POLITICAL LIFE

There was only one form of government at the time of Valluvar—monarchy. There were three crowned kings of Cōra, Cōla and Pāndya countries. There were local chieftains who switched their loyalty from one king to another according to the fluctuations of their fortunes. The three kings were frequently warring not only against the Northern States but also among themselves.

The king was the source of all power. He held court every morning, administered justice and decided war and peace and patronised fine arts and literature. The absolute power of the monarch was somewhat tempered by the advisory councils 'Alperuñ Kulü' 'En pērayam'. The composition and the colour of the councils is not clear. Sometimes poets like Kovār Kīlar and priests like Madalan wielded great influence with the kings and tendered advice regarding war and peace. Such was the type of political order, from which Valluvar had to rely on.

The supreme position of the king has been asserted by Mōsi Kārańār in Puranānūru. 'Neither the paddy fields nor the irrigational facilities are the life force of people. King is the life force of people'.
But Ouwaiyar thinks differently and holds that people are more important. 'Neither the country side nor the forest, is important. It is men who determine the fate of a country'. Valluvar has incorporated this in 'Kudi cheyal vakai'.

Valluvar has made the king the total personification of the political order. Other organs of government, Minister, country fortification, material sources, Army and friends are only his limbs. Prof. T.P. Meenakshisundaram has expressed the view that the distinguishing feature of Valluvar's conception is that he has refrained from making the king as one of the limbs of polity and has made other organs subservient to the king.

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai held the view that since the organs of government mentioned by Valluvar are the same as in Artha Sastra Valluvar must have been indebted to Kautiliyala. A fitting reply has been given by Thiru N. Murugasu Mudaliar in his Sornamal Endowment lectures.

'A Comparative reading of Artha Sastra and Kural will convince that Tiruvalluvar was only dealing with values and not about the mechanics, form or legalistic basis of government. 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 medieval, on polity.

And hence, the approach adopted by Valluvar in formulating his political science is entirely different from that of Kautilya. In Kural, we find the revelation of a system of values based on morality, through there are instances in Kural wherein considerations of expediency overrule moral rules of conduct. It is futile to compare works fundamentally differing in their attitude. The difference between Kural and Artha Sastra is of a substantive nature. The mere coincidence of the organs of Government is not adequate ground for evaluating the indebtedness of one or the other. Further, the age of Valluvar fixed by us is anterior to Kautilya. And hence, the possibility of Kural being indebted to Kautilya is definitely ruled out. We do not subscribe to the view of Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai that Valluvar was a Jain saint who lived in 6th century A.D.

Dr. B. Natarajan, the noted economist has also ruled out that Kural is, in any way indebted to
Artha Sastra. 'In basic ideas, the two donot meet. Kantilya appoints a supervisor to supervise and prepare drink'.

And hence what is depicted in Kural is the totality of the political phenomena in which the universal good of the individual as well as the society will be safe. The most ticklish question is how to reconcile the individual morality with social good. It may be very well to recall here that Kural never emphasises individual rights that are likely to be in conflict with social good; on the contrary, it speaks mostly of the duties of the individual to protect his family and country.

Further Valluvar is least interested in procedural details; he devotes his attention entirely to substantive concepts, whether it be with regard to sex or education, administration of justice or political order.

While dealing with polity also, Valluvar has propounded a system of values. In sharp contrast to Artha Sastra, Valluvar does not go into details. Prof. Arunagam Mudaliar\(^3\) has also noticed this tendency and has observed that it is because of eschewing details,
Valluvar's poetry has attained an universal appeal. Kautilaya's meticulous attention to details is well known.

Ouval Su. Duraisamy Pillai\(^1\) has also pointed out that Valluvar has dealt with certain axiomatic factors leading to the stability of States. Valluvar ought to have arrived at these factors by analysing the reasons for the rise and fall of the Governments at his time.

Another distinguishing feature of Tamil tradition is that political power is to be exercised by the sovereign only according to the dictates of Dharma. Madurai Manutam Ilanandar\(^1\) has said that even though the kings' power and victory depend upon the four fold army, elephants, chariots, cavalry, armed men - the deciding factor is Dharma.

'Araneri Mutarré Arasín Korram' Maduraik Kānci\(^2\) also lays stress on the principle that political order must be based on ethical considerations and that the ethical traditions laid down by great men should be scrupulously adhered to.
This again is in sharp contrast with the path shown by Artha Sastra wherein for strategic reasons any tactics could be employed to achieve the political goals. Means are not so important as ends.

