

speaking in 1937, said, "this school will indeed have made a notable contribution to Indian advancement if by this intermingling of creeds, castes and race . . . a type is produced free from the communal, racial and regional antipathies that so disfigure our lives."³⁰

Conceived as an ideal community, a school at its inception and as it is built up over time has much in common with other creative works. There is a gradual integration of its official doctrines, ceremonies, and physical attributes, so that none stands in need of independent justification. Indeed, where justification is sought it is not so much in particulars as in an appeal to the whole. There is a synthesis of the material and metaphorical. In the botanical garden that forms the school's grounds, the most solemn events are enacted in the Rose Bowl—a setting which joins together botany with the neoclassical order of a Greek amphitheater. Foot's comparison of a boy to a root cannot be seen as entirely coincidental. A year earlier he had compared a boy to a growing flower,³¹ and a month before to a path that required annual weeding.³²

To those who desire change within the school, the call is often to draw closer to the ideals of the original design, or to restore what has been lost. There is a tendency to deplore the erosions of present-day life and hark back to the school's Golden Age, placed somewhere between 1936 and 1945. To those who support the school through the Doon School Old Boys Society, the school has acquired a retrospective perfection which absorbs even the things they hated most, such as early morning P.T. This creates a resistance to change which extends, irrationally, to even the most trivial matters, which are heatedly opposed, such as the proposed removal of some quite inappropriate statues from the Rose Bowl. One reformist master confided to me that the most dire word for him at the school was "Dosco"—the universal term for a Doon student or Old Boy—because it was used as the ultimate defense against change. "Doscos don't do that," or "That's not for Doscos," eerily recalls Bourdieu's formulation of class conservatism: "That's not for us."

FILMING SOCIAL AESTHETICS

In any field the pursuit of an unforeseen object presents a problem of representation: how to begin defining it in a language that was not intended for it and for which it is opaque, or simply nonexistent. Can

methods that were designed for exploring quite different sorts of objects be successfully adapted to the purpose, or must new methods be devised? In the end, both approaches are probably necessary.

At Doon School I began asking myself whether it was possible to film something as implicit and all-pervasive as social aesthetics. Could it in any sense be isolated as a subject? I concluded it could not, or at least not directly. One might be able to focus upon certain features of life in which aesthetic concerns seemed paramount, but this atomized the subject and caused it to disintegrate. Its reality lay elsewhere, in a wider aggregation of features. Unlike cattle among Nilotic pastoralists, there was no single, dominating locus of aesthetic interest.

Something as visible as the patterns and colors of clothing might be singled out for attention, but this was to risk giving these features an excessive symbolic importance, divorced from the actual contexts in which such meanings were submerged or overwritten by other, more immediate, kinds of experience. In the case of school uniforms, these contexts included the obvious ones, such as the practical requirements of different activities, the division of the school into manageable groups, and the student hierarchy, but also less obvious ones such as academic achievement and methods of punishment.³³ It was important to see how these links produced new and complex associations, often naturalizing or justifying apparent incongruities, much as chemical compounds exhibit properties quite different from their constituent elements.

I concluded that social aesthetics, as both the backdrop and product of everyday life, could only be approached obliquely, through the events and material objects in which it played a variety of roles. The events might be small and incidental, or ordinary, or large and extraordinary. In the end they included everything from simple hand gestures to the school's annual Founder's Day extravaganza, the torchlight tattoo.

The aesthetics of a society might very well be regarded as an aesthetics of management: an ordering of the elements of life for the balancing of physical needs, comfort, time, space, power relations, and sexuality. The aesthetic sense would then be seen as a regulatory feature of our consciousness, telling us when to be pleased and content or, on the contrary, anxious, disgusted, distressed, or fearful. It would be accepted as one among the many regulatory systems of society,

although considerably less specific than, for example, kinship or customary law.

Despite this generally more diffused role, there is one particular manifestation of social aesthetics of which one becomes very conscious at a school like Doon: the aesthetics of power. However, the exercise of power can rarely be distinguished from its aesthetic expression, even when one or the other is clearly marked. There is nothing very edifying about a senior boy bullying a junior one, but there is nevertheless a pattern and protocol to it. In the many instances of explicit aesthetic display that I witnessed at the school (such as the lining up and grouping of boys at assembly, the ritualized cheering at sports events, morning physical exercises, and special events such as the annual Physical Training Competition) a lesson was being inscribed in the bodies of the participants, much as a repertoire of movements is gradually inscribed in the body of a classical dancer. These were not, in fact, symbolic expressions of power relations but their result. When boys cheered for their side at a House hockey match, the sense of power over their rivals—the power of their House—was part of a larger regime of power in which older boys of the House felt it their duty to order younger boys to cheer.

