti separately. Dandaniti as such is only a penal code which the authority dispensing the law could administer. The concept of danda is part and parcel of just government in a Prince. So, Tiruvalluvar includes this in the chapter 'செங்கோன்மை' or Just Rule

கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்தொறுத்தல் பைங்கூழ்
கனாகட் டதனோடு நேர்

(Tr.) Punishing the wicked with death is like the tiller removing the weeds from the crops.

Parimelalagar defines கொடியவன் as adadayi in Sanskrit, viz., தீக்கொளுவார், நஞ்சிடுவார், கருவியிற் கொல்வார், கள்வர், ஆறலைப் பார், குறைக்கொள்வார், பிறனில் விழைவார்

Another Kural says—

குடிபுறம் காத்தோம்பிக் குற்றம் கடிதல்
வடுவன்று, வேந்தன் தொழில்.

(544)

(Tr.) It is no matter for blame but the office and duty of the Prince to protect his people both within and without and to punish those that go wrong.

Punishment is of three kinds (ஒறுப்பு மூன்று), viz., (1) துன்பஞ் செய்தல் (corporeal), (2) பொருட்கேள் (fines) and (3) கோறல் (death).

Kautilya does not appear to have a chapter comparable to அறிவுடைமை of the Kural although in Bk. I-VII of *Arthasastra* he speaks of the sainty King.

In my opinion the most important quality that Tiruvalluvar enjoins in a King which no other author has stressed is this—

எப்பொருள் யார்யார் வாய்க்கேட்பினும்

அப்பொருள் மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

(423)

(Tr.) To discern the truth from whichever quarter it comes is verily wisdom.

This is a quality necessary in persons in exalted positions. They should be receptive as well as discriminating in judging the truth.

The necessity for the friendship of the wise and worthy is enjoined by Tiruvalluvar, like all ancient philosophers and also Kautilya. This also gives strength to the King. Tiruvalluvar says—

தம்மிற் பெரியார் தமரா ஒழுகுதல்

வன்மையுள் எல்லாம் தலை

(444)

(Tr.) So to act as to make wise-men, i.e., those greater than himself, his own is of all strength the highest.

Kautilya lists what all the Prince should learn from aged professors of sciences in whom alone discipline could be found. Tiruvalluvar lists among the wise whom the King should keep company, those that would be courageous enough to reprove him.

இடிக்கும் துணையாரை ஆள்வாரை யாரே
கெடுக்குந் தகைமை யவர்.

(447)

No one can ruin such a King. Otherwise he will perish even if there are no enemies to destroy him. Such men are the pillars (மதலை) for the stability of the King. The King has therefore to be careful in choosing those that surround him (சூழ்வார்) in whom counsellors will also be included. Parimelalagar says that such wise men will prevent தெய்வத்துன்பம் (divine punishment) which armies and fortresses cannot prevent. I don't think however that Tiruvalluvar has in mind such superstitions as divine wrath.

Tiruvalluvar is a great psychologist when he says that environment will alter the mentality of the King when he warns the Prince against the company of the law.

மனத்துளது போலக் காட்டி ஒருவற்கு
இனத்துள தாகும் அறிவு.

(454)

(Tr.) The understanding of a man is not in the quality of his mind but by the influence of his companions.

Both purity of mind and purity of action issue from the purity of association.

மனத்தாய்மை செய்வினைத் தாய்மை இரண்டும்
இனத்தாய்மை துவா வரும்

(455)

In three consecutive couplets (457, 458 & 459) Tiruvalluvar speaks of the complementary necessity of மனநலம் and இனநலம் (beautiful words!), i.e., goodness of mind and goodness of association.

CHAPTER VIII

EXECUTIVE POWER

In four subsequent Chapters Tiruvalluvar speaks of deliberation before action necessary in a king தெறிந்து செயல்வகை, வலியறிதல், காலமறிதல் and இடனறிதல்.

The King has to weigh the magnitude of the action (வினைவலி), his own strength (தன்வலி), the strength of the enemy (மாற்றான்வலி) and strength of allies (துணைவலி)—

வினைவலியும் தன்வலியும் மாற்றான் வலியும்
துணைவலியும் தூக்கிச் செயல் (471)

This analysis might look simple but we know how often modern governments go wrong by miscalculation of these factors. (Recent classic examples are the Korean war and Cuban invasion).

Those who are not able to size up a situation will, Tiruvalluvar says, fall in the middle of their adventure — இடைக்கண் முரிந்தார் பலர். (473)

The Kural also says that—

Self-admiration (தன்னை வியந்தான்) without knowing the strength of the enemy will bring disaster.

In the Chapter வலியறிதல் Tiruvalluvar, speaks of both the military strength as well as the economic strength which are factors to be counted both in peace and war. Speaking of judging the time for action, that which is favourable to the King and unfavourable to the enemy is best, just as even a crow could kill an owl during day time. Judging the place is equally important. Even the powerless will become powerful if they select the proper field for action, just as a crocodile in deep waters could overpower anything, while it falls an easy prey when once it leaves the water. Similarly, a fox will have the upper hand over an elephant if the later is caught in marshy mud. It may be mentioned that Tiruvalluvar deals with these in three Chapters while Kautilya deals in only one stanza. The

illustrations referring to the crow and the owl and crocodile also occur in Kautilya. These parallelisms are frequently cited as Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya. Sakti, dēsa and kāla jñāna in action are very common concepts and these parallelisms have probably passed into the common speech like proverbs whose origins no one could trace.

In a Chapter earlier to these three entitled தெரிந்து செயல்வகை (Deliberation before action) Tiruvalluvar has stressed the importance of planning and, what is more, the means employed.

ஆற்றின் வருந்தா வருத்தம் பலர் நின்று

போற்றினும் பொருத்தப்படும்

(468)

If the right means are not employed, it will be useless if hundreds of men stand up to uphold a King. Just as means are important, men employed are still greater so. Tiruvalluvar employs two chapters தெரிந்து தெளிதல் and தெரிந்து வினையாடல் (testing men for confidence and testing them for assignment of duties). Men have to be tested by four tests, viz., love of (1) virtue, (2) money, (3) pleasure and (4) fear of life. Kautilya also says that these four tests should be employed:—

Amātyānu upatibi, souchayēt, dharmōpādha, adharmō-upādha, kamō-upādha, bhayō-upādha.

There is an interesting gloss of Parimelalagar on this concept. Briefly it is this. Testing a man through a purohit, a military chief and a woman suggesting that the King is unworthy and that before he tries to kill us, we should kill him. These are called the four upādhas but I don't think we can read so much into Tiruvalluvar who is generally averse to mean strategy. I think the simple meaning is whether the person has due regard to fundamental values like அறம், பொருள் and இன்பம் and whether he is sensitive to the value of life and fear of a re-birth due to wrong karma. பிறவிக்கஞ்சுதல் (fear of rebirth) is a common concept of virtue in olden days and it is found in Sivajñānaswami's commentary on Sivajñānabodham. Kalingar's commentary also brings this out clearly.

The fear of death is the Damocle's sword over even the head of top men who stand in danger of being liquidated by the party which takes the place of the King.

Regarding assignment of duties, the Kural says—

As each man's special aptitude is known
Bid each men make that special work his own. (518)

Let the King search out his servant's deeds each day
When these do right, the world goes rightly on
its way. (520)

வினைக்குரிமை நாடிய பின்றை அவனை
அதற்குரிய னாகச் செய். (518)

நாடோறும் நாடுக மன்னன் வினைசெய்வான்
கோடாமை கோடா துலகு. (520)

Kautilya's test for each category of office is according to the upādhas referred to above. In Bk. I.x of the Arthasastra he says that those who come out successful—

in dharmōpadha — are to be appointed judges and commissioners ;

in arthō-upādha — to offices of treasurer and collector ;

in kāmō-upādha — to guarding frontiers, harem and sporting grounds ; and

in bhayō-upādha — to the King's household.

These are more ordeals than tests and judgments on the basis of one's deeds and actions. According to Kautilya these are the tests on which Ministers should be selected, and their loyalty should be got confirmed by spies.

Tiruvalluvar says that the right man for the right job should be selected and left alone to do his duty and in making the selection there should be no favour or partiality.

இதனை இதனால் இவன் முடிக்கும் என்றாய்ந்து
அதனை அவன் கண் விடல் (517)

ஒர்ந்து கண்ணோடா திறைபுரிந்து யார் மாட்டும்
தேர்ந்து செய்வதெனே முறை. (541)

These are maxims which should be hung up in Ministers' offices and Public Services Commission's offices of the present day because the ideas are so modern and up-to-date.

Tiruvalluvar is a realist. He recognises that even men with rare learning (அறிய கற்றார்) and of flawless character (ஆசு அற்றார்) will not be without some sort of imperfection (வெளிது இன்மை). So he recommends that the King should consider merits and faults and find out which weigh more. He also lends a touch of humaneness. He cautions against those that have no kindred because they will be heartless and callous. Deliberation before selection and proper assignment of work thereafter is the sagacity of the King. This is an important principle in modern public administration. Tiruvalluvar sounds a very realistic note of warning which is relevant more than ever to the present day when persons doing public duties are suspected and every one is tarred with the same brush of corruption and the like.

