

14. CONCLUSIONS

Although my central sources in this study are ancient Kerala rules, especially the so-called '64 *anācāras* or irregular customs of Kerala', and two Nampūtiri autobiographies, I decided not to restrict myself to subjects that these sources take up or lay emphasis on. I also paid attention to matters which may seem less central or even tangential to them. The autobiographies, for instance, give much space to Vedic studies and rituals, and less to some other topics which I find important for my theme. The details in my work are linked to related details and broader themes, and I feel that they all help to illustrate the situation of the Kerala Brahmins in transition.

It is my hope that this detailed description includes material which can be used as a source by other writers as well. AP and I consider ourselves lucky for having been able to start our field-work at a time when some elderly Nampūtiris, who knew and remembered their Vedic tradition and Brahmanic life style well, were still vigorous and alive, but when quite a number of Nampūtiri doors, earlier closed to outsiders, were not only slightly but quite widely opened for us.

My starting point was Kerala as a paradox. To pay attention to the indigenous thought, I refer to the Indian belief that the universe is boundlessly various, that everything occurs simultaneously, that all possibilities may exist without excluding each other. The Indian cosmology emphasizes how chaos and order cyclically alternate in different aeons. At the time present we live in chaos, where elements are differentiated, but we have order as an ultimate goal, where everything is reintegrated into a perfect whole. But life on earth is only possible through chaos. The creation of the world was possible only through the falling apart of the Primeval Man. The human world per se is a conflict. So paradoxes and contradictions should not be puzzling but something to be expected. (Cf., e.g., O'Flaherty 1975: 11-14.)

If we do not find this all-encompassing answer satisfactory, we can proceed to discuss the observations in the different chapters of this study. I was to study in which areas of life and in what order change is taking place among the Nampūtiri group, and, if old customs prevail, what seems to keep them alive. I will start with the Nampūtiris' relationship to some old Kerala customs or rules. It was necessary to go through the Kerala rules with Nampūtiris, who knew their tradition, for interpreting them as correctly as possible. A lot of detailed information came to light in this connection. It was also necessary to have a new translation of the rules for the purpose of a detailed discussion. Even so some problems remained unsolved. It

was useful as well to go through the rules with a Tamil scholar who knew Kerala well from his own experience, to find out which customs are in reality unique to Kerala. And the result was that the majority of the rules are common to a large part of India, and only a fraction of them are exceptional.

Most of the rules mentioned in Śāṅkara-Smṛti are felt by my informants to be part of their ideal code of behaviour. Only some of the Kerala customs recorded by Gundert are admitted to be familiar to the Nampūtiris, some others are unknown, and some of them are felt to be ridiculous. The special Kerala customs which Gundert quotes may therefore have been locally followed, or not followed in their totality by any Kerala Brahmins, as Gundert may have misunderstood some of his information. As Gundert's customs, however, are given in 64 units, thus seeming to claim the same kind of position as Śāṅkara-Smṛti has as the ideal code of behaviour, one may presume that they are an imitation and adaptation of the more famous set. An example of the changing reality is the placing of Europeans in the social hierarchy. In the study of the interaction between ideal and reality, these customs, in a codified form, may be seen as an effort for the changing reality to be given the status of rules.

There are cases in which the 14th century Śāṅkara-Smṛti rules make a statement which relatively old photographic material supports, and the same is still true or at least partly true, or people remember that it was recently true. Referring to the persistence of some rules unaltered to this day and to the opinion of other scholars, like Lemercurier, about a very slow social change in Kerala before the advent of the British East India Company there, one can presume that when there is deviation from the rules nowadays, it is likely that a change of behaviour has actually taken place. This may mean that there was 'a quasi-perfect correspondence between the objective order and the subjective principles of organization' when 'the natural and social world appears as self-evident', an experience which Bourdieu calls 'doxa' (Bourdieu 1977: 164). Here I emphasize the word quasi, because a perfect correspondence is probably impossible.