The aesthetics of power is thus as much an enactment of power as a representation of it, and is

codeterminate with a wider range of activities and social relationships, each with its own aesthetic manifestations. Power cannot be abstracted from such agencies as self-preservation and desire, which form part of the substratum upon which it rests. It would be difficult to determine which of the designs and rituals of a school such as Doon were created with clear objectives and which are part of a more unconscious adaptive and evolutionary process. Certainly the school has borrowed heavily from other, older schools, which have in turn taken much from religious and military institutions. The combination desk-lockers at which the boys study—called “toyes” at Doon—were an importation from Winchester School but have all the hallmarks of the monastery (Fig. 5). In some cases the school’s procedures seem to be clear applications of principles developed elsewhere. The school’s use of house captains and prefects mirrors the British colonial policy of “indirect rule,” in that senior boys control many matters that in other schools, in other countries, would be directly controlled by teachers. But it is also plausible that indirect rule is itself a product of the British public school system.

Again, the design and management of school clothing, which is highly elaborated at Doon, cannot be ascribed to simple motives, although functional and utilitarian explanations abound. Pure cotton cloth of Indian origin was chosen for summer uniforms by the



Fig. 5. “Toyes” at Doon School

first headmaster on the grounds of simplicity, hygiene, and support for local industries, but this rougher material also framed the growing bodies of the boys in an appealing way that may have been more pleasing to the masters than to the boys themselves. An item by a master in the school newspaper in 1985 runs as follows: "The boys standing on the lovely green turf, in their blue shorts and singlets; with the leaders in white ducks and singlets presents a refreshing sight."³⁴ Here the line between aesthetics and erotics is unclear. School uniforms become not only indicative of social relationships but also a way of controlling, concealing, and exhibiting the human body, reflecting correspondingly complex motives in those who institute them. Differences in uniform for juniors and seniors, or ordinary boys and prefects, mark intersections of visual pleasure and power, as well as conceptions of discipline, disorder, childhood, adulthood, innocence, and experience. Another, more ironic, school newspaper item reads: "Lo and behold. Not a pair of white shorts in sight. The whole school lined up properly in games clothes! . . . Here was symbolism at its subtlest. The School dressed in the blue and greys of Sin while the angelic prefects flitted around . . . in radiant white."³⁵

Perhaps the most curious example of the school's preoccupation with clothing is to be found in its system of punishments. The most commonly-given of the school's punishments (and considered among the least severe) is called a "change-in-break." It is given for minor infractions, such as making one's bed badly or having unpolished shoes. Boys can often be seen before assembly polishing their shoes with leaves or bits of paper to avoid the notice of beady-eyed prefects. If caught, the boy is given a chit and must run back to his house during the mid-morning break and change into his P.T. (physical training) uniform. He must then run back to the main building to have the chit signed, return to the house, change into his school clothes again, and return to have the chit signed a second time. If he lives in a nearby house he may have to change into his games clothes as well, and run two more times, with two more signings. Another punishment, more common in the past than now, was to have to put on all one's uniforms, one on top of the other, and then report to the prefect or house captain. If one was lucky that was the end of it, but sometimes a boy was made to do exercises or run "rounds" of the playing field dressed in these many layers of clothing.

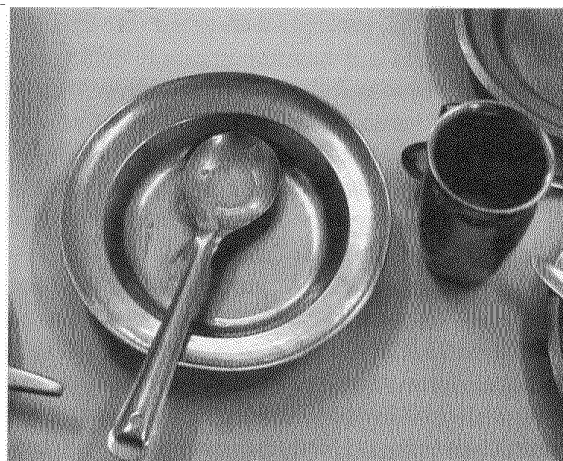


Fig. 6. Stainless steel tableware at Doon School.

