

former life and perhaps plaguing those left behind in the form of a ghost.

Most pilgrims held that visiting *tirthas* (sacred fords) does not give ultimate *moksha*, but most agreed that it was of merit. It was extremely surprising in the light of textually expressed values to read how universal was the idea that bathing in a pilgrimage site was of little spiritual or instrumental religious value, while generosity was held up as especially efficacious and meritorious:

Pilgrimage helps to loosen all kinds of bonds, but not because the waters of *tirthas* cleanse the results of bad deeds from men's souls; not one person among my informants evinced any trust in such reputed powers of *tirtha* baths. Rather, pilgrimage helps because the cumulative effect of being removed from daily routines and attachments at home, of taking many powerful *darshans* of the gods, of voluntarily enduring hardships on the road, and above all of putting out money both for the sake of these experiences (the initial fare) and during them (the constant drain of rupees and paise into the outstretched hands of *pandas* and beggars) is decidedly good for the soul. The effect is one of lightening; the returning pilgrim should be thinner and poorer. (263)

Neither Gold nor the pilgrims neglect the view that the highest goal of pilgrimage is not simply the going to the place but the encounter with the divine face that is more likely to occur there. Stress is also placed on inner resolution (the "pilgrimage within") that ought equally to accompany an earthly or a spiritual quest as the source of a pilgrimage's—and a life's—greatest blessings and accomplishments.

For all of its virtues, this study has its flaws. On finishing the book the reader is left feeling less than fully satisfied. Some of this results from the perspective adopted in the study: there is no great and masterly system of thought and action to satisfy the academic reader because village-dwelling peasants are not so inclined. Their goals are instrumental and fragmentary, and this the study reflects. But one also gets the sense, in part because of Gold's honest self-assessment of herself as a fieldworker, but also because of the material presented and discussed, that the subject was too large in several dimensions to be effectively digested in an eighteen-month stint of fieldwork by an anthropologist who clearly had her difficulties with the fieldwork experience.

The book shines brightest when the author deals with the subject of death and pilgrimage. She uncovers several critical pairings and transactions that underly the villagers' practices: the bones of the ancestors are deposited at the Ganges River, and fertility-giving sacred water is brought back to the village. "Flowers" (meaning the bones of the dead) are exchanged for "flowers" (meaning sons), thus not only balancing the books but working to ensure the continuity of life through the death that punctuates it.

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HOCKINGS, PAUL. *Counsel from the Ancients. A Study of Badaga Proverbs, Prayers, Omens and Curses.* With an Outline of the Badaga Language by Christiane Pilot-Raichoor. Trends in Linguistics, Documentation 4. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988. xiv+796 pages. Figures, tables, appendices, bibliography, glossary and concordance, index. Cloth

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The Badagas are the largest indigenous community in the Nilgiri Hills of Tamilnadu (formerly Madras) in Southern India. The name "Badaga" or "Northerner" was given to them because they came from the plains of Mysore, immediately to the north of their present location. Paul Hocking's compendium of Badaga proverbs, proverbial phrases, and an odd assortment of other orally transmitted short forms including prayers and curses and much else, provides an excellent introduction not only to the people and their language, but also an extensive survey of their culture and a comprehensive bibliography on the Badaga and their oral literature.

The text is in ten parts. The first section, entitled "Badagas and their Oral Literature," describes the people and introduces the collection of proverbs which is based upon the earlier work of Johann Michael Bühler whose handwritten manuscript (reproduced in the first appendix) represents the first attempt to record the oral traditions of the Badaga. Hockings' materials are only the second collection of these Badaga texts and his gathering of proverbs began in 1963. Bühler's manuscript is dated as around 1850 and ran to some 540 items. Hockings is fairly confident that the final form of his collection (which incorporates Bühler's materials), running now some 1730 proverbs, is very nearly a complete record.