Efforts can be quoted from south India of making the reality conform with the written codes, themselves often made comfortably flexible. The Vedic ritual texts, for instance, often give an alternative way of acting correctly if the circumstances make it impossible to follow the primary textual instructions. I will give some examples. In the *agnicayana* ritual performed in Panjal in 1975, a written threat was delivered that some foreign scholars would be beheaded if any goats were sacrificed. The ritual could be carried through in a correct way by substituting the goats with rice rolls, an alternative way already embedded in the texts themselves (cf. Staal 1983, I: 303). The code makes concessions to a wider diet in certain situations, like when food taboos and cleanliness were eased in times of journeying, warfare, conflagrations, and holy feasts (cf. the Kerala customs according to

Gundert 61). There is the case referred to in Chapter 7, in which the tank and shrine were built in the inauspicious northwest corner of the compound, and in which it was possible to avoid the evil consequences by ritually establishing a 'namesake boundary' to the west of the house.

What was essential in the above cases was that people wanted to respect the code, no matter if they had to bend the rules or reality. According to Bourdieu (1977: 169), crisis is a necessary condition for questioning 'doxa'. And such a crisis came with the foreign colonizers, the land reforms and the national movement. A change of attitude took place when the people were ready to abandon a particular code altogether. As told before, one of my informants said that instead of the peculiar rules for the Nampūtiris in Kerala, they follow Manu's Laws. Another said that although he knows the special rules for the Nampūtiris these rules have no social relevance any more as he has become 'modern'. In both cases the Nampūtiris claimed to have abandoned their special code, although, as I could observe, they had not done so in all respects.

When one starts scrutinizing the Nampūtiris' relationship to their special set of 64 rules in the Śāṅkara-Smṛti, one can see that they have neither fully kept nor abandoned all the rules. Single rules have been disowned at least partly before the whole set was said to be rejected. One can see here the whole spectrum of attitudes and behaviour that Bourdieu has drawn attention to: observing, bending or relaxing these rules, or even maybe giving them a new interpretation. Quite generally speaking one can say that out of those 64 rules it is the special exceptional Kerala rules that are among those which are still rather commonly followed.

Concessions to worldliness among the Nampūtiris since the Śāṅkara-Smṛti was composed have probably taken place relatively early. It is likely that the rules were never fully followed by Nampūtiris who had to manage the family property, that is the householders. An example of these deviations which even the eldest and most orthodox Nampūtiris admitted to having adopted, is the wishing of concrete good results typical of a householder from performing certain religious acts (AP 7, 30). If differentiation from the Tamil Brahmins was the sole purpose of rule AP 7, that is not the case with rule AP 30. The rules in this case were considered even by old Panjal Nampūtiris as belonging exclusively to world-renouncing saints.

There is a slight difference of attitude between the Āḍhyan and the Āsyan Nampūtiris concerning gifts of money, but the main source of income, the land, was not rejected by the former either. On the contrary, the Āḍhyans especially were big landowners. There is evidence of the Panjal Nampūtiris holding very strongly to their temple and family landed property. I am thinking of the acts taken against the state confiscating lands since 1812. High spiritual ideas and the material reality seem to have been in conflict in the life of the Nampūtiris for centuries. It has also been recorded by Logan in 1887 that the Nampūtiri women were not allowed to

wear gold bracelets, but according to Iyer, rules forbidding the extravagant use of ornaments were no longer strictly followed in the beginning of the 20th century.

If the Nampūtiris have been quick to abandon the rules which propagate a disinterested attitude towards material gains, what kind of rules have been kept the longest? Such rules are, for instance, the ones which say that it is not desirable that a Brahmin woman's nose be pierced, and that one should not clean one's teeth with sticks. The rule which says that Nampūtiri women should avoid other than white clothes is also persistent. The only remark about the dress of a male Nampūtiri in Śaṅkara's rules says that he should wear only one sacred thread and this rule is followed. The Nampūtiris still demonstrate even in their personal appearance that they follow religious beliefs proclaimed both by the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava systems.

Some of the old ladies quite recently remained half naked indoors and wore the dominantly white dress which almost completely hides the wearer from the eyes of strangers outdoors. When the reform movements started, some women were quick to accept a new attire, the three-part dress, demonstrating their freedom to move around unveiled. Successively, they adopted several Indian dress items which were in vogue. But most of them have kept their three-part dress which consists of an upper and lower white cloth with only narrow coloured border lines and a blouse which may be coloured, at least in villages and particularly in rituals and even during performing arts having mythological themes, to this day. None of my female Nampūtiri informants has adopted Western attire. Abundant and valuable as the jewellery now can be, only Indian, not Western types of ornaments are worn, and the ornaments are often characteristic to the group as a whole.