The "change-in-break" seems designed to make one aware of one's clothing in the most acute and immediate way. Its various gradations and sensory qualities are intensified and become ever more keenly experienced as they are impressed upon one's consciousness. Here, as in everything else around one at the school, the social aesthetic field is never neutral or random: its patterning creates forces and polarities with strong emotional effects. Ordinary objects with which one comes in daily contact take on a particular aura, and this aura is augmented by repetition and multiplication. Both occur in the case of the stainless steel tableware used at the school. Every piece—the hundreds of plates, cups, porridge bowls, serving dishes, pitchers, knives, forks, and spoons—is made of the same bright, hard steel, which produces its own distinctive gong-like tones and clashing sounds. Its surfaces are unyielding and reflect back the bluish colors of the boys' uniforms and the overhead tube-lights, meal after meal. The strength and obduracy of this material cannot but be communicated as a direct physical sensation to the boys and to inform the whole process of eating with an unrelenting, utilitarian urgency. Stainless steel tableware is of course common in India, most notably in the South Indian *thali*.³⁶ Here it is elevated to a fetish of modernity (Fig. 6).

A PATTERN OF STUDY

During the first months of my stay at the school I observed these complexities and began to consider my approach to them. I gradually adopted a three-pronged

filming strategy. I first identified a set of themes that seemed to provide conceptual keys to the school's aesthetic structures and their importance in the lives of the students. These included abstract concepts such as hierarchy and threats to personal identity, but also more immediate topics of school life such as clothing, eating, informal games, and organized sports. I found another conceptual key in the phenomenon of homesickness, which was succeeded among older students by what they themselves called "schoolsickness." I next focused upon certain classes of objects which seemed to be focal points in the aesthetics of everyday life. These included uniforms, the stainless steel utensils already mentioned, trophies and prizes of various kinds, beds and bedcovers, and semi-illicit dormitory foods (or "tuck"). Lastly, I decided to follow the activities of first-year students in an attempt to "discover" the school through their own discovery of it. In one instance, I spent three months filming a group of these students from their first day at the school. Here I concentrated upon certain individuals, trying to see how they learned the rules and became sensitized to the school as a complex environment.

Over a period of two years, I spent nine months at the school, recording some eighty-five hours of material. This might be thought to constitute a kind of visual ethnography of school life, but because I was pursuing particular interests rather than attempting to be encyclopaedic, it falls short of that in many respects. There is little about the teachers, and the footage is disproportionately about younger and middle students rather than older ones. Within the youngest group, a few individuals receive a great deal of attention. In selecting them I was more concerned that they were expressive of their condition than representative in any statistical sense. As we know, anthropologists often select their informants from those who stand out in a crowd, but this is perhaps even more the case in visual anthropology, where one looks for people who are particularly eloquent in their relations with others, either verbally or in their manner.

At the beginning I identified certain boys who were expressive or distinctive in some way. This eventually led me to the group of four fourteen-year olds who shared a room together. I had noticed at least three of them already, so to find them sharing a room was a welcome discovery. In a similar way, I was led to two others who were to figure prominently in the first film.

The older of these, a sixteen-year-old, was already an important figure around the school, noted for his self-assurance and skill as an actor in school plays. In the film he became the exception who tended to prove the rules about peer pressure and conformity. He had successfully made a name for himself by being different from others and going his own way as a forceful but sensitive person. He was never good at sport, the safest avenue to success and power at the school. But his view differed from that of Vikram Seth, the writer, who had been unhappy at the school in the 1960s and who felt it was not a good place for a sensitive person.³⁷

I found myself thinking: Is this true that if you don't play a sport you can't survive? So very early on I took the attitude that, "I'm not going to play a sport, but I'm definitely going to survive." And—you can. It's all about being at rhythm with yourself, being at peace with yourself, not really caring if you're popular amongst 90% of your classmates or not. I mean, it's very important to have your friends, and your soul mates, and the people you can really talk to, which you sometimes desperately need in school. But no, I don't think it's a hard and fast rule that if you're sensitive you can't survive in school.³⁸

A younger boy whom I noticed at an early stage also became a prominent figure in one of the films. I began filming him on my first brief visit, perhaps because he seemed to regard everything around him with the same mixture of trepidation and curiosity that I felt toward the school, but also with an eagerness to adapt himself to it. He radiated a sort of nervous courage. In the film he was to become a different type of survivor: one who accepts the school at face value, but who delights in it, who tries everything, and takes as much from the school as the school has to offer.