Valluvar has prescribed several moral qualities for the sovereign - fearlessness, philanthropy, intelligence, initiative, Avoidance of delay, education, boldness, freedom from moral weaknesses, service honour (Kural 332 to 334).

The management of the states' economy is the responsibility of the king. Almost all the first principles of modern economy are succinctly put in a couplet. Production, procurement, Storage and distribution - the king must be an adept in all these aspects.

The success of the sovereign depends upon his easy accessibility and affable manners in words and deeds (Kural 336).

Administration of justice is the prerogative of the king. One who administers justice according to Dharma will be regarded as one among the Gods. Of course, there is no trace of the divine origin theory as interpreted by Parimelalagar (Kural 333). Kural has merely stated that a just king will be acclaimed by his
subjects like a God. There is no identification of the king with the God as presumed by Parimēlalagar. However, the Tamil kings, especially the three crowned kings, 'Mudiyudai Mūvengdar' claimed divine origin. The Cūla kings believed that he originated from the sun; the Pandyas from the moon and the Cūras from Indira. Valluvar differed from the divine origin theory of kings as otherwise he would have clearly stated his position. The king must have patience in listening to proper advice by ministers and others, however unpleasant it may sound (Kural 389). Mercy, philanthropy righteous rule and protection of citizens will earn fame for the king (Kural 390).

After prescribing education and intelligence for the king, Valluvar lists the faults that should be avoided in a separate chapter. Revelry, anger, sexual indulgence, miserliness, false sense of honour, intemperate mercy are to be avoided by the king (Kural 431, 432).

Lack of foresight to prevent the impending danger will destroy the king's life like the hay-stack by fire (Kural 435). One must discover one's own faults and remove them before finding fault with others (Kural 436) Self-adulation is also to be eschewed (Kural 439).
The king should seek the guidance of great wisemen who knew the path of Dharma well. Parimśalāgar thinks that ministers and priests are included in 'Periyārai Tumpikkōtal'. Wisemen have got the foresight to prevent dangers and remove miseries (Kural 442). If there is none to give proper and unpleasant advice to the king, he is certain to be ruined (Kural 443).

The negative aspect of the same concept has been brought out in the chapter 'Cirrinan Ėrāndai' in The company of small men is to be avoided at all costs as it will bring in mental deterioration.

The method of action has been laid down in 'Terindu ceyal vakai'. Present loss or gain alone should not be considered and the future gain also must be weighed before launching upon a plan of action (Kural 461). Ill-planned military expeditions will pave the way for the enemies to take over (Kural 465). Omissions and commissions are also to be guarded against (Kural 467).

For planning military action, Valluvar has devoted three chapters - knowledge of strength, time and place. The strength of the enemy should not be underestimated, the strength of his friends also must be taken into consideration (Kural 471).
It is a sign of the sagacity of Valluvar that he has given importance to the economic strength while evaluating military strength. Expenditure should on no account exceed income; it does not matter even if there were only limited resources (Kural 478).

The pragmatic spirit of Valluvar who has praised philanthropy to the skies, has made him advise the king to practise moderation in granting gifts (Kural 477). Perhaps Valluvar has learnt a lesson from the life of Vēḷ Pāri13 who has gifted all his three hundred villages to poets, dancers and other artists.

One has to wait for the proper time to execute his plan of action. Even the crows can tear the stronger owls during day time (Kural 431). Valluvar also advocates tactical withdrawal, as it is only meant for a forceful re-attack (Kural 436).

There is even a relaxation of moral principles for strategic reasons. Outward manifestation of anger at an inopportune time should be avoided, idea of revenge must be kept secret (Kural 437). A show of subjugation and humility towards stronger foes must be feigned but when the position of the enemy is weakened, he must be destroyed at once. This plan of action is likened to
the sudden throwing away of the unwilling head load (Kural 433). Strike fast and hard at the right moment (Kural 439).

The choice of proper place is stressed in 'Idan Arital'. Valluvar warns that proper lessons must be drawn from the fact that the chariot will not run in the sea, nor the ship on the road. The crocodile is unconquerrable in deep waters, but it will fall an easy prey to other small animals on the ground (Kural 495, 496). The advantage of place will make even a small army play havoc on a larger one (Kural 498).

Principles of selection of personnel have also been enunciated by Valluvar for the benefit of the king. Only those whose loyalty will not be swayed by considerations of Dharma, wealth, sex Fear of loss of life, must be selected (Kural 501). Since man is a mixture of good and bad, the balance sheet should be worked out and the dominant one taken note of (Kural 504).