Men were slower to change their personal appearance at first, and some of them still are, but nowadays many of them are willing to adopt Western dress at least outside their villages. For them, Western dress items often act as status symbols. In spite of this, they usually do not abandon their sacred thread. Children most commonly wear Western-style dress. Both men and women are still willing to demonstrate with their attire a difference between themselves and Tamil Brahmins, not to speak of lower castes. It must also be said that some customs, such as avoiding the tooth-picks which, for instance, the Tamils utilize, and using one's finger instead, may just survive because they do not easily become public and clash with other habits. The individuals just go on doing what they always did, without giving the matter any serious thought. In a case like this, if they change their habit at all, they will, maybe on doctor's orders, directly switch to a Western toothbrush. Besides group identity and wealth, Western ways, then, are sometimes proudly demonstrated.

Some rules which belong to the areas of death and attitudes toward ancestors, both male and female, are still almost invariably followed. The burning of one's body, for instance, is still done on one's own ground and nowhere else. Only the

duration of the period between the death of a parent and the *sapiṇḍī-karaṇa* ceremony following it, as well as the fasting, has been generally shortened. The customs connected with the ancestors are most delicate matters, and the Nampūtiris are altogether reluctant and slow to change them. The blessings and approval of the ancestors are felt to be very important. The rule forbidding the suttee practice, which was probably never very common even elsewhere in India, was ahead of its time when put into words, and nowadays nowhere in India is the burning of widows legally allowed.

The traditional life style of the Nampūtiris was ritualized to such an extent that one can ask if they had any mundane life at all. This was still recently true of NNA, who led a disciplined and austere life like undoubtedly innumerable other Nampūtiris did through the centuries. Different individuals had different levels of austerity, depending on their devotion to the gods. Even among the women the whole sequence of an ordinary day with its baths, domestic tasks like preparation of food, and eating could be counted as a ritual, not just some obvious acts like touching the marriage badge and repeating *namaś śivāya* 108 times, or lighting the wicks in honour of the deities. The goals of these rituals were mostly, as far as I can understand, quite mundane, like well-being and wealth for the family and society and for getting a good husband or a good long married life. This cannot be the whole truth, but this is what one mostly reads, hears and observes.

Some individuals, especially the younger, did not seem to think and feel that the daily meals were rituals. Daily bathing became less elaborate thus partly losing its ritual character. Since we started our field-work in 1971/1983, the ritual feeling and elaboration, the disciplined following of rules, in their daily tasks like bathing, cooking and eating, faded even among many elder people. But although the necessary daily acts have largely lost their ritual character, there remain numerous acts that are still truly felt to be rituals.

Many of the rules concern intra-caste and inter-caste pollution, and bodily issues still have some of their symbolic defiling and purifying meaning in the hierarchy of creatures from animals to gods. With the national movement came, from the outside, laws which started to weaken pollution rules, intimate as well as distance pollution rules. But although the Constitution of India abolished untouchability and made it a penal offence, survivals of the age-old custom of lower castes respecting the higher by keeping at a distance from them was still possible to observe during our field-work in and near the Nampūtiri compounds in Panjal. Direct touching of lower castes as well as indirect touch through some object and unsprinkled ground were still avoided by orthodox people. In the case of children the rules were relaxed, as shown by the fact that lower caste nurses could freely touch children even if no precautions were taken. The opening of public temples and their

tanks to all Hindus increased the physical proximity of different castes and their indirect contact with each other through water .

Birth and death pollutions were still observed, but with less ceremony and duration than before. Menstrual pollution was taken into account less and less not only where women had jobs but also where they were housewives. Practical and health considerations took precedence over ritual strictness in some cases. Hospitals where deliveries started to take place weakened pollution rules as well. But the temple was too holy to be visited by anybody under a pollution even if it was no longer too holy a place for the lower castes.

Women and low castes could also partake in temple festivals, but it was not possible to see Nāyar servants having their meals together with the family in Nampūtiri homes. Conservative Nampūtiris generally demonstrated their power by not eating with lower castes, and if they had to eat with them, for instance in some temple festivals, they did not look at them. Young men were not particular about with whom they ate and drank. In dietary matters women were conservative: generally they only had vegetarian food which had been cooked by Nampūtiris, and did not consume alcohol. Many men were adventuresome and ready to try Western, traditionally forbidden foods and drinks. Ritual food customs were still followed in many cases. Saliva was still avoided and both men and women ate in such a way that food that had touched the mouth did not drop out again.