Among my tactics during my early days was to seek advice about possible subjects for filming from the teachers, particularly some of the younger ones who had formed close ties with the boys under their care. The following notes may give some idea of the variety of comments I received from one such teacher. They are given here almost as they appear in my notebook, minus of course the names. At the time I knew none of these boys.

Boy A: Tough, open, expressive, a little scatter-

brained, good at drama & sports.

Boy B: Good-looking, willing, competent, good all-rounder, a leader.

Boy C: Mature, articulate, clear ideas, excellent boy.

Boy D: Outgoing, mature, excellent academically, computer expert.

Boy E: Quiet, introverted, but strong boxer, good at soccer; English weak, on scholarship.

Boy F: Very academic, good singer, from rich family but unassuming.

Boy G: Precocious, bright, self-conscious, friendly, sweet.

Boy H: Shy, a recent arrival.

Boy I: Tense, rather stressed, insecure, subject to teasing.

Boy J: Has adapted well.

Boy K: From the hills, good sportsman, leader, photographer.

Boy L: Small, silent, mature, won't be pushed around.

Boy M: Pleasant, academic inclinations.

Boy N: Mischievous, lively, nice, weak academi-

cally.

Boy O: Seeks bad company, troublesome, anti-academic.

Boy P: Very decent, dignified boy, non-athletic.

Boy Q: Mature, strong ideas, clear thinker, a leader.

Boy R: Easy-going, comic.

Boy S: Boisterous, popular, lively, funny.

Boy T: Academic, not an extrovert, good talker, gets on well.

I was fortunate to have the trust of the new headmaster, who gave me the run of the school. I was allowed to live there, take my meals with the students, and film where and what I wanted. There was never an attempt to direct or censor my work. The teachers were somewhat more guarded, but perhaps because I rarely filmed them, I was able to establish good relations with most of them and friendships with several. It was understood that I was engaged in a long-term research project, but the headmaster also saw my presence as an opportunity to create a greater awareness of visual media at the school. As one way of contributing to this