In tune with the feudalistic economic structure of his times, Valluvar cautioned against trusting people who have no stakes. The implied idea is that in the event of betrayal, their relatives could
be held as hostages and their wealth confiscated. That is why people who have nothing to lose in the event of a show-down must be avoided (Kural 506). After deep study only, personnel should be selected, once selected no doubt about their integrity should be entertained (Kural 517).

Managerial talents required for the king are also codified in 'Terindu Vinnai Aandal'. The nature of the job, the means of achieving it and the type of person who can accomplish it should be borne in mind. Once a person is entrusted with the execution of some work, there should be no interference and it should be entirely left to him to finish it in his own way (Kural 517).

The need for the king to keep his relatives in good mood is stressed in 'curram talāl'. By gifts and sweet words, this could be done (Kural 523). Some might have parted ways for several reasons and others even without any reason. But if they want to return to this fold, he must take them back (Kural 529, 539).

The royal sceptre symbolised the absolute power of the monarch; when it was exercised in a just manner, it was called as 'Jeṅāl' and when abused, 'Koṭuṅāl'. Both aspects are dealt by Valluvar in
'Seṅgōnmai' and 'Kotuṅgōnmai'.

The King's court was the highest court of justice. In caṅga Age, Highest traditions have been set up in the administration of justice. Madurai-kāṇi15 mentions courts of judicature performing their duties without fear or favour, likes or dislikes, pride or prejudice. As there was no appellate court beyond the king's verdict, whoever may be the offender, sometimes his own men, the king must investigate the crime, should not show any undue mercy and should award a fitting punishment. (Kural 541). The king must hold the scales even without being prejudiced in favour of one party according to poet Kāri kilār.16 Ollaiyūr Tanda Bōtappāndian17,18 while taking a vow to conquer his enemies, swears that in the event of failure to conquer his enemies, he may be considered as one who appointed a wrong person as judge in a court and thereby caused miscarriage of justice. In similar circumstances, Pandyan Talaiyalanganattu Cēru Venra Neduṅcēliyan19 asserted that he may be called as an unjust ruler with tearful complaints from his subjects. Puranānūru20 also speaks of a king who if he finds that a crime has been actually committed, metes out a suitable punishment.

The sceptre of the king is even more important than the Vedas and the Dharma which can flourish only in
a good political order (Kural 543). It was a question of faith in Puranānūru\textsuperscript{20} that seasons, rains and good yields of harvest depended upon the just rule of the sovereign. The same concept is endorsed in Kural 545.

The king must be easily accessible to those who come in search of justice. This has been specifically mentioned in Puranānūru\textsuperscript{21}. It was all the more so for poets and other artists. In 'Malaipadukatan\textsuperscript{22}' the poet says that one can enter the palace as if it is his own and can have access to the court, without obtaining permission. Valluvar warns if the king is not easily accessible and does not administer justice he will be ruined (Kural 548).

Valluvar thought that capital punishment should be unhesitatingly inflicted just like weeding out unwanted plants (Kural 550).

Abuse of the sovereign power called as 'Koduṇkōna' often manifests in the fleecing of citizens by over taxation and stringent collection. Pīsir Āndaiyar\textsuperscript{23} has already warned against such fleecing. Instead of harvesting and feeding the elephant, if an elephant is allowed to enter the field ready for harvest, much
destruction would be caused. So also moderate taxation will yield good results in the long run whereas fleecing will lead to immediate depletion of resources. Valluvar has gone a step further and averred that fleecing is worse than murderous men and highway robbers (Kural 551, 552).

The tears shed by sorrowing people will ruin the monarch (Kural 555). During the reign of a despotic monarch, the monsoon will fail (Kural 559). The brahmans will forget their Vedas, even the milk of the cows will dry up due to drought conditions (Kural 560).

Expiating misrule, Valluvar directs the monarch against strong arm tactics, 'Veruvanda ceyyāma'. Raise the rod high, but strike it with mild force (Kural 562). Punishment exceeding the limits and hot words will weaken the king in facing his enemies (Kural 567).

In Kural 541, Valluvar warned against showing mercy, but he devotes a full chapter in support of mercy. The intention of Valluvar is that justice should be tempered with mercy and it should not be allowed to tamper with justice. This is in tune with the legal maxim on the subject.
The need for the existence of an intelligence agency is brought out in 'Oppadal'. It is likened to the eye of the monarch (Kural 591). The king must be able to know whatever is happening to all people (Kural 592). Friends, relatives, enemies, Government Officers—all are to be spied upon (Kural 594).