There were some restricting rules for the Kṣatriyas and other non-Brahmins, which were followed no more. Such rules were, for instance, the prohibition for Kṣatriyas of worshipping Śiva on the *rudrākṣa*, and for non-Brahmins to lead the life of a *saṃnyāsin*. Education kept bringing all castes closer to each other as did public transport and jobs where all castes met each other.

The rule saying that one should not sell one's daughter into marriage was followed, and the dowry that had to be given to the boy's family instead was a heavy burden on the girls' family. There were regular deviations from the marriage rule saying that only the eldest among the brothers should become a householder, that is marry a Nampūtiri female. These deviations were actually not deviations at all but extensions of the rule itself. They were initiated by the elders of the family whenever there was no eldest son available to conceive progeny and thus the next suitable man was chosen to become a householder.

Within certain limits one was permitted to have different stages of purity within one's own *jāti*. If one transgressed the limits, one could be outcasted. A sexual relationship between a Nampūtiri and a lower caste woman did not much change the status of the parties. The Nampūtiri, after a purifying bath, continued to live with his family without losing his status and the woman retained her caste and status as well, except perhaps with a slightly higher respect for her and her kin for having been able to attract a desired higher lover. This is so because these relationships were

compatible with the particular codes regulating the relationships between the Nampūtiris and the lower castes. On the other hand, if an Āsyan lady married an Ādhyān Nampūtiri, she was expected to start following the code for her new status group. But this kind of marriage was avoided in the past as the preservation of one's particular composite nature was sought after.

There were also in old times members in Muṭṭattukkāṭṭu Māmaṅṅu Mana who protested against the traditional marriage system, like IR's great-great-uncle Iṭṭi Vāsu Aphan Jr., born in 1871, who although the eldest son, married a Piṣāraśyār, not a Nampūtiri girl. NNA's paternal uncle married from a Vāriyār family, and, although this was unusual for his generation, was actually living with his family. Not only Nampūtiri males but also some Nampūtiri women could sometimes make their family submit to their wishes in old times, like IR's grandfather's halfbrother's wife Akkittattu Makaḷ, who locked herself into a room and did not take any food in protest against the plans of the family to take a second wife for her husband.

Although in consequence of the rigour of the caste divisions the different aspects of life and culture were strictly regulated in Kerala, the role of an individual should thus not be underestimated. One can refer to Nampūtiri leaders of opinion and trend-setters both in families, villages and the whole state of Kerala. E. M. S. Namboodiripad can be mentioned as the most important leader of opinion on the state level. There were others, like IR, whose influence was mostly felt in their native villages and also through family contacts outside them. One can remember as an example how IR set a new trend for the Nampūtiri Antarjanams by having DA's elongated earlobes operated back to normal size again, and how he made his wife wear a modern dress and jewellery.

The partitioning of landed property ran parallel to the weakening of the emphasis on primogeniture, the duality of the marriage organization, and the symbiotic relationship with matrilineal families which followed a different set of rules. Social reforms thus changed the marriage customs and inheritance rules not only of the Nampūtiris but also of the matrilineal castes that the former had liaisons with. Everyone became entitled to have a spouse that one lived with. Exchange marriages became rare. After a short intermediary period when a number of younger Nampūtiri brothers, who had lower caste spouses, formed nuclear families with their wives and children, sexual and marital boundaries between the Nampūtiris and the lower castes did, as far as I can see, become weaker. The extreme emphasis on patrilineality also weakened, and there has probably been a strong tie between a man and his maternal relatives for centuries. The amalgamation of the female with her husband is still strong, but there is rapprochement nowadays between a man and his wife's relatives as well, as the use of terms of consanguinity and frequent intervisiting prove.

Although the marriage system has started to resemble more that of other parts of India, as Mencher and Goldberg anticipated, many old distinctive features are

still there to be observed. Large dowries, the avoidance of cross-cousin marriage and the absence of positive marriage rules, and the absence of distinct affinal terms for male speakers, survive. Most Nampūtiris still seem to marry within their own caste, but they do not respect the boundaries between the sub-groups as before.