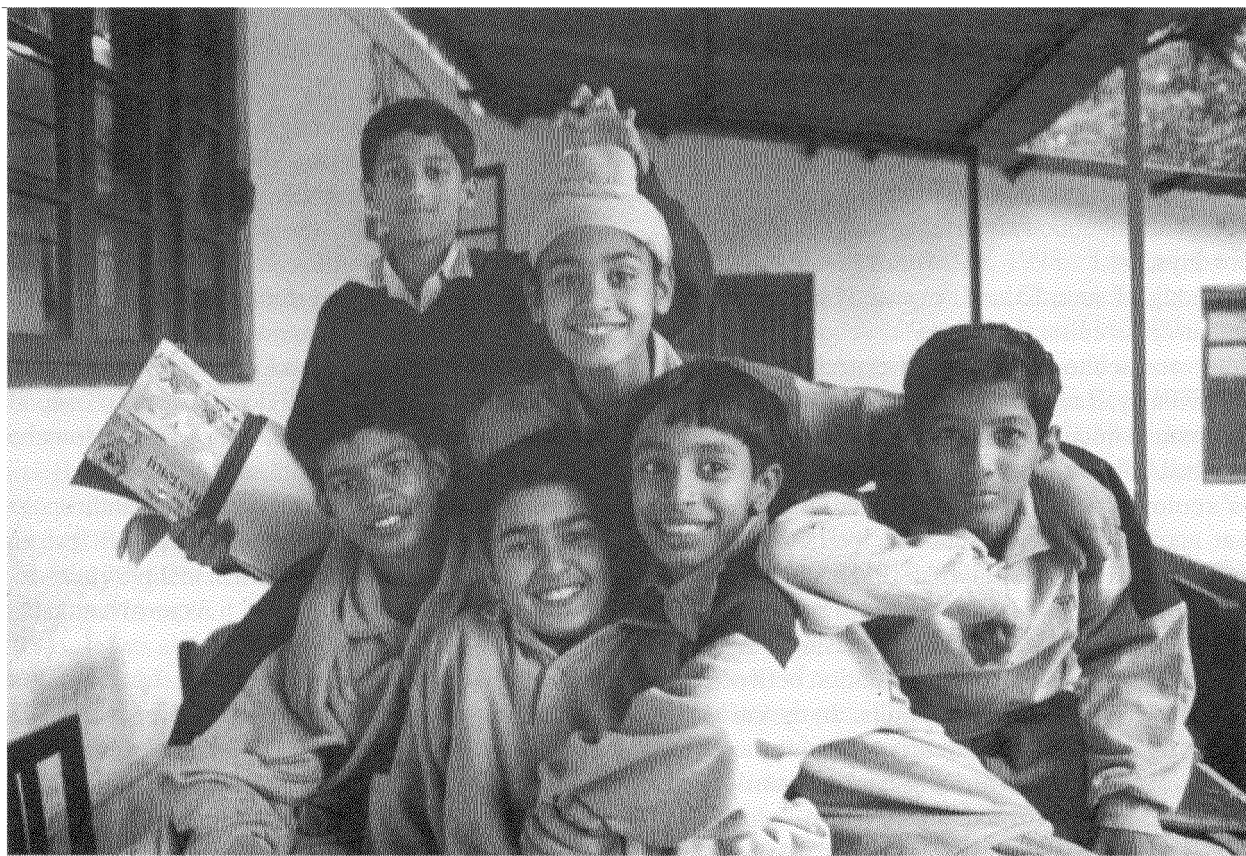


Fig. 7. A group of first-year boys in Foot House.

I trained a small group of students to produce their own video journal.

I came to know two successive groups of first-year students better than any other students in the school, although for one period I made a point of focusing on the group of four older students (14-year-olds in B form) who shared a room together. Here I was attempting to achieve greater breadth, both because they were older and because, as a group, they varied greatly from one another in personality, background, and maturity. These boys always maintained a certain reserve toward me. The younger boys were more unconcerned and came to regard the filming as a routine part of dormitory life. Perhaps because I was never a teacher at the school, and only rarely exercised a teacher's authority, I was accepted more readily as a harmless observer, and very occasionally as an honorary schoolboy (Fig. 7).

From this material will come four "public" films and additional compilations of footage for specialist interests, such as studies of children's games and pastimes. I have made other compilations in order to return the material to the boys themselves, and to their parents. From the parents' point of view this is a precious resource. Most of them long to see what has been happening to their children, growing up rapidly in a world that remains largely closed to them. From the boys' point of view, the films are both a memory bank and a confirmation of what I have told them of my aims. One boy wrote to me: "I am going to treasure [the film] for my life. After all nobody is so lucky to have a film of his school days."

Although I soon focused my study on something other than cross-cultural topics at the school, the project remains cross-cultural in several respects. First, and most obviously, it registers my encounter as an outsider with one small microcosm (among many) of contemporary Indian life. It also explores the intersection of India's colonial past with its present national identity; and at another level, the school's intersection, as a cultural enclave, with the wider Indian community. Most importantly, perhaps, it is cross-cultural because it involves childhood, and what is increasingly seen by anthropologists as a significant separation between the cultural worlds of children and adults. In the case of a boarding school, this separation is made all the more acute by the added distance between family and institutional life.

The Doon School project, like many similar studies,

can be seen as part of a larger effort internationally to apply visual media to fields such as anthropology, sociology, and history that have traditionally developed as disciplines of words. They are intended partly to explore alternative approaches to these disciplines, both as methods of research and as a means of professional publication. But to a greater degree, their purpose is to find out whether the use of visual media will in fact transform these disciplines, leading to forms of knowledge that were not envisaged before. The present project provides one more test of these possibilities. I can say at least that it was through the use of the video camera that I discovered new interests and was directed away from more naively preconceived ones.