The second part is the Outline of the Badaga Language by Christiane Raichoor, which includes a section on syntax which in turn is directly relevant to the rest of the book as it discusses the ways in which a sentence is built in Badaga. The main text often contains notes on the structure of the proverb keyed to this outline.

The last eight sections form an etic classification of the proverbial material according to large categories of meaning or application. The eight sections are based upon Peter Roget's *Thesaurus* categories of meaning (rather than by spelling or alphabetization). Hockings considers this system virtually ideal for proverb classification. Other taxometric systems, including a structural framework, are discussed and dismissed. Hockings correctly suggests that a classification system based upon a vocabulary index does not work, as metaphors naturally are not, in the final analysis, about the objects actually mentioned. In this regard it is instructive to note that various schemes of Hockings' type have also been attempted with other large metaphorical systems, fables for one example (e.g. Wienert 1925).

A single example will stand for all. Part three is entitled "Abstract Relations" and has sub-categories such as "Intrinsicity" under which we read: "mane di:pa endu muttikkile | be: bendarada" given in English as "If you kiss the house lamp, considering it yours: Oh, will the mouth burn." Hockings gives us a short paragraph of explanation "I.e., the quality of something is never changed, no matter where it is or who owns it. [Thus] it will have the same effect on every member of the household" (86). He adds the note: "The lamp is kept in the doorway between the inner and outer rooms," with references given to other, similar materials and a note on the syntax keyed to the Raichoor grammar outline (86). Each entry is roughly of this pattern, with the collection extending beyond the proverb and proverbial phrase to include some riddles, common curses and other simple forms under the categories of "Intellect," "Prospective Individual Volition" (with such sub-categories as "Resolution," "Habit," "Caprice," "Goodness" and "Badness," and the like).

A short section on the rhetorical features of the materials deals with such phonic aspects as alliteration, antanacsis (repetition of homophonous words, each with a distinct meaning), as well as the commonly accepted rhetorical devices of metaphor, hyperbole, litotes, paradox, simile and irony (17-26). There is a short discussion of the

structure of the Badaga proverb, in which the bipartite form is discussed in detail as the most common (37-38). Hockings does not avail himself of the recent proverb studies in this analysis, although to his credit, he does come to some of the same ideas. Dundes (1975) deals directly with the bipartite structure that Hockings describes as characteristic of the English proverbs that he cites. Hockings has hit upon what clearly is the "basic" structure of not only Badaga proverbs, but of many other paramiological systems. Together with this bipartite structure, Hockings suggests that alliteration is the most common rhetorical feature. In fact, he suggests, that the balance of the two parts is rarely achieved without the use of alliteration. Among the other features of note are the use of cliché in his collection, and a short discussion of simile which often adds to the structural parallels.

The collection of proverbs and proverbial phrase is made accessible with the very careful discussion glossing each text. Hockings has produced a carefully edited collection that represents a significant addition to the world's stock of proverb collections.

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KUMAR, NITA, *The Artisans of Banaras. Popular Culture and Identity, 1880-1986*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. xix+279 pages. Figures, plates, appendices, glossary, bibliography, index. Cloth US \$34.00; ISBN 0-691-05531-9.

It must be said to the credit of Nita Kumar, who is a Mellon Fellow in History at Brown University in the USA, that she has undertaken three progressive tasks in this book. The first is that she concentrates attention on leisure-time activities, a dimension which has not been adequately explored by research-scholars. The second is that she takes up the artisans of Banaras and is thus concerned with what she calls "popular culture" rather than with the culture of the elite or the bourgeoisie. And the third is that, although her Indian disciplinary background and experience has been history, she ventures in this study to bring two disciplines into relationship with each other—history and anthropology.

It is a happy augury that of late anthropologists have begun to arouse themselves from their dogmatic slumbers into which they were lulled by their long-drawn and overweening interest in the natural sciences, and to realize that there is more in man than a mere determined automaton, a fact which has lain far too long unattended right beneath their noses. It is thus appropriate that Nita Kumar should take as her ob-