The spy must have a good personality that rules out doubts and should under no circumstances divulge the contents of his mission (Kural 595). The information given by one spy must be cross checked with that of another (Kural 593).

Indomitable will, avoidance of lethargy, tireless efforts boldness in facing hurdles—these are the qualities prescribed for the sovereign as well the subjects.

Maduraikkanci has laid down certain qualities for ministers—power of discrimination to shift the good from the evil, love, devotion to Dharma, avoiding blameworthy acts, Flame for impartiality. Valluvar gives pride of place to the minister being a man of action. The minister must be able to choose the time, instrument and plan of execution (Kural 631). He must be well versed in the diplomatic art of dividing his enemies and winning friends (Kural 633). What is hard of accomplishment, when one combines bookish knowledge with sharp intelligence? (Kural 636).
The minister must possess the gift of the gab. Purity of action and will power must guide his conduct.

Weighing the pros and cons, a decision must be taken and it should be immediately executed. Delay is dangerous (Kural 671). By setting up one enemy against another, double purpose could be achieved (Kural 673).

Ministers were sent often on diplomatic assignments. Prof. S. Palanisamy has noted in his 'Sarva Desa Jattam' that the qualities prescribed by Valluvar for diplomatic envoys are apt.

Love, loyalty to the king and birth in a high family, powers of verbal communication, intelligence, scholarship, personality and education are prescribed for diplomatic envoys (Kural 631 to 634). A charming summing up, eschewing unpleasant things will be productive of results (Kural 635). The diplomatic envoy should not be afraid of death and should state whatever he was asked to communicate (Kural 690).

While moving with kings, one should not be too near or far away from them just as one should
not go too near or far from fire in winter in order to get the warmth of the fire without being burnt by it (Kural 691). In the king's court, whispering tones and collective laughter must be avoided (Kural 694).

The Diplomatic envoy is also expected to have the power of reading the mind of the king without any outward expression. Such a person is an ornament of the world (Kural 701).

As the mirror reflects the image of nearby objects, the face is the index of the mind (Kural 706 to 708). When the facial expression does not indicate anything, the eye is the surer index of the mind (Kural 709, 710).

The minister must study the audience before him and should have no stage fear.

In his definition of a country, Valluvar takes a materialistic view. Making a departure from Puram tradition, which gives more importance to men, Valluvar lays down that a country should have plenty of harvests, righteous men, and immensely rich people. It must be able to withstand any immigration from other countries and at the same time, it must have the capacity to pay taxes to the king as usual (Kural 731 to 733).
The land must be free from hunger, disease and enemies. Nor should there be multiplicity of factions, traitors, and marauders (Kural 735). Water resources, mountain and its water falls and strong fortification are the ingredients of a country (Kural 737).

A country must be self-sufficient in its resources. The Puram poet Auvaṅyār speaks of the self-sufficient state of the hills of Atiyāmān. The three crowned kings, Cēra, Cōla, Pāṇyās have surrounded the hills of Adiyāmān with their armies and effectively blockaded and starved the fort of supply of essential commodities. The poet told the kings that they would not succeed in their efforts to subjugate the hilly chieftain as it was self sufficient in the water and other food resources. This statement of Auvaṅyār must have inspired Valluvar in his definition of ‘Nādu’. Chronically defeat states are not entitled to be called as a country. Above all, the need of a capable king is indispensable (Kural 739, 740). This is also in accordance with another poet’s concept in Puranānūṟu depicting the king as the all important factor.

Fortification is dealt with in the chapter ‘Aṟag’. The palace must be surrounded by a mount and open space; mountaneous and forest regions must be
there to make it more inaccessible (Kural 742). Moat is mentioned in Madurai-kāncai. Valluvar's idea is based upon the forts of his times. The three crowned kings of Tamil Nādu had their capital in river beds. Hilly chieftains had an ascendancy in Tamil Nādu when the kings lost their influence. This has lead Dr. Kailasapathi to think that Valluvar must have lived in the age of tribal chieftains immediately following the caṅgam Age.

Vuvaiyar refers to the food resources of Athiyaman's hill and says that besieging by the kings will not yield results as the hill has unlimited resources. This is endorsed in Kural 745.

Valluvar unhesitatingly advocates acquisition of wealth by just means (Kural 755). A king is entitled to the following types of property. A treasure trove or property without heirs, tax collection and enemy property taken over (Kural 756). Amassing of wealth is the sure way of defeating one's enemies (Kural 759).