If the study of social aesthetics sometimes seems quixotic, this is not, I believe, because it is an obscure or illusory part of human experience but because, on the contrary, it is both very obvious and yet highly dispersed through a wide range of cultural phenomena, many of which have already been closely studied in other contexts such as the anthropology of art and cultural history. Perhaps for that very reason, the broader aesthetic aspects of social life, and aesthetic experience itself, appear to many scholars to have been adequately accounted for as aspects of something else. To a certain extent this is the logical consequence of the fragmentation of academic fields, but it also has to do with the constraints of expression. Most description in the human sciences is beholden to the writing skills of scholars. To describe the social role of aesthetics properly (its phenomenological reality) we may need a "language" closer to the multidimensionality of the subject itself—that is, a language operating in visual, aural, verbal, temporal and even (through synaesthetic association) tactile domains. To me, this suggests a new line of approach to what has long been inadequately called "visual" anthropology. It is an approach that has the potential to restore to anthropology the material world within which culture takes its forms.

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1. See Benedict 1928 and 1934. In *Naven*, Gregory Bateson acknowledged his debt to Benedict while proposing several hypotheses for the “standardizing” of the psychology of individuals in a society. (See Bateson 1936: 112-14).
2. See Feld 1982; Stoller 1989, 1997; Howes 1991.
3. See, for example, Scoditti 1982; Forrest 1988; O’Hanlon 1989; Coote and Shelton 1992.
4. See Turner, 1981; Kapferer, 1983; Herzfeld, 1985; Hardin 1993; Stewart 1996. Earlier, Erving Goffman (1959, 1967) convincingly analyzed social interactions in terms of performance. (For related work, see Brown and Levinson 1987.)
5. See Desjarlais 1992; Alter 1992. Desjarlais’s approach intersects with mine, but somewhat obliquely, since his focus is more upon the physical and psychic state of the individual than upon the physical and social environment.
6. See Marcus and Cushman 1982; Marcus and Fischer 1986. The more radical approaches include experiments in intertextuality and juxtaposition such as Michael Taussig’s *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man* (1987) and Oscar Lewis’s oral autobiographical transcriptions (see O. Lewis 1961, 1964, 1967).
7. In particular, such films as *Les Maitres fous* (1955), *Moi un noir* (1957), *La Goumbé des jeunes noceurs* (1965), and the cycle of *Sigui* films (1966-73).
8. A film that provoked anthropological outrage (as well as praise) was Robert Gardner’s *Forest of Bliss* (1985). In documentary films there is a long history of interest in exploring the aesthetics of everyday life, dating back at least to the “city symphonies” of Vertov, Ruttmann, and Cavalcanti, and continuing in such postwar films as Rouquier’s *Farrebique* (1947). Ethnographic filmmakers have tended to approach the subject more indirectly through material culture, ritual, and art, perhaps considering it insufficiently recognized as a topic of social analysis. But interest in this aspect of social experience is certainly evident in the films of Robert Flaherty, if not earlier, and is explicit in Basil Wright’s *Song of Ceylon* (1934). It was also a concern of Gregory Bateson in his studies with Margaret Mead of Balinese society in the 1930s. Although Jorge Preloran’s *Imaginerio* (1970) is ostensibly about a craftsman and artist, the film explores his larger aesthetic world comprehensively, as do other Preloran films, such as *Zerda’s Children* (1978), about an impoverished family of wood-cutters. One problem

for filmmakers has been how to distinguish their own aesthetic responses from those of their subjects. Another has been how to separate the broader aspects of cultural style from a society’s officially consecrated aesthetic practices. Still another is how to define aesthetic experience in contrast to “nonaesthetic” experience. This is a very large subject that I plan to treat at length elsewhere.