தேரான் தெளிவும் தெளிந்தான்கண் ஐயறவும்
தீர இடும்பை தரும்

(510)

(Tr.) To trust a man whom thou hast not tried and to suspect a man whom thou hast found worthy lead alike to endless ills.

Strangely enough Parimelalagar one of the commentators refers to the Kurala in this Chapter (51) to correspond to the doctrine (மதம்) of Sukra, Dronacharya, Kautilya, Narada, Maheswara, Vyasa and Udvacharya. Kautilya refers to some other names like Bharadvaja, Visalaksa, Pisuna, Vatavyadi and Bahudanti. He ends by saying: "This says, Kautilya, is satisfactory in all respects; for a man's ability is inferred from his capacity shown in work." He also makes a difference between councillors (mantrinā) and ministerial officers (amātyah). Kautilya finally proclaims lyrically (because he uses here sloka metre and not the sutra metre). "The Kshatriya breed which is brought up by Brahmans is charmed with the counsels of good counsellors and which faithfully follows the precepts of the sastras becomes invincible and attains success though unaided with weapons." There is no such doctrine in Tiruvalluvar who believes more rationally—

பெருமைக்கும் ஏனைச் சிறுமைக்கும் தத்தம்
கருமமே கட்டளைக் கல்

(505)

One's deeds and not birth is the touch-stone for greatness or littleness.

In the chapter தெரிந்து வினையாடல் (Testing and employment) Tiruvalluvar gives eminently practical advice which would hold good in the complex administration of modern times. Those employed must be able to choose the good from the bad, those who can develop the resources and explore the obstacles, those who are endowed with intelligence, kindness and decision and freedom from greed and wisely say that many will satisfy the tests but will change in actual performance of duty. We find this happening every day in modern life.

ஏனைவகையான் தேறியக் கண்ணும் வினைவகையால்
வேறாகும் மாந்தர் பலர் (514)

(Tr.) Though tested in every way, many are the men who change due to the nature of the work.

This justifies the in-service tests and confidential reports on administrative personnel current at the present time.

Power and authority easily corrupt men who start well. Parimelalagar compares them with the Kattianganar (கட்டியங்காரன்) who falls in love with kingly pleasures. Servants of the State should be free from lust for power and what is now called conspicuous living. It is for this reason that Tiruvalluvar insists on freedom from greed and avarice along with other virtues like nobility, intelligence and power to take decision and clear-headedness. Where there is love of power, judgment will be easily vitiated. Says Tiruvalluvar—

அன்பறிவு தேற்றம் அவாவின்மை இந்நான்கும்
நன்குடையான் கட்டே தெளிவு (513)

(Tr.) Let him alone be selected for service who is well endowed with kindness and intelligence and decision and who is free from greed.

Paripperumal in his commentary says—

இது பெரும்பான்மையும் காரிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு அதிபதியை
நோக்கிற்று.

This refers to the Secretariat of the Government which examines proposals for action (காரிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு).

The modernity of these ideas in the Kural is striking and is in refreshing contrast to ideas in Kautilya which though very clever do not go to fundamentals or the philosophy of government but only with dispositions and regulatory procedures.

Having laid down the rules for the King to associate with the wise, to deliberate before action and to choose the right men, Tiruvalluvar significantly devotes a chapter on cherishing the kindred (சுற்றந்தாழல்) because estrangement of kith and kin is as dangerous as allowing them to have sway over the actions of men in authority. We in the present day life hear of many Ministers being discredited because they allow their close relations to exploit their position. Tiruvalluvar also warns against insouciance or laziness of the King, as the King should constantly aim at மூவகை ஆற்றல், நால்வகை உபாயம், ஐவகை தொழில்,—

மூவகை ஆற்றல்—

இடம், காலம், வலியறிதல்.

நால்வகை உபாயம்—

வன்கண், குடிகாத்தல், கற்றறிதல், ஆள்வினை.

ஐவகைத் தொழில்—

வினைவலி, தன்வலி, மாற்றான்வலி, துணைவலி,
தெரிந்து செய்யும் வலி.

அறுவகைக் குணம்—

நட்பாக்கல், பகையாக்கல், மேற்சேறல், இடுத்தல்,
பிரித்தல், கூட்டல்.

Kautilya says that a wise king shall observe a six-fold policy—

- (1) Peace (sandhi),
- (2) War (vigraha),
- (3) Neutrality (āsana),
- (4) Marching (yama),
- (5) Alliance (samsraya) and
- (6) Making peace with one and waging war with another (dvaidhibhava),

and elaborates on them. Tiruvalluvar however is only suggestive.

CHAPTER IX

JUST GOVERNMENT

The most important Chapter on polity in Tiruvalluvar is செங்கோன்மை or Just Government (Chapter 55) for which word I have not been able to discover an exact parallel in Kautilya although in many chapters he speaks of its ingredients. செங்கோன்மை in abstract is not discussed in Kautilya. A virtuous king besides protecting his subjects and maintaining peace and prosperity is enjoined by Kautilya to do many things which smack of ritualism, magic and witchcraft.

For example in Bk. 1. xix of *Arthasāstra* Kautilya says that the King shall personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans, of cattle, of sacred places, minors, aged people, women, etc. He shall seat himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities and be in attendance with the high priest and teacher and those who are experts in witchcraft and yoga when hearing petitioners. There is no place for priests and magicians in the *Kural* although in the pāyiram (prologue) Tiruvalluvar has stressed faith in God and the greatness of those who have renounced. There is no suggestion of the King being surrounded by knights spiritual, besides knights templars to keep him straight and guard him against evils. Dr. U. N. Ghosal¹ points out that in the Vedic Samhitas and the Brahmanas, the purohita holds a conspicuous position in the counsels of the king. This position is maintained in the *Dharmasāstras* and even in the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya. It is remarkable, however, that the purohita is conspicuous by his absence in the list of seven prakritis or angas given in *Kural*. Purohita has no place in the elements of the State even impliedly in the *Kural*.

1. U. N. Ghosal *op. cit.* p. 86

In dealing with செங்கோன்மை of Tiruvalluvar, I must dispose of a preliminary point. Parimelalagar in explaining செங்கோன்மை says

“ஒருபாற் கோடாது செவ்விய கோல் போதலின்
செங்கோன்மை எனப்பட்டது. வடநூலாரும்
தண்டம் என்பர்.”

I think emphatically that *dandam* does not convey செங்கோன்மை. The meaning of *dandam* is vague but it is mainly identified with the coercive authority of the King which sustains *dharma*. Dr. Ghosal has discussed the evolution of the idea of danda in Manu, Yajnavalkya and Kautilya and he observes that in Kautilya we notice a development of the theory of danda into a new technique, the right application of which would help *dharma*. Traditionally the word danda is identified with sceptre and hence the word danda-niti, but கோல் in Tamil tradition refers to the pointer in the balance. It will also be noted that Tolkāppiyar in *Tolkappiyam* ‘Marabiyal’ speaking of தெரிவுகொள் செங்கோல் அரசர் has not mentioned any sceptre or danda.

படையும் கொடியும் குடையும் முரசும்
நடைதனில் புரவியும் களிறுந் தேரும்
தாரும் முடியும் நேர்வன பிறவும்
தெரிவு கொள் செங்கோல் அரசர்க்குரிய.

—(மரபியல் - 616)

Mahamahopadyaya Panditamani Kathiresan Chettiar in his notes to Bk. 1-4 of his Tamil translation of Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*² says

“தண்டம் ஈண்டு சாமம் முதலிய உபாயம் நான்கனுள் ஒன்றாகிய ஒறுத்தலை உணர்த்ததும்; காரிய காரண அபேதத்தால் அத்தண்டத்தை செய்யும் அரசனும் தண்டம்” என்று கூறப்படுவான்.

இனி தண்டம் என்பதை கோல் எனக்கொண்டு பரிமேலழகர் உறை எழுதியுள்ளார்.

2. Kautilyas *Arthasāstra* with notes (Annamalai University) 1955.—
p. 34.

In Kural we find தண்டம் used only in the sense of punishment *e.g.*,

கடுமொழியும் கையுடந்த தண்டமும்

Kural (567)

and Silappadikāram says that without king's control there will be no blameless safety to anything.

அரைசு வேலியல்லாது யாவதும் புராதீர் வேலியில்

Silappadikaram (23-45)

'Sengol' is completely different from தண்டநீதி although it may be part of Sengol. It will also be noticed that in the second Kural in this Chapter, Tiruvalluvar compares Sengol to rain, which has no punitive implication at all.