The position of women changed rapidly at first with the national and caste organization movements. From *pardah* they entered public life with its possibilities for education and jobs. An additional reason for the success of modernization in Kerala was the predicament not only of lower castes and women but also the younger brothers of Nampūtiri families, men with good potential to become intellectual leaders because of their high level of education and life free from the burden of fatiguing manual work. Together with Nampūtiri men, women had a greater possibility of attaining more rights in society.

Thus many Nampūtiri women got a better chance to get married and have their own families. Along with the education of women, a comparatively good health system, including a standard of birth control, was achieved in Kerala. I want to emphasize that I have generally observed young Nampūtiri children, be they boys or girls, elder or younger, nowadays treated in an extremely loving and tolerant way. The fact that love marriages have become rather common, even if only within the caste, tells about more freedom for young people to meet the opposite sex, but compared to Western young girls, the Nampūtiri girls still lead a very protected life. The control of the family starting from the marriage negotiations also in these cases, again, keeps the system rather conservative.

Sometimes scarcity of resources speeds up changes, sometimes slows them down. The former is true, for instance, in case of elaborate rituals, which are discontinued, the latter, for instance, in case of old methods of agriculture, which are continued. These two examples are logical consequences, and easy to predict. There are other tendencies in Kerala which are not. A good example is the incalculability of who becomes a Marxist, who remains traditional, and who becomes a Congress Party supporter. E. M. S. Namboodiripad was not in a subjugated position in his family, in fact he corresponded to an eldest brother in his status, but he became a communist. NNA remained traditional in most respects, IR was modern in many ways, but supported the Congress Party, IR's brother and cousin's son, both scientists, having a good social position, became Marxists. Rv, the eldest son of MS, became a Marxist for a while, but regretted that. Most Nampūtiris that I interviewed were bitter about the land reforms and their consequences, and the government policy of having a lower caste quota in universities and public jobs.

The descendants of those Nampūtiris who behaved like the Kṣatriyas and actively fought in the war in olden times lost their right to recite the Vedas and to offer sacrifices. But the others, the purest of the pure, as landlords in no way dampened but on the contrary conspicuously demonstrated many features typical of what

Marriott calls the maximal transactors. Such features were, besides landlordism per se, polygyny and concubinage and the elaboration of the pollution rules by even defining certain distances for different groups to be kept between them and the Nampūtiris. In this respect the Nampūtiris, then, emphasized their being landowners, not Brahmins, who normally follow optimal *varṇa* strategies. On the other hand, it is the Brahmin ideology that emphasizes the hierarchy in which the Brahmins are the highest.

Why the Nampūtiris came to fight in the wars and become landowners can be explained by the fact that Brahmanism was new in the area and thus the social control was weaker than in the north. According to Dumont (1972: 122), features which make Kerala a sort of paradise of the ranking mania, can be classified as an imposed feature in the regional status ranking. Imposed features are often accompanied by sanctions bearing on the inferior caste, and derive more from power than from the hierarchical principle or concern about pollution. These regulations were there to uphold symbols of subjection.

As Marriott has expressed, power would indeed be synonymous with both religious virtue and effective worldly dominance. As was stated in the introduction, the reason why the Nampūtiris were able to impose on Kerala the Brahmanic doctrine and ideology, and a social organization the ideology of which constituted an essential part of their religious system, was quite obviously their politico-economic position. Often being landlords and respected by the kings, they had in their hands the superstructure covering the political units. Thus, Brahmanic ideology alone did not give them their dominant position, but it determined that, what was done for the well-being of the village, the household and the individual, was the seeking of the blessings of the gods through the ritual acts and the purity of the Nampūtiris. And pollution and hierarchical considerations, not *dāna*, were the most important factors in structuring intercaste relations. No central conception of *dāna* is likely to compensate them in intercaste relations and in seeking the well-being of the community and its members in the future either, as there are no landlords any more. Like in modern urban India, education, occupation and income will undoubtedly become more and more important for defining, not a whole caste's but a family's and even an individual's status.

In the sphere of material culture, modern technology was welcomed, and even devotional objects and idols got new features like electric decorations, but the ritual implements were simple and traditional. The religious objects as a genre of artefacts did not disappear, and they were in constant use. Also the religio-ideological rules of architecture were long followed not only in temples but, as far as possible, in dwellings too. For instance, when practical reasons demanded the house not to face the ideal direction, the Nampūtiris did not hesitate to let this happen. Material reasons won in this case, but usually not without a reference to a religious source

which justifies exceptions. But during the period of years that I have had an opportunity to follow the Nampūtiri way of life, considerable changes have taken place especially in the field of everyday material culture.