In the caṅgam Age, martial traditions had a strong hold upon the people. Death in the battle field was considered as a great honour, death due to disease was a disgrace. Even a still born baby
was cut by a sword and then only given a burial.

There were also literary conventions about war-vetics, Ulinaí, Kāñci and other tinai’s Valluvar chose to ignore these major divisions as they were peculiar to the region. It is quite germane to recall here that Valluvar has adopted a similar method in dealing with Aham conventions. He ignored the tinai and turai divisions but retained the 'Uriporul' which contains the substantive aspect of 'Aham'.

However, the essence of the heroic traditions of the Cauvery Age is reflected in Kural. The four fold army structure, elephants, chariots, cavalry and soldiers, was the same (Kural 761). An army of mice will run away at the hissing sound of a snake. A few heroic soldiers will strike terror into the hearts of numerous army (Kural 763).

Army formations are also mentioned. Front line of the attacking army is called as 'Tūsi' - While that of the defending army 'Tār'. Lack of supplies, commission of atrocities and disaffection will ruin the army (Kural 769). The numerical superiority of the army does not count very much. Much depends upon the captains of the army (Kural 770).

The chapter on 'Padai cerukku' literary Puram conventions have been followed. 'Vañci'
'Tālūcı', 'Mūrīlāttu' have been employed. While confronting the enemy's army, the soldier gives expression to the proud heroism of his side and this is called as 'Vañći'. This finds expression in Kural 771. Another heroic convention is not to throw weapons against an enemy who has taken to his heels. This habit of not taking advantage of his weak moment was known as 'Tālūcı'. The heroic villain, Ravana, in his first battle with Rama, lost all his weapons in the battle-field and stood like a helpless target for attack and instant destruction but Rama did not use that helpless moment for destroying his foe, instead he has asked his arch enemy to come next day to the field fully armed for another trial of strength. Such a type of supreme heroism is praised in Kural 773. However, the climax of heroism is to be found in another convention. Having put all his weapons to good use by inflicting death and destruction in the ranks, the hero notices that a spear is sticking to his chest; he did not realise this as he was too busy destroying his enemies. He plucks the spear from his chest and throws it at his enemies. This is called as 'Mūrīlāttu'. Such a poignant situation is described in Kural 774.

Even the twinkling of eyes was regarded as disgrace in Puranāṅrū. The same idea is stressed.
in Kural 775. To be wounded in the battle field was also considered as a great honour in the Cuungan Age as evidenced by the 'Vilup puń'. Valluvar also gives expression to this view in Kural 776.

Avoidance of confrontation or 'ikal' is dealt with in a separate chapter. Conciliation rather than confrontation should be the proper policy.

Confrontation with stronger side must be clearly avoided, but with a weaker foe, one may edge in for a conflict (Kural 861). Persons with other weaknesses of character or mind could be confronted.

Unity with soldiers is better than earning the displeasure of scholars (Kural 872). At the right moment, enemies should be made friends and that is the sure way of winning the world (Kural 874). Destruction of enemies must be finished at the early stages otherwise it will be counter productive (Kural 879).

Treachery from within is the most dangerous form of enmity. Open enemies are not to be afraid of, but treacherous relations must be feared most (Kural 882). Co-existence with treacherous relatives is like living with a poisonous snake in a small hut (Kural 897).
Stronger kings and great saints should not be wronged on any account. In 'Periyārai-t-tunai-k-kōdal' Valluvar spoke of the necessity to be friend and enlist the support of 'Periyār'. In 'Periyārai-pilayāmai' he warns against doing anything that may offend them.

Valluvar's injunction against heeding the advice of women holds good for political matters also. On the social and political planes, very little role is assigned to them. The king must also be beware of the despicable and deceitful prostitutes.

The striking departure from tradition is only when Valluvar proscribes toddy and other intoxicating drinks. By gambling, the Pandavas lost their kingdom. It ought to have begun as an innocent past-time and later on deteriorated into a baneful infatuation. At the time of Valluvar, there seems to have been a chain of gambling demons called 'Kalagan'. Some addicts seem to have begun their gambling in right earnest every morning (Kūral 937). Valluvar strongly derides the deceitful infatuation of gambling.

We have already dealt with the duties of the citizen, agriculture and medicine in the chapter
on social life. The classification of friendship and connected matters have also been scrutinised.

As so much emphasis has been laid on the ethical aspect of Kural, the political order as conceived by Valluvar has not received due consideration. It is perhaps difficult to think of the greatest moral philosopher as a political scientist. It has already been noted that a sense of pragmatism animated Valluvar in all his views.