The 'sengol' is only symbolic of the just government of the king and without it even the service of great men (அந்தணர்) and அறம் (or righteousness or dharma) will not endure. The reference to அந்தணர் நூல் is usually taken as Vedas although Tiruvalluvar has not cited the Vedas. In every religion there are spiritual seers and sages who speak the voice of God. They are called அந்தணர் just as when we speak of 'wise men' we do not refer to the Magi of old. It is for this reason perhaps that in *Manimekalai*, importance is given not to the scripture but to the spirituality of great men. *Manimekalai* has the following line—

மாதவர் நோன்பும் மடவார் கற்பும்

காவலன் காவல்

(22.208-09)

In a multi-religious society with freedom for religious belief a work on polity or a work on ethics cannot swear by a particular scripture. So அறநெறி has to be distinguished from வேதநெறி. In the third Kural in this chapter Tiruvalluvar speaks of the subjects clinging to a King's feet if he is loving and wields his sceptre justly. If the கோல் is a symbol of punishment it cannot be used in the sense in which it is used in the Kural. Rain as well as plentiful crops will be had in the land when the king is true to the spirit of the scriptures. (The words இயல்புளி கோலோச்சுதல் are significant).

It is not the lance that gives victory and success to a king but his கோல் sceptre, if it is straight and does not swerve from justice.

வேலன்று வென்றி தருவது ; மன்னவன்
கோலதூஉம் கோடா தெனின்

(546)

In contrast, the Arthasastra says "That State which is disciplined by the established laws of the Aryas which is rooted in the organisation of castes and orders and which is protected by the three Vedas progresses and never deteriorates"—

vyavastitayamaryate : krutha varnasramastitah :
triyohi : rakshita : loka :
pracidatu nasodati

(Bk. 1-3)

On the other hand, the Tamil classic *Manimekalai* says :

கோனிலை திரிந்திடின கோனிலை திரியும்
கோனிலை திரிந்திடின மாரிவான் குறும்
மாரிவான் குறின் மன்னுயிரில்லை
மன்னுயிரில்லா மன்னன் வேண்டான்
தன்னுயிரென்னும் தகுதி இன்றாகும்.

(VII. V. 8-12)

Just as the king protects his subjects, justice protects him. It will be noted that in the last two Kurals in the Chapter Tiruvalluvar speaks very forcibly about punishing the wicked even with death and to be severe with those who transgress and go wrong. So 'செக்கோல்' is not merely saintly rule or a rule of compassion but a just rule. It is a just rule but not devoid of love and generosity.

CHAPTER X

THE UNJUST RULE

In the next Chapter (56) Tiruvalluvar delineates the unjust king or the tyrannical king. Tyranny is not peculiar to monarchy. Political philosophers conceive of democracy also becoming tyrannical and so it is applicable to our democratic times also. The tyranny of democracy is that it may be seized and exploited in undemocratic ways for ostensibly democratic ends. In the name of the sovereign people, deeds may be done as cruel as those done by any Greek tyrant or Mediaeval despot. It is terribly easy for those in power to confuse justice with the interest of the strong. Curiously enough I have come across that Earl Baldwin, who was not a political writer but a politician and leader of a democratic party, has referred to the tyranny of democracy. He says "It (democracy) has lost ground in so many countries recently that once more we are told that there is no escape from the circular movement of tyranny, oligarchy, democracy and back to tyranny again." Under any government the poorest has the right to have his own individual life without being drilled or managed by individuals or groups by whatever name they are called. Tiruvalluvar calls this tyranny அலைத்தல், and a king who oppresses his subjects in this manner is worse than one whose profession is murder. Tiruvalluvar says that a king who demands from his subject anything, whether taxes or even loyalty, by force is similar to a highway robber who asks people to stand and deliver by threat to life.

கொலை மேற்கொண்டாரின் கொடிதே அலைமேற்கொண்டு
அல்லவை செய்தொழுகும் வேந்து (551)

வேலொடு நின்றான் இடுஎன்றது போலும்
கோலொடு நின்றான் இரவு (552)

கொடுங்கோல் in such circumstances is worse than danda ; it is a murderous weapon like a spear.

Manakkudavar and Pariperumal list out the evils of tyranny — (1) முறைமை செய்யாமை, (2) அருள் செய்யாமை, (3) பிறர் நலியாமற் காவாமை, (4) முறைகெடச்செய்தல் (5) குடிகளுக்கு தண்டனை ஆராயது செய்தல், (6) அல்லவை செய்தல் and (7) குடிகளை இரத்தல்.

A King who thoughtlessly uses his power will lose both his subjects and his kingdom. The implication is that his subjects will cease to love him and may rebel. Even if that does not happen, some neighbouring power may use his unpopularity to oust him.

கடும் குடியும் ஒருங்கிழுக்கும் கோல் கோடிச்
குழாது செய்யும் அரசு. (554)

There is no weapon that will wear away the property of a king more surely than the tears of those groaning under his oppression. It is righteousness alone that gives permanence to a king's rule and the lack of it will tarnish his fame. A King who has no love for his subjects is worse than rainless blight on the land.

மன்னர்க்கு மன்னுதல் செங்கோன்மை அஃதின்றேல்
மன்னலாம் மன்னர்க் கொளி. (556)

துளியின்மை ஞாலத்திற்கு எற்றற்றே வேந்தன்
அளியின்மை வாழும் உயிர்க்கு. (557)

This word 'அளி' (ali) has a very important connotation. It means giving oneself completely to another by identification, of which the spiritual basis is love. In *Thevaram*, and *Tiruvācagam* we come across, the word 'அளி' referring to God's grace. Thus *ali* is not merely the performance of a function but has a deeper spiritual significance.

It should not be supposed that under a tyrannical and unrighteous king, the poor alone will suffer. The rich will also suffer and they will be worse off than the poor. For a time the rich may try to prosper under an authoritarian rule but soon they too will suffer. Hence what is required is righteousness which will treat the poor and the rich justly.

இன்மையின் இன்னு துடைமை முறைசெய்யா
மன்னவன் கோற்கீழ்ப்படின. (558)

Purananuru gives at various places illuminating and many-sided interpretations of the duties of a king. He should be kind towards the law-abiding and the loyal and severe with offenders; he must be like a moon that equally pleases all good men and a sun that equally scorches all bad men and like rain must be impartial to all.

அறநெறி முதற்றே அரசின் கொற்றம்
அதனால் 'நமர்' எனக் கோல் கோடாது
'பிறர்' எனக் குணம் கொல்லாது
ஞாயிற்று அன்ன வெந்திறல் ஆண்மையும்
திங்கள் அன்ன தன் பெருஞ் சாயலும்
வானத்து அன்ன வண்மையும், மூன்றும்
உடைய ஆகி, இல்லோர் கையற
நீடுழி வாழிய நெடுந்தகை.

Purananuru (55. 10-17)

It is significant that one of the King's main concern is to feed the people and secure freedom from hunger as giving food is giving life and this is necessary if the king desires all the best for his next life, to become powerful and rule all the world and to leave behind a good name.

செல்லும் உலகத்துச் செல்வம் வேண்டினும்
ஞாலம் காவலர் தோள்வலி முடுக்கி
ஒரு தீ ஆசல் வேண்டினும், சிறந்த
நல் இசை நிறுத்தல் வேண்டினும் மற்று அதன்
தகுதி கேள் இனி மிகுதியான
நீர் இன்று அமையா யாக்கைக்கு எல்லாம்
உண்டி கொடுத்தோர் உயிர் கொடுத்தாரே !

Ibid (18. 13-19)

The duties of a king are to discard evil, maintain justice and collect taxes.

கொடிது கடிந்து கோல் திருத்தி
படுவது உண்டு பகல் ஆற்றி
இனிது உருண்ட சுடர் நேமி
முழுது ஆண்டோர் வழி காவல !

Ibid (17)

Kalittogai suggests that the King's just rule must proclaim truth.

பொய்யாமை துவலும் தின் செங்கோல்

Kalittogai (99.11)

In *Silappadhikaram* we find that Senguttuvan, the Chera King felt ashamed of the royal injustice of the Pandiyan King in taking away the life of Kovalan thoughtlessly—

தென்னர் கோமான் தீத்திரங் கேட்ட
மன்னர் கோமான் உருந்தினனுரைப்பான்
வல்லினி விளைத்த கோலை மன்னவன்
செல்லுயிர் நிமிர்ந்து செங்கோலாகியது.

Silappadhikaram (25 : 92-95)

Even if the King's sceptre is not straight or his counsellors do not adhere to 'அறம்' (aram), even if the laws propounded are incorrect, even if the proceedings are onesided, in the பாவைமன்றம் of the King, the effigy will shed tears if there is miscarriage of justice, says *Silappadhikaram*.

அரைசகோல் கொடினும் அறங்கூற வையத்து
உறைதூல் கோடி யொரு திறம் பற்றினும்
நாலொடு நவிலாது சபை தீர் உருத்துப்
பாவை நின்றமும் பாவை மன்றம்.

So even the King and the laws are not infallible and if there is miscarriage of justice, it is due to evil fate only.

வல்லினை விளைத்த கோலை மன்னவன்
செல்லுயிர் நிமிர்ந்து செங்கோலாக்கியது.