As the traditional basis of the economic status of the Nampūtiris, landlordism, disintegrated, the Nampūtiris faced a new challenge maintaining their status in society. The Nampūtiris still try to keep their high position through their cultural leadership, and they encourage the traditional cultural efforts of other castes as well because they are an expression of the old Nampūtiri ideology. Especially those castes which never had strong ties with particular Nampūtiri landlords and young people even of other castes have sporadically started to question the value of the old culture, to emphasize individuality, and to make socio-political matters an open issue. But so far the radical movements have not had a strong influence in the village. The fact that the house was the real settlement and political unit in traditional Kerala has been an important factor in keeping provocation outside villages.

Although the Nampūtiris have been impoverished relative to their situation in earlier times, they are still among the wealthiest and most influential in many Nampūtiri villages. They have more access to education and jobs than lower castes. But the government policy of having low *jāti* quota in universities and government jobs has already started to have its effects on the Brahmins. Many young Brahmins are unemployed and in the future a greater number of them may even be without higher education. It can only be hoped that the fast-growing information technology industry will greatly benefit also the Nampūtiris.

My acquaintance with South Asia has made me sceptical of those global cultural theories which predict that the world will be reduced to sameness, and that local cultural differences will be completely eroded. On the contrary, I have no difficulty, even after several years' observation of rapid change among the Nampūtiris, in finding truth in the works of the authors who emphasize the plurality of the world and the importance of descending into detail for grasping the essential character of each culture. But I must admit that very recently the levelling process has been considerably speeded up.

Foreign, especially Western, ideas come to the villages mainly through cities, often from northern to southern parts. Some people get them from television programmes through the satellite channels. Nowadays foreign ideas also sometimes come through villagers themselves, usually young men, who go to work in foreign countries. Occasionally they even come from foreigners working for some time in the villages. A Nampūtiri would not directly start imitating a Western person or a completely Westernized Indian urban person. Modernization in India does not necessarily mean Westernization, and the modernization of women follows Indian, not Western ideals. The special position of Nampūtiri women in particular has changed according to the ideals propagated by the national movement for Indian

middle-class women in general. That includes a new kind of patriarchy, in which, as previous research (Jeffrey 1992) has pointed out, dramatic change in the possibilities for women to influence political structures is not in evidence in Kerala.

This attitude is well demonstrated in the smaller circle of family life. Women listen to their husbands' opinion in matters like whether or not to take a job. However, women pay less attention to rituals which directly reflect their dependence on their husbands, but continue to perform rituals which have to do with the well-being of the family as a whole. The way to well-being, in other words, is largely sought through Indian spiritual methods.

Some individuals hold the village as their base during their working age, or after their retirement, but succeed in getting their income from outside, thus managing to maintain their social position and class through modern ways. Within the caste, new ways of life are adopted, and the number of Nampūtiris who master old religious tradition is getting rapidly small. Instead of every householder performing the rites of passage in his family, there will be professional family priests as among other Indian groups. The elaborate *śrauta* rituals will probably vanish, while the *kaḷam eluttuṃ pāṭṭuṃ*, *kathakaḷi* and other spectacular ritual arts, dances and dramas will further lose their ritual character and often become commercial performances.

With the present open Hindu politics it is the politicians who actually gain power, not the Brahmins of the country, this in spite of the fact that the nationalists, for instance, demand that the quota system favouring lower castes has to be abandoned. I think in terms of the end, rather than the persistence, of the Vedic Brahmanism, even though many old ritual practices somehow live on. But what is remarkable is that Vedic Brahmanism in Kerala lasted as long as it did. In Panjal village this could happen because some prominent persons lived in a village where the agrarian legislation began to have its drastic effects only very late.

I could show some emphases and trends in the life of Kerala Brahmins in transition, but the answers to the questions that I put myself are still complex, not simple and clearcut. Whenever there is evidence of rapid change in some field, there is usually a contradictory element working or coming in to halt or slow down the process. If a group is modernizing quickly in one area or at one time, it may be conservative in another area or phase. Should we then be satisfied with the Indian explanation that the human world per se is a conflict, and contradictions should not be puzzling but a self-evident fact?