9. A concept proposed by Mallory Wober. (See Wober 1966, 1991.)
10. See Coote 1992, E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1940: 16-50) and Neville Dyson-Hudson (1966: 96-103) had already devoted some attention to the aesthetic role of cattle among the Nuer and Karimojong respectively.
11. See Bloch 1974; G. Lewis 1980; Jackson 1989.
12. It is of course possible to argue that these other aspects of life often function as works of art, as Gell (1995) argues in his response to Coote (1992) on the aesthetic role of cattle in African pastoralist societies, but in the end this is perhaps a category dispute. For another view, see Kupfer, 1983.
14. This is succinctly expressed in the 1948 Founder’s Day speech at Doon School by the Governor General of the United Provinces, Shri Rajagopalachari: “It is wrong to think that science teaches only science. Science brings about a change in the whole attitude of boys. It brings about correct judgment, alertness and obedience to laws.” (*The Doon School Weekly*, 30 October 1948.)
15. Sanjay Srivastava, *Constructing Post-Colonial India: National Character and the Doon School*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998. I began the video project in 1997. *Doon School Chronicles*, the first part, was completed in 1999 and released in 2000.
16. Among those who have discussed the aesthetics of ultranationalist states are Umberto Eco (1977), Klaus Theweleit (1987), Boris Groys (1992), Vladislav Todorov (1994), Susan Buck-Morss (1994), and Alla Efimova (1997).
17. See Gell, 1995: 21-22.
18. See Rosselli 1980; Sinha 1995.
19. *The Doon School Weekly*, 13 November 1937: 3.
20. *The Doon School Book*, 1949, reprinted in Chopra 1996: 40.
21. Foot wrote: “By 14 he should have learnt all the ordinary principles of social behavior. He should know how to stand up and speak to a variety of different types of people—to his own mother, to someone else’s mother, to his father, to his schoolmasters, to servants, to

Mahatma Gandhi or to the Viceroy, and to do this without any self-consciousness." From "Fourteen," *Doon School Magazine*, 1938.

22. *The Doon School Weekly*, 13 March 1937: 1.

23. *The Doon School Weekly*, 20 June 1936: 1.

24. "We believe that character-training is more a matter of organization than instruction. . . . The purpose is achieved not by precept or instruction, but by creating an environment in which a boy is led to do things for himself. *The Doon School Book*, 1949, reprinted in Chopra 1996: 40.

25. Srivastava devotes considerable attention to this topic. See especially Chapters 3 and 5.

26. For Clifford Geertz, the task of anthropology is "scratching surfaces" by examining the representations people make about their lives, and it is a piece of bad faith to try to go further. (Geertz 1986: 373.) My view is that it is important to try to go further if we are to go beyond the play of textual understandings to a more physically-grounded understanding. One reservation about hermeneutic anthropology is its selective focus upon what are considered to be exemplary cultural performances (or "performed texts"). This approach is seen as a way of exposing indigenous symbolic systems and as a guarantee that the objects of study are "socially constructed units of meaning" rather than ethnocentric projections of the investigator (Bruner 1986: 7). However, the underpinning of this selectivity (usually of highly ritualized and emotionally heightened events) presupposes an equivalence between the meanings of such events and the conduct of everyday life. The problem is not that interpretive studies produce sterile exegeses, or that the events themselves are unilluminating about the assumptions and modes of self-representation of a society, but that they may convey to us rather little about actually living in it. The fear of the hermeneuticists is that too close an experience-near focus leaves the anthropologist "awash in immediacies" (Geertz 1983: 57), but it is in fact very much the task of the visual anthropologist to deal in such immediacies and to fashion out of them a work of analysis.

27. Bourdieu 1990: 18. Bourdieu also refers to this form of understanding, which need never rise to the level of consciousness, as "learned ignorance" (Ibid.: 19). Anthony Forge (1970: 289) makes a related observation in the case of Abelam iconography, which he believes is meant to produce an effect upon its viewers "directly" rather than through its symbolic meanings—a view quite

opposed to the "cryptological paradigm" of cultural description, to use Chris Pinney's phrase (1995: 94).

28. *The Doon School Weekly*, 23 May 1936: 1.

29. *The Doon School Weekly Supplement*, 27 May 1944

30. *The Doon School Weekly*, 13 November 1937: 3.

31. *The Doon School Weekly*, 7 March 1936: 2.

32. *The Doon School Weekly*, 27 February 1937: 1.

33. In 1969 the school began awarding students a black blazer for high academic achievement as a counterbalance to the blue blazer, awarded since 1940 for achievement in sports. Clothing is also a feature of school punishments, such as the "change-in-break" described at the end of this section.

34. A.N. Dar, "The Ethos of Sport in Doon School," *Doon School Weekly*, 1 November 1985: 5.

35. "The Moving Finger Writes, and Having Writ Moves On," *Doon School Weekly*, 6 April 1985: 2.

36. A *thali* is a meal served on a large, circular stainless steel tray made with indentations to hold the portions of the various foods.

37. Vikram Seth, Founder's Day Speech, The Doon School, 1992.

38. Personal communication, 14 November 1997.

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