Silappadhikaram (3-25—9, 9a)

If the divine law is allowed to prevail, Sekkilar, the author of *Periyapurānam*, says that—

ஒரு மைந்தன் தன் குலத்துக்குள்ளானென்பதுனரான்
தருமந்தான் வழிச் செல்கை கடனென்று தன்மைந்தன்
மருமந்தன் நேராழி பதற வூர்த்தான் மனுவேந்தன்
அருமந்த அரசாட்சி யரிதே மற்றெளி.

If the செங்கோல் is shaken, the King regards himself as worse than a felon, as is seen in *Silappadhikaram*.

தளர்ந்த செங்கோலன்
பொன்செய் கொல்லன் நன் சொல் கேட்டு
யானோ அரசன் யானே கள்வன்
மன்பன தாக்குந் தென்பு லங் காவல்
என் முதற் பிழைத்தது கெடு என்னாயுள்.

Silappadhikaram (2-20—73-77)

Of the *Pandyan* King it is said செங்கோல் வளைய உயிர் வாழார் பாண்டியர். In ஆந்நுவரி of the same classic திருந்து செங்கோல் வளையாமை is said in praise of even the river Cauvery.

Of the same category as tyranny is the king's acts that cause fear. A king must make proper investigation before meting out punishment, otherwise people will be terrorised. If the people think that the King is a tyrant, he will soon perish.

இறைகடியன் என்றுரைக்கும் இன்னாச்சொல் வேந்தன்
உறை கடுகி ஒல்லைக் கெடும் (564)

(Tr.) If he is dour-faced and harsh in speech, he will be feared like a demon.

The King will lose power if he only indulges in anger without consulting his Ministers. Considerateness (கண்ணோட்டம்) is essential in a King. A King who desires to be called the pink of courtesy will drink off even the poison that is offered to him with a smile.

பெயக்கண்டும் நஞ்சுண்ட மைவர் நயத்தக்க
நாகரிகம் வேண்டு பவர் (580)

The grace of the King's eye will accept what his eye alone will forbid.

This indicates the degree of forbearance and grace that is expected in a King. The outer rectitude and justice must be borne by an inner dignity.

CHAPTER XI

STATE-CRAFT

Tiruvalluvar devotes a whole chapter to the sources of intelligence necessary for a King although he rarely elaborates on strategy and state-craft of which we find plenty in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. The king's two eyes are respectively the books on state-craft and the spy service. It is necessary for the king to know quickly all that happens in the land. Success is not for him who does not know how to get at news by scouts and spies. Those to be watched are his employees, his relations and his enemies.

வினெசெய்வார் தம் சுற்றம் வேண்டாதார் என்றாங்கு
அனைவரையும் ஆராய்வது ஒற்று

(584)

Spies can disguise themselves as ascetics and holy men and should wear an unsuspecting appearance. The spy should bring reliable information that is hidden and the information brought by one spy should be got checked by that of another. Even spies should not know each other and if the reports of three agree, reliance could then only be placed on them.

Kautilya deals with the system of spies more elaborately than Tiruvalluvar. According to him a spy can take the guise of a fraudulent disciple (*kapatika-chatra*), a recluse (*udasthita*), householder (*grihapalika*), merchant (*vaidehaka*), ascetic (*tapasa*), colleague (*sātri*), firebrand (*tikshna*), prisoner (*rasada*) and mendicant woman (*bhikshuki*). The spies should sow dissensions in the enemy's country by using disgruntled persons. Similarly the King's own seditious ministers must be kept under watch. Kautilya also sketches out a system of intrigues which is spicy to read.

Tiruvalluvar discusses another group of virtues in a King, the keynote of which is the King's ability to take energetic action; otherwise even the spy system would be useless. They are energetic action, abstention from sloth, perseverance and courage.

The King must have capacity for work and it is not enough to have liberality of mind alone. Otherwise it will be like the courage that cannot be expected from an eunuch. although armed with a sword, says Tiruvalluvar.

தாளாண்மை இல்லாதான் வேளாண்மை பேழுகை
வாளாண்மை போலக் கெடும்.

(614)

The King shall spurn personal pleasures and love work, to ward off danger to his people, he will then be a tower of strength.

இன்பம் விழையான் வினைவிழைவான் தன்கேளிர்
துன்பம் துடைத்தூன்றும் தூண்.

(615)

To be luckless is no disgrace but to be without manly effort is disgraceful.

பொறி யின்மை யார்க்கும் பழி யென் றறிவறிந்
தாள்வினை இன்மை பழி

(618)

A King with manly effort will even defeat fate, says the Kural.

ஊழையும் உப்பக்கம் காண்பர் உலேவின்றித்
தாழாது ஞற்று பவர்.

(620)

These are words of wisdom to be written in letters of gold for a Ruler to follow.

CHAPTER XII

ROLE OF MINISTERS

After expatiating on Arasiyal or Rajadharma as the Sanskritists call it, Tiruvalluvar proceeds to discuss the qualifications, functions and role of the Ministers who are an important part of the State and equal in weight to the King himself according to Parimelalagar.

This part of Porutpal has a very intimate relevance to our times and deserves to be read and re-read.

The first essential in a Minister is an ability to judge aright ways and means of achieving great things, timeliness of action and enterprise and initiative.

கருவியும் காலமும் செய்கையும் செய்யும்
அருவினையும் மாண்டது அமைச்சு. (631)

Along with these the Minister must have resolution, interest in the welfare of the people, constant study and drive to get things done.

வன்கண் குடிகாத்தல் கற்றறிதல் ஆன்வினையோடு
ஐந்துடன் மாண்டது அமைச்சு. (632)

The affairs of the State are not simple things fit only for philosophers as many difficult situations have to be faced. Tiruvalluvar says that he is an able Minister who possesses the capacity to disunite allies, cherish and keep friendship and bring back people who have estranged. This is paying attention to both 'santhi' and 'vigraha' aspects in relations within the State and outside.

The Minister should not waver in his advice and must possess penetrating insight and comprehension and clear-headedness in decision and action.

தெரிதலும் தேர்ந்து செயலும் ஒருதலையாச்
சொல்லலும் வல்லது அமைச்சு. (634)

The expression ஒருதலையாச்சொல்லல் (unambiguity and positiveness in speech) is simple but pregnant with meaning. In the present times we see Ministers making contradictory and confusing statements and doing loud thinking in public because they advise nobody except themselves. The 'positiveness in expression of opinion' as V. V. S. Ayyar translates the term 'ஒருதலையாச்சொல்லல்', will be possible only in a responsible Minister who deliberates deeply and speaks discreetly. When this is not found in an abundant measure even in the present democratic forms of government, it is remarkable that Tiruvalluvar places a great prize on it in a system of monarchy which means that Tiruvalluvar was really anticipating the modern concepts of the democratic process.

A worthy Minister must also know the law (அறன்), must be calm and weighty in expression and know at all times the right course of action.

அறனறிந் தான்றமைந்த சொல்லான் எஞ்ஞான்றும்
திறனறிந் தான் தேர்ச்சித் துணை. (635)

All these qualities will add dignity to the office of Minister and will make him a success and a tower of strength to the State.

It is not enough, warns Tiruvalluvar, that the Minister has only மதிநுட்பம், நூல்துட்பம் and வினைநுட்பம் but he should have knowledge of the ways of the world and practical experience.

செயற்கை அறிந்தக் கடைத்தும் உலகத்து
இயற்கை அறிந்து செயல். (637)

The practical man must know the உலக நடை (the way of the world), otherwise he will be an ivory tower Minister and may bring about disaster, unintentionally albeit, to the State.

The most important advice that Tiruvalluvar gives to the Minister is that he should dare to speak out and give correct advice even if the King is unwise and might throw away his advice. Duty must be performed at all costs and not burked to retain his position or the King's favour.

அறிகொன்று அறியான் எனினும் உறுதி
உழையிருந்தான் கடறல் கடன். (638)

(Parimelalagar points out that the meaning of Amāthya in Sanskrit is உழையிருந்தான் (one who is near). The Kural says, "Far better are 70 crores of enemies for a king than a Minister at his side who intends ruin."

பழுதெண்ணும் மந்திரியின் பக்கத்துள் தெவ்வோர்
எழுபது கோடி உறும்

(639)

Above all these, loyalty is important—loyalty in the sense that it will not let down the highest good of the State, because he will be more dangerous than 'seventy crores of enemies.' Tiruvalluvar does not waste many words on this aspect as this one Kural is so forcibly expressed. Silappadikaram places disloyal ministers in the same category as other degenerates like a rascal monk, unchaste women, seducers, liars and informers. "தவமறைந் தொழுகும் தன்மையிலாளர், அவமறைந்தொழுகும் அவலப் பெண்டிர், அறைபோகமைச்சர், பிறர் மனைதலைப்போர், பொய்க் கரியாளர், புறங்கூற்றுனர்."