The great question that now arises is how far his political views are in tune with the highest ethical traditions set by him, whether there is one set of rules for individual morality as laid down in 'Arattu-p-pāl' and another as described in 'Porutpāl'. In the epic of Mahabharata, there was progressive deterioration of moral standards with each of day of passing in the great war. The ends justified the questionable means. The question is whether Valluvar also thinks that in the political sphere, ends are more important than means.

To Valluvar means are as important as ends. Especially in the acquisition of wealth, Valluvar has denounced unjust means of acquiring wealth. In the chapter on means of acquisition of wealth, illegal means
of amassing wealth have been denounced (Kural 755). Again in the chapter on 'purity of action' Valluvar has categorically stated that poverty is preferable to acquisition of wealth by illegal means (Kural 657). Wealth by fleecing others will not last long, and will disappear in the same manner (Kural 659).

In the dealings of the sovereign with his subjects, Valluvar has prescribed highest morals. The first duty of the sovereign is to protect his subjects and not to employ oppressive tactics. The king must hold the scales even in a dispute between his subjects or officers of his own. Impartiality, sense of justice coupled with mercy are prescribed.

Our finding is that whenever it pertains to dealings with enemies there is a relaxation of moral standards. While codifying the types of resources for filling the States' coffers enemy's property is listed as one of the lawful item of resources (Kural 756). Plundering enemy's property was considered as quite normal in those days, 34 Even burning 35 of enemy's village was considered as a permitted mode of conduct.
Valluvar also sanctions deceitful conduct of feigned friendship with regard to enemies (Kural 437). Not merely deceitful conduct, but even treachery is advocated with regard to enemies (Kural 438) let alone strategic withdrawal (Kural 436).

Another question is whether Valluvar has in any way contravened the provisions of open warfare of the Heroic Age of the Tamils. The code of open warfare has been laid down by the Poet Nettimaiyar in Puranānāru. Before sending their arrows, oral warning is given Cows, Brahmins, women, the sick, those who have not given birth to a son are warned to get into protected places so that only able-bodied persons are left to face the arrows.

Valluvar has incorporated the heroic quality of not using weapons against a retreating army (Kural 772, 773). Another heroic tradition is that after exhausting his weapons, the hero finds pleasure in taking the spear that has stuck into him and throws it at his enemies (Kural 774).

The only exception where Valluvar advocates covert methods is when the enemy is stronger and the time is opportune. As a pragmatist, Valluvar refrains from advocating a suicidal course. In the interest
of self-preservation, he has advised the king to be more circumspect in concealing his enmity. It is in the chapter on choosing the right time such a course of conduct is prescribed.

Mercy shown to the enemy in the battlefield is called as Urămași (Kural 773). To explain this concept Parimēlalagar quotes the instance of Rama allowing Ravana to retreat when he has lost all his weapons and asking him to come with fresh weapons to the battlefield next day.

And hence, it is seen that the heroic traditions of the tamils are well enshrined in Kural. The moral standards have also not been lowered in the political order envisaged by Valluvar. In exceptional cases of adverse conditions, for tactical reasons there is a relaxation of moral rules. However, it is not a systematic sub-ordination of the right to political expediency and chicanery as laid down by Machavalli.
NOTES

1. Kōvür Kīlar, Puranānūru 44 to 47.
8. Dr. B. Natarajan, Kuralum Kudimakkalum, page 35 Tiruvalluvar Tirunal Malar.
9. Prof. Arunuga Madalier, Tirukkuralir podu kukka, page 34, Tiruvalluvar Tirunal Malar.
11. Madurai Marutan Ilanāgāmār, Puranānūru, 55.
13. Puranānūru 119.
15. Madurai-k-kānci, 489- to 492.
17. Puranānūru, Kāri Kīlar.
18. Ollaiyar Tanda Bootappandian, Puranānūru 71.
22. Malai padukadānam 165-166.
23. Pīsir Īndaiyar, Puranānūru 184.
27. Puranānūru 186.
28. Madurai-kanci 351.
29. Dr. Kālasapathy, Pāndai Tamilar Valvum valipadum, page 71.
30. Ouvaliayar, Puranānūru, 199.
31. Puranānūru 74.
32. Puranānūru 290.
33. Nēduval vādai 172.
34. Purapporul Venba Mālai, Vaṅcipp padalam, Malapulavaṇci 16.
35. Purapporul Venba Malai, Vancippadalam, Peru vaņci.