

The title refers to a particular scene in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which the demon Mārīcha takes the form of a golden deer as part of Ravana's plot to abduct Sitā. By causing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to be lured away from their forest dwelling by the magical deer, Ravana is able to avoid confronting them as he consummates his capture of Sitā. In Orissa, for a number of reasons that Williams explores, the magical deer is consistently illustrated with two heads. Such a representation is not based upon the various recensions of Vālmiki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* and is not common in illustrations outside of Orissa. Thus the two-headed deer represents a regionally specific and nontextual convention for conveying the magical qualities of the disguised demon.

Williams also uses the image of the magical deer to illustrate what she interprets as an overarching Orissan concern with the illusory nature of the empirical world. In addition to the two-headed deer scene, Williams compares the representations of eight other scenes in the various pictorial examples she discusses. One of things that Williams demonstrates very well in her discussion of the nine scenes is the tendency for storytellers, performers, and artists to cast their particular multiform within the local context. Contextualization of the geographical setting of the tale is especially relevant to the visual material with which Williams is working. For example, the background for the pictures of Ravana's stronghold on Lañkā includes recognizable landmarks from the Orissa region. Williams also points out that the process of contextualization of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in Orissa extends to cameo appearances of local figures such as Jagannātha, the supreme regional divinity, who have no real role in the story. Part of this process of contextualization by Orissan storytellers, performers, and illustrators is the expansion and elaboration of some relatively minor narrative incidents. An example of this process that is discussed by Williams is the minor incident from the Sanskrit epic in which Rāma