—(Silappadhikaram, 15-128-131)

All these standards might appear to be obvious but they are difficult to find even today, but Tiruvalluvar expresses these sentiments with such dignity and in most acceptable and valid forms that they are a marvel for all times. Compare for example Kautilya who goes into details like this: He says that to test the loyalty of a Minister a woman-spy in the guise of an ascetic who is respected in the King's household should be asked to approach the Minister and say that the queen is enamoured of him and that arrangements would be made for his entrance into her chamber. If the Minister spurns this proposal, he would be deemed a pure Minister. All this is rather coarse, smacking of palace intrigues rather than elevated standards of political conduct. Another test mentioned in Arthasastra is to try a Minister like this: The King may pretend to take the Ministers on a voyage and arrest them on pretext of their disloyalty. A spy in the guise of the King's favourite must approach the Ministers and tell them that the King was unwise and cruel and they should murder him and put another in his stead. The Minister is to be judged by his reaction to such temptations. Kautilya further elaborates the topic of tests by allurements. Those who are tried by 'religious allurements' should be selected as judges (dharmasthaniya kantaka codhaneshu). Those tested by 'monetary allurements' should be selected for offices as

revenue collectors and so on. All these are very primitive methods worthy of a book on state-craft but not of one dealing with the principles of Polity. Tiruvalluvar too, no doubt, has mentioned the fourfold tests (அறம், பொருள், இன்பம், உயிரச்சம்) that the King should employ for choosing the servants but he does not mention them with regard to Ministers. To place espionage as the highest and surest and only guarantee of the safety of the King or the State is a poor form of polity. Rightly, it is relegated in the Kural to external relations with other Kings or chieftains only and not to internal affairs.

CHAPTER XIII

MINISTERIAL SPEECH AND CONDUCT.

Tiruvalluvar has devoted a number of Chapters on the speech and conduct of the Ministers சொல் வன்மை, வினைத் தூய்மை, வினைத்திட்டம், வினைசெயல்வகை (Chapters 65-68). The King and Ministers both participate in councils of the State, but the King does not in all others while the Ministers do. So, if learning is necessary in a king, both learning and eloquence should be looked for in a Minister. The importance of persuasion and of public communications now so much valued in modern governments is also valued by Tiruvalluvar. Monarchy of his concept is as much rule by discussion as democracy is today. That is why he calls நாகலம், the power of convincing speech, as a blessing greater than all other blessings, because words have power to build as well as destroy.

ஆக்கமும் கேடும் அதனால் வருதலால்
காத்தோம்பல் சொல்லின் கண் சேர்வு (642)

The power of speech must not only captivate the friendly but also those not so friendly,

கேட்டார்ப் பிணிக்குந் தகையவாய்க் கேளாரும்
வேட்ப மொழிவதாஞ் சொல் (643)

The use of words knowing their power and import is itself a discipline and a source of power.

தினறிந்து சொல்லுக சொல்லை அறனும்
பொருளும் அதனினு உங்கில் (644)

The world will then wait to carry out what you desire.

விரைந்து தொழில் கேட்கும் ஞாலம் நிரந்தினிது
சொல்லுதல் வல்லார்ப் பெறின் (648)

The point to be remembered is that the Minister is a part of ஐம்பெருங்குழு (the five grand councils) and எண்பேராயம் (eight popular assemblies) of the State and so the Minister has constantly to speak to them. The five assemblies, which are

mentioned both in Silappadikaram and Manimekalai are அமைச்சர், காலக்கணிதர், தாணைத்தலைவர், தூதுவர், and சாரணர் (i.e.; Ministers, astrologers, military chiefs, envoys and scouts).

The eight popular assemblies are —

கரணத்தியலவர், கருமகாரர், கனகரச்சுற்றம், கடைகாப்பாளர், நகரமாந்தர், நளிபடைத்தலைவர், யானைவீரர், இவுளிமறவர்.

(i.e., assemblies of citizens, guardsmen, workers, treasurers, frontiersmen etc.) These popular assemblies are the beginnings of deliberative and legislative bodies now known to democracy. The learned Ministers, if they are really learned, must be able to educate the assemblies and give a lead to them. Otherwise they would be like flowers, though in bloom, give no fragrance. That is to say these popular institutions will be only in form and not informed.

இணரூழ்த்தும் நாளு மலரணையர் கற்றது
உணர விரித்துரையா தார்.

(650)

As important as நானலம் and துணைநலம் and more so is வினைநலம். Because, the Ministers will be judged by their actions and not by their words and their advisers.

துணைநலம் ஆக்கம் தருஉம் வினைநலம்
வேண்டிய எல்லாம் தரும்.

(651)

Those that wish to be great should therefore not do anything that will tarnish their name.

ஒழுதல் வேண்டும் ஒளிமாழ்கும் செய்வினை
ஆவதும் என்னுமவர்.

(653)

The Ministers shall not be guilty of unworthy deeds, and wealth and power earned by disreputable means are worse than poverty. Such power acquired by oppression is bound to be lost.

அழக்கொண்ட எல்லாம் அழப்போம் இழப்பினும்
பிற்பயக்கும் நற்பாலவை.

(659)

சலத்தால் பொருள் செய்தே மார்த்தல் பசுமட்
கலத்துள் கீர் பெய்திர் இயற்று.

(660)

The recipient of such power will himself be destroyed just as water poured in a pot of unbaked clay dissolves the clay and also

itself runs out. The Minister is expected to possess strength of character and firmness in action (வினைத்திட்டம்). A weak minister however well-meaning is no good because his plans will not be fulfilled.

எண்ணிய எண்ணியாங்கி எய்துப எண்ணியார்
திண்ணியராகப் பெறின்.

(666)

In a Chapter entitled வினைச்செயல்வகை following the one on வினைத்திட்டம் Tiruvalluvar gives the ingredients of executive efficiency in a Minister. Decision must follow deliberation and in the execution of such decisions, there should be no delay, says the Kural.

குழ்ச்சி முடிவு துணி வெய்தல் அத்துணிவு
தாழ்ச்சியுள் தங்குதல் தீது.

(671)

The Kural also says that unfinished action and unended enmity are as ruinous as the remnants of a fire which will again consume.

In all matters, five things should be carefully considered, viz., the resources in hand, the instrument, the proper time and the nature of the action and the proper place for its execution. The Minister should hasten to secure the alliance of the foe of one's enemies even more than rewarding friends. Ministers of small States should yield to and acknowledge their superior foes, if the latter offer them a chance of reconciliation. We find parallelisms to these in Kautilya also in Chapter XIV of the Arthasastra.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AMBASSADORS.

From the conduct of internal affairs, Tiruvalluvar passes on to foreign affairs in the next Chapter (69). The King deals with external States only through diplomatic channels and hence the Chapter is devoted to தூதர் or Ambassadors. In an earlier Chapter Tiruvalluvar spoke of spies or ஒற்றர் to verify the loyalty of servants employed by the State. An Ambassador may be a spy in some circumstances, but a spy cannot be an ambassador who must be of high birth, good manners and loving nature.

அன்புடைமை ஆன்ற குடிப்பிறத்தல் வேந்தவாம்
பன்புடைமை தூதரைப்பான் பண்பு (681)

The envoy must possess natural wisdom as well as knowledge of arts and sciences and a good personality.

அறிவுரு ஆராய்ந்த கல்வி இம் மூன்றும்
செறிவுடையான் செல்க வினைக்கு (684)

These ideas in Tirukkural are so modern and are worth noting, and hence the world needs to know more about the Kural. Conciseness of speech, sweetness of tongue and a careful eschewing of all disagreeable language, these are the means by which the ambassador will work for his State's well-being. The ambassador sent on missions should be firm of mind, pure of heart and engaging in his ways.

தாய்மை துணைமை துணிவுடைமை இம்மூன்றின்
வாய்மை வழியுரைப்பான் பண்பு (688)

Even when threatened with death the perfect ambassador will not fail in his duty but will promote his King's interests.

இறுதி பயப்பினும் எஞ்சாது இறைவர்க்கு
உறுதி பயப்புதாம் தூது. (690)

Kautilya too deals with envoys in Book 1, Chap. 29 of the Arthasastra. He prescribes minister's qualifications for the charge d'affaires (mantrinah) and lesser qualifications for parimitartah (agents entrusted with definite missions), and sasana-harah (conveyor of royal writs). The envoy, says Kautilya, should avoid women and liquor, and shall take bed single as the intentions of envoys will be attempted to be found out while with women or under influence of drink. Kautilya gives elaborate methods for the envoy to adopt. Arthassatra has the perfection of Machiavalli in this kind of state-craft.

In a group of Chapters Tiruvalluvar gives rules as to how Ministers shall conduct themselves with Kings, judge counsels, etc., (all of which it is not possible to cover within the brief compass of these Lectures), and with this, the section dealing with Ministers concludes.

CHAPTER XV

CIVIL AND MILITARY RESOURCES

Then we come to Nādu or territory. That country is great, says, Tiruvalluvar, which never faileth in its yield of harvests and which is the abode of wise men as well as worthy rich men.

தன்னா வினையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்விலாச்
செவ்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு

(731)

The country should be free from starvation, epidemics and destructive foes. It should also be free from factions, anarchists and traitors.

பல்குழுவும் யுப்பாழ் செய்யும் உட்பகையும் வேந்தலைக்கும்
கொல்குறும்பும் இவ்வது நாடு

(735)

The country should have surface and subsoil waters, seasonal rains, well-situated mountains and strong fortifications.

The five ornaments of the Kingdom are (1) freedom from disease, (2) wealth, (3) harvests, (4) happiness and (5) security. There should be natural wealth more than that produced by labour. Even if the land has all these, it is worth nothing if it is not blessed in its ruler.

ஆங்கமை வெய்திக் கண்ணும் பயமின்றே
வேந்தமை வில்லாத நாடு

(740)

It will be seen that Tiruvalluvar's monarchy is not for the purpose of keeping up the line of Kings but to avoid anarchy.

Tiruvalluvar devotes one chapter to 'Fortresses' and two to 'Army' and in between a chapter on 'Wealth'. Although fortress is part of land, it is given importance as an essential of State as in olden days warfare consisted in taking the fortresses of the enemy while in modern times it consists in surrounding the capital of the State and taking or destroying strategic targets. Actually fortress signifies only the capital and it is well known that the Tamil Muvendars were very energetic in building

their capitals and were proud of them. A fort is necessary for attack, defence and shelter. It should have the defensive barriers and facilities like unfailing supply of water, open space, hills and thick vegetative covering round about.

மணிரீரும் மண்ணும் மலையும் அணிநிழற்
காடும் உடையது அரண்

(742)

Parimelalagar calls these நீரரண், நிலவரண், மலையரண், and காட்டரண். These natural advantages only make the fort valuable for strategic use rather than troops and dump of arms. Tiruvalluvar also refers to some manual which refers to making the fortress impregnable by its height, thickness etc. Its not known what it is. The Silappadikaram commentary of Adiyarkunallar gives the requirements of a fortress from an engineering point of view

இளையும் கிடங்கும் வளைவிற் பொறியும்
கருவிசலாகமும் கல்லுமிழ் கவணும்
பரிவுறு வெந்நெயும் பாகடுகுழியும்
காய்பொன் னுலையும் கல்லிடு கூடையும்
தூண்டிலும் தொடக்கு மாண்டலை யடுப்பும்
கவையுங் கழுவும் புதையும் பழுவும்
ஐயலித் தூலமும் கைபய ரூசியும்
சென்றெறி சிரலும் பன்றியும் பணையும்
எழுவுஞ் சீப்பு முழுவிளந் கணையுமும்
கோலுங் கந்தமும் நாட்கொடி துடங்கும்
வாயில் கழிந்துதன் மனைபுக் கணளால்—

Silappadikarām (2-15-207-216)

It is one of the functions of the King to distribute arms, ஐவகை மரபின் அரசர் பக்கம். Commentator Ilampūranar explains this as—

ஓதலும், குவட்டலும், ஈதலும், படைவழங்குதலும்,
குடியோம்புதலும்

This commentator interprets these as the study of the Vedas, performance of sacrifices, giving away of gifts, looking after the welfare of the subjects and prowess in weapons. The commentator Naccinarkiniyar substitutes administration of justice for the last. Tiruvalluvar departs from Folkappiyar and does not refer to these traditional virtues.

Puranānuru speaks of the fortresses full of bows—

அம்பு துஞ்சும் தடி அரணுல்
அறந் துஞ்சும் செங்கோலையே—

(Puram-20)

Tiruvalluvar also refers to the fortress being stocked with the necessary stores and a good garrison (கல் ஆள்) which is loyal and loving to the King. Parimēlalagar also refers to tunnels (கீழறு) and Manākkudavar to ramparts (கட்டாலகம்) and guns mounted on them மதிற்பொறி. It may be mentioned that in Tolkappiyam we find it stated that all castes can bear வீல் and வேல், bow and spear, as citizens. The inmates of the fortress should be doughty men to withstand siege or storming by an enemy. Tiruvalluvar also warns that, however, strong the fort may be, the men must have வினைமாட்சி, that is, freedom from inaction, panic and ill-judgment.

Kautilya also refers to the requirements of a fort, viz., andaka (moat), parvata (hill), dhauvana (desert), forest (vanadurga) and water and thickets (khajana) and gives elaborate details of the fort which are really interesting (Bk. I Chap. III). In Bk. XIII Chap. 5 he gives details as to how to capture and destroy a fort.

Tolkappiyam speaks in detail of meritorious acts in war according to each 'tinai' and region. For example for 'vakai' there are twelve tinais:—

(1) sending of royal umbrella, (2) sending of sword before attack, (3) clash between soldiers when getting up the ladder, (4) besieger besieging the inner fort after capturing the outer and killing the enemy's army, (5) asking besieged about defence desired, (6) miraculous attack, (7) defeating enemy in moat, (8) defeat of army inside fort, (9) attack of army on glacis, (10) purificatory bath of the crown of the vanguished, (11) purificatory bath of the sword of the victor and (12) collecting armies of the victor and honouring them (*Porul*, *Purathinai* 68)

For some other tinais, other things like attack by elephant, hand to hand fight, fight with swords etc., are mentioned.

Significantly Tiruvalluvar places a Chapter on 'Wealth' following the Chapter on 'Fortress' as money is the first requirement for peace and war and hence it is an important sinew of defence. He has framed the maxims in this chapter on very general lines and hence are universally applicable as the economic doctrine for polity.

பொருளென்னும் பொய்யா விளக்கம் இருளறுக்கும்
எண்ணிய தேயத்துச் சென்று (753)

Wealth is an unfailing lamp which goes to every place and dispels darkness and quells enmity. Wealth got by proper means is the basis for அறம் and இன்பம் (i.e., virtue and well-being).

அறன் ஈனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள் (754)

அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராப் பொருளாக்கம்
புல்லார் புரள விடல் (755)

Tiruvalluvar also gives the sources of revenue for the State. They are escheats, derelicts, customs, taxes and tributes from vanquished states.

உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும் தன் ஒன்னூத்
தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள் (756)

There is no sharper steel than wealth to cleave the enemy's pride and strength, says the Kural.

செய்க பொருளைச் செறுநர் செறுக்கறுக்கும்
எஃகதனில் கூறியதில் (759)

CHAPTER XVI

THE ARMY

Tiruvalluvar speaks of the characteristics of the Army and rightly enough he insists on military tradition, தொல்படை. The commentator Parimelalagar refers to different categories of the army, viz., மூலப்படை (standing army), கலிப்படை (mercenary army), நாட்டுப்படை (citizen's army), காட்டுப்படை (sappers and miners), துணைப்படை (auxiliaries) and பகைப்படை (combatants). Valour and gallantry and heroism are important in an army. With a dry sense of humour, Tiruvalluvar asks what is the good of having a large army of rats which can be hissed off by a snake ?

ஒலித்தக்கால் என்னும் உலரி எலிப்பகை
நாகம் உயிர்ப்பக் கெடும்

(763)

A good army is the one which will not take defeat and will resist even if Yama, the god of death, comes against it. Its four qualities are : valour, honour, pride in tradition, and refusal to be confounded. This is a brilliantly succinct statement.

மறமானம் மாண்ட வழிச்செலவு தேற்றம்
என நான்கே ஏமம் படைக்கு

(766)

The King has an obligation to see that the Army does not get reduced in numbers, is not forced to plunder the people and do humiliating things and is not ill-paid. Provided all this, even if the army is big it is of no use if it has not generals (தலைமக்கள்) and the army should be proud of them. The ethics of the army is to strike hard but it is chivalry to be generous to the fallen. It is unworthy of its steel to show its valour against the falling and disarmed foes. (Parimelalagar cites Kamba Ramayana where Rama asks Ravana to go back and return next day duly armed). As in Kamathupal Tiruvalluvar becomes poetic when he speaks of the proud warrior who will not even wince if a spear is thrown at him or the warrior who will laugh nonchalantly if a lance thrown at an

elephant comes back and hurts him. Love and War are inspiring themes for Tamil poets. *Purananuru* contains a number of scenes of valour where mothers exhorted their sons to go and fight and would feel disgraced if the son got a wound in his back (i.e., if he turned his back instead of going down fighting). (see *Purananuru*. 279, 277, 274, 62). As regards chivalry *Tolkappiyam* (Puram) commentary (Nachinarkiniar's) says that a noble and benign rule consisted in not killing or fighting without giving due warning to the feeble, issueless, men with no hair on their heads, men who retreat, men who are not equals in valour etc.

Tiruvalluvar does not refer to any navy although *Tolkappiyam* refers to நீர்ப்படை in one place and *Silappadikaram* refers to Ceran Senguttuvan's navy (27-16). The Tamils were good ship-builders and their sea-borne trade was not unimportant.

The King, or the Head of the State as now, was apparently the head of the Armed Forces and not any Minister. In *Paditruppattu* in one place (24) the King is praised as the Head of the Army கிடுநாள் மாலைப் பெரும்படைத்தலைவர்.

In Books I to XIV,¹ Kautilya deals at great length with Army and Warfare. He speaks of different kinds of army—hereditary army, hired army, army formed by co-operation of the people, friend's army and army composed of wild tribes. Tiruvalluvar does not go into details like these although in Sangam literature we have ample references to methods and exploits of war. The point is that Tiruvalluvar was not writing a manual on war but only examining the ethics of war and peace and how they contributed to the other fulfilments of life namely அறம், பொருள் and இன்பம். In his age obviously there were not external wars or invasions but the essential fact is that a well-trained and courageous army was an ingredient of the State.

1. Cf. T. V. Mahalingam - *South Indian Polity* p. 280

CHAPTER XVII

ALLIES AND ENEMIES

Just as important as the Army are the allies which Tiruvalluvar deals with in 12 Chapters which comprise the grammar of friendship, testing of friendship and enmity open and disguised. Tiruvalluvar says that there is no armour as friendship for defence against the machinations of foes.

செயற்கரிய யாவுள நட்பின் அதுபோல்
வினைக்கரிய யாவுள காப்பு

(781)

Genuine friendship grows like the waxing moon and its purpose should be for correcting if one goes wrong. Friendship hastens to go to aid just as the hand of the man whose garment slips away. (We saw this in the aid of U. K. and U. S. A. at the time of Chinese aggression on India). Friendship should be made after due consideration as it is difficult to discard it after once contracted. It is a gain to put away the friendship of foes. These are not copy-book maxims but essentials of a wise foreign policy and peaceful co-existence. Those who loyally keep the ties of friendship will be loved and respected even by enemies. Friendship of the unworthy and the exploiting is no better than that of the harlot or the thief. The enmity of the wise is ten million times better than the intimacy of foes. The alliance of those whose deeds vary with their declarations is dangerous. Obviously Tiruvalluvar must have read the lessons of history carefully and no one knows if he was a Minister himself.

Tiruvalluvar examines the causes that bring about enmity. Although these considerations are general propositions, they apply with greater force to the affairs of State. Earlier he discussed the factors brought about by others; he now discusses the factors brought about by ones' own actions. They are folly (பேதமை), conceit (புல்லறிவாண்மை) amour de propre (இகல்). A person holding public office like a Minister should not bend his heart towards things unworthy and base. There is no want like

want of sense and the pig-headedness which would not listen to good counsel and such a man is a plague on the men around him. Quarrelsomeness is a disease and those who free themselves of it will acquire glory. The person who has the talent to avoid hostility cannot easily be overthrown. Fortune will smile on one if he ignores provocation, and ruin is in store if he is tricky and makes enemies all round. These are wise words applicable to the present political situation of many countries in the world.

In three Chapters, Tiruvalluvar enumerates very fine principles of policy in judging enemies. His advice is intensely practical. For example, he says:— Some times it is wiser to be submissive and some times it is expedient to declare enmity. If the enemy is stronger, avoid a conflict and if he is weak, court the fray and pursue till he is vanquished. This is not unethical because a weaker person has no business to be impudent. An enemy who is unjust and who has no supporters deserves to be routed. All these are intensely practical. They breathe more of the dignity of the lion than the cunning of the jackal. He is a craven who lacks sense, understanding liberality and he will be an easy prey to enemies.

அஞ்சும் அறியான் அமைவிலன் ஈகவான்

தஞ்சும் எளியன் பகைக்கு

(863)

He is also an easy prey to enemies who does not explore ways for conciliation, take opportunities offered for it, avoid reproach and demeaning acts. It is a delight to an enemy if one is not well versed, does not make use of opportunities and does not care for blame or dignity because the enemy could easily overcome such a one.

வழிநோக்கான் வாய்ப்பன செய்யான் பழிநோக்கான்

பண்பிலன் பற்றார்க்கு இனிது.

(865)

Parimelalagar explains வழிநோக்கான் as not being conversant with ancient books. Commentator Parithiyar explains it correctly as exploring all avenues. All these refer to defects in a King harmful to him. *Per contra* there are defects in the enemy which would be favourable to the King. They are blind wrath and lust. Such enemies will easily lose their balance.

It is worthwhile to purchase some enmities to destroy their power. This is analogous to agents provocateurs employed by dictators against enemies who are weak or divided.

There are certain enmities which should be carefully avoided. The prime importance is given to those who are powerful in speech. They may be either demagogues or tribunes of the people, but the latter are more dangerous because their influence are not momentary. The British regime was able to put down revolutionaries and firebrands who excited the people to disaffection against their rule but could not suppress the influence of the studied and sober but nevertheless powerful words of great leaders like Gandhi.

விலலேர் உழவர் பகைகொளிறும், கொன்னற்க

சொல்லே ருழவர் பகை

(872)

A King's sagacity consists in not provoking a multitude of foes when he has no allies. In such circumstances it is wise and tactful to convert enemies into allies. Discretion is the better part of valour.

பகைநட்பாக் கொண்டொழுதும் பண்புடையான்

தகைமைக்கண் தங்கிற்று உலகு

(874)

தன் துணை இன்றால் பகை இரண்டால் தான் ஒருவன்

இன் துணையாக் கொள்கவற்றின் ஒன்று

(875)

In some circumstances it is better to put on the aspect neither of friend nor foe, but remain neutral. But enmities which are like thorns must be nipped in the bud before they grow in size.

Treachery within is more dangerous than enemies without.

Enemies who are open foes need not be dreaded but foes who profess to be by your side as friends should be dreaded.

வான்போல் பகைவரை அஞ்சற்க அஞ்சுக

கேன்போல் பகைவர் தொடர்பு

(882)

The machinations of enemies masquerading as friends will poison even those who are friendly. It is expedient to avoid discords within as they are like a file which weareth away an iron or it is like living with cobras under the same roof.

Safety also lies in not offending great men and powerful potentates. Particularly men of lofty principles should not be

made to feel angry because of the injustice or wicked ways of the King. Even if such a King rests on most solid supports, he will not be saved if men of great spiritual power frown on them.

இறந்தமைந்த சார்புடையார் ஆயினும் உய்யார்
செறந்தமைந்த சீரார் செறிந்

(900)

Tiruvalluvar also warns against dangers which though not direct will ruin a King or a Minister. They are being under the influence of women, prostitutes, wine and gambling. The recent Profumo affair in England is a lurid illustration of such bad association. It will be remembered that the then Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan said that Profumo scandal had shocked his government and he had to relinquish office soon after.

Kautilya like Tiruvalluvar goes into very great details about enmity and his treatment is interesting (Bk. Ch. III). Tiruvalluvar's maxims are more or less parallel in general principles and it is likely that Tiruvalluvar was indebted in dealing with this aspect of Polity to Kautilya whose treatment is masterly. Kautilya says that a King desirous of expanding his own power shall make use of three broad principles :—

- (1) Make peace with an equal and superior and crush down an inferior.
- (2) Do not foolishly go to war against a superior. You will be reduced to nothing as a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.
- (3) War with an equal King is futile as it is like one unbaked pot knocking against another such.

Kautilya speaks of different kinds of peace—

- (a) *atmanisha* (surrendering with a certain number of the army)
- (b) *purushantarasandhi* (peace by sending hostages)
- (c) *adrishta purush* (peace by sending an envoy signifying capitulation)

In my opinion it is in these chapters dealing with war and truce that Kautilya shows consummate knowledge and cleverness of dealing with enemies and there is much practical wisdom which is commonly called strategy, for without it no kingdom could survive.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CITIZENRY

The most important section in the Kural is குடிஇயல் which deals with the Citizenry apart from the King, Ministers and the warriors. Tiruvalluvar deals with this in 13 Chapters. Rectitude and sense of shame will be found in good citizens, he says, in a keynote maxim.

இற்பிறந்தார் கண் அல்லது இல்லை இயல்பாகச்
செப்பமும் நாணும் ஒருங்கு (951)

They will not fail in rectitude and sense of shame if the people come of good family and they will not fall from three things:— correct conduct, truth and decency (ஒழுக்கம், வாய்மை, நாண்).

Cheerful countenance, liberality, pleasant words, and unreviling disposition are their qualities.

இன்சொல், ஈகை, இகழாமை, நகை.

Even if they could gain crores upon crores they will not do what is derogatory. They will not stoop to deceit or cunning. Gentleness of speech and humility are their ornaments. These are attributes of a great citizenry.

Tiruvalluvar places the greatest importance on honour (மானம் i.e., தன்னிலையில் தாழாமை acting beneath one's dignity). Even for the sake of glory men who aspire for greatness will not do dishonourable things.

சீரினும் சீரல்ல செய்யாரே சீரொடு
பேராண்மை வேண்டுவவர். (962)

They will prefer to die rather than lose their honour.

Although Tiruvalluvar speaks of a good family traditions, he quite emphatically points out that honour lies in deeds than in birth,

பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் சிறப்பொவ்வா
செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான். (972)

Greatness or பெருமை is like a woman's chastity which can be maintained only by his own conduct and nothing else.

ஒருமை மகளிரே போலப் பெருமையும் தன்னைத்தான்
கொண்டொழுகின் உண்டு.

(974)

If distinction alights on a little man he becomes only haughty and insolent and exults in self-praise.

And what is more, he is a great man who does not expose the failings of others whereas little men will delight in scandalising them.

அற்றம் மறைக்கும் பெருமை சிறுமைதான்
குற்றமே கூறி விடும்.

(980)

சான்றாண்மை is something which is above greatness. Parimelalagar says about சான்றாண்மை that பெருமையுள் அடங்காத குணங்கள் பலவற்றையும் தொட்டுக் கொண்டு நிற்கிறது. Manakkudavar says, இது பெரும் பண்பையும் அறத்தினால் தலையளி செய்தொழுகுவாரை நோக்குகிறது. Its ingredients are goodness and perfection. குணநலம் or goodness of character comprises everything else. It may be called nobility and its five pillars are—love to all, sensitiveness to shame, complaisance, indulgence to faults of others and truthfulness.

அன்பு, நாண், ஒப்புரவு, கண்ணோட்டம், வாய்மையோடு
ஐந்து சால்பு ஊன்றிய தூண்.

(983)

Such men will be ready to acknowledge their faults.

Just as non-killing is best of tavam, so also, abstaining from speaking of other's faults is the best in the nature of man (gunam).

கொல்லா நலத்தது நோன்மை பிறர் தீமை
சொல்லா நலத்தது சால்பு.

(984)

Tiruvalluvar does not consider an ideal man or citizen as one who is pure and good in himself but he wants him to function in society and be a man of action to transform others into good and fruitful purposes. The best strength of such a man, says Tiruvalluvar, is humility because it unites the friendly and disarms the hostile.

ஆற்றுவார் ஆற்றல் பணிதல் அதுசான்றோர்
மாற்றாரை மாற்றும் படை.

(985)

This quality is preeminently necessary in political action through democratic methods. In democracy the leaders function successfully through consensus and not by dictation. Where a leader is haughty, arrogant or overbearing, he soon becomes unpopular and falls from power, however, clever, wise and well-intentioned he is.

The touchstone of a man's noble character is his willingness to accept defeat at the hands of an inferior without a sense of prestige or amour propre.

சால்பிற்குக் கட்டளை யாதெனில் தோல்வி
துலையல்லார் கண்ணும் கொளல்.

(986)

This is a rare quality and true mark of a democratic leader.

Such men will not swerve from their principles even if the seven seas break the shores and deluge.

ஊழி பெயரினும் தாம்பெயரார் சான்றுண்மைக்கு
ஆழி எனப்படுவார்.

(989)

Tiruvalluvar places the greatest importance on high-souled and highly-principled men as the strength of the State and without them even earth can not bear its burdens. It is metaphorical for saying that the State would totter to its foundations. Wrong policies not based on truth and honesty are more harmful than even imperfection in polity. The meta-political virtues of principles and policies are more important than mere forms of government or social order. The inner strength is the purity of men's minds and actions.

The world goes on, says Tiruvalluvar, smoothly because of men of courtesy and goodwill and but for them all the harmony would be dead and buried in the dust.

பண்புடையார்ப் பட்டுண்டு உலகம் அது இன்றேல்
மண்புக்கு மாய்வது மன்.

(996)

This goodwill will be born of an optimism and a knowledge of the world which knows of the world's imperfections and laughs at it instead of being dismayed. Otherwise the world will be dark even during daylight. The recognition of evil is the

first essential to overcome it. To overcome it or transform it instead of curing it is the function of good men in society.

நகவல்லர் அல்லார்க்கு மாயிரு ஞாலம்
பகலும் பாத் பட்டன்று இருள்.

(999)

The test of a good man is his ability to put his wealth to profitable use, otherwise it becomes a burden. All the problems of modern governments centre round preventing the accumulation of wealth in fewer hands but getting it invested in public projects which would socialise its benefits. The accumulation of wealth by unjust and corrupt means is a poison to the State. The tragedy of many highly evolved societies is not only that men are unjust but that they are unashamed. This sense of shame is that which abides with all virtues. This delicate sensitiveness is an ornament to men of goodwill, otherwise their greatness is a farce. Tiruvalluvar places the greatest emphasis on this sense of moral and social conscience.

EVOLUTION OF A GREAT SOCIETY

The evolution of a Great society depends on the efforts of each individual to raise the goodness of his own family. The world will revolve round such men says Tiruvalluvar. A good State depends on the strength and vitality at the level of the family as the State is only the enlargement of the family writ large.

Tiruvalluvar holds up farming as indispensable as the world depends on the fruits of the plough as on nothing else, and husbandmen are the linchpin of society because they support and sustain all those who take to other works necessary for the State. The farmers will help their Prince to bring all others under his umbrella.

பலகுடை நிழலும் தங்குடைக்கீழ்க் காண்பர்
அலகுடை கீழலவர்.

(1034)

Agriculture is the mainstay of the State and for an affluent society. It is a shame to plead poverty without increasing agriculture production. Such a State is not putting its assets to good use. Earth is ready to yield its bounties and she will laugh if anyone pleads want without taking efforts.

இலமென்று அசைஇ இருப்பாரைக் காணின்
நிலமென்னும் நல்வாள் நகும்

(1040)

Poverty is the cause of under-development about which so much is spoken of today. There is no misfortune like poverty and Tiruvalluvar says 'poverty alone is painful as poverty' for an individual or a nation. It is the cause of many degradations and sorrows. The words of a poor man or a poor country are never heeded. A pauperised society is no credit for any State. While charity is good, there is no citizen so mean as to be forced to beg from those not generous enough and decent enough to give without churlishness,

and no man should be so untruthful as to plead insufficiency without sharing even a bit with those who need. Nor those in need should get angry with those who do not give. Even in affluent society there will be some sections in poverty but there is no place for beggary if those who have, shared their riches with those who have not. This human law, a law of human dignity both for the giver and the taker, will obviate the need for the State to take steps to soak the rich to succour the poor and that process, it is well known, pleases no one and there will be perpetual and universal discontent against the State. A self-adjusting society is the best and the State should help to foster it by its ethics and principles.

Every man should try to earn his daily bread, however, humble it may be. Though it is thin gruel, it would be sweeter than a fare got by beggary.

தெண்ணீர் அடுபற்கை யாயினும் தான் தந்தது
உண்ணலி னூங்கினியது இல்

(1065)

Tiruvalluvar signifies his strong feelings on the question of beggary by saying that the Creator of the world had better perish if there is to be large scale mendicancy.

இரந்தும் உயிர்வாழ்தல் வேண்டிற் பரந்து
கெடுக உலகியற்றி யான்

(1062)

Tiruvalluvar concludes his discussion by a chapter on Meanness. In the ultimate analysis it is this degeneracy in human nature that degrades all human actions and institutions. A high-souled citizenry is a heaven on earth. Of all the evils of the mean, the worst is that they will be unscrupulous and readily sell themselves for even small benefits.

ஊற்றிற் றூரியர் கயவரொன்று உற்றக்கால்
விறற்றக்கு உரியர் விரைந்து

(1080)

Such dishonourable men is no credit to any society.

CHAPTER XX

TIRUVALLUVAR'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

To sum up, Tiruvalluvar devotes a large portion of his treatment of Polity to the qualities of a good citizenry, and gives as much importance to it as he gives to the qualities of the Prince, the Ministers, the Army and so forth. It is a common saying that the people will get the government they deserve. The power and quality of the State, therefore, reside in the people, but it is an axiom of political science that the people cannot govern themselves and therefore require a government to regulate their affairs. A government can, however, misgovern either by the imperfections of its institutions or the lack of quality of the rulers. The interaction of the people on the government and of the government on the people is organic. It is like the interactions of the body and the mind. The health and tone of the body politic depend on this inter-action. In modern times, it is assumed to be achieved by representative government. Mere mechanical representation by counting of heads does not bring about this consummation. The rulers and the people must be governed by the same ideals and impulses, the same ethics and high-souledness and the same realisation of the high human destiny. The meaning and value of democratic order and its perfection in practice is only by the progress of the human mind. This is the message of Tiruvalluvar. A world torn by dissensions and gripped with fear of war and atomic destruction needs this message so that men's mind may be chastened and the rulers and the people may at least retreat for a while and contemplate on the realities. The days of philosopher Kings will not come back and they are not necessarily ideal, but a polity that is based on values is yet possible to strive for. It is this *principle of values* that Tiruvalluvar stresses at every turn. Nowhere does he bemoan that humanity has fallen on evil days, that its institutions are decaying and that its doom is near. Nowhere does he suggest obedience like the ancient lawgivers by hinting at punishment in this world or the next. His concepts are dignified in their sobriety and lofty in their simplicity. The world needs them more than ever.

END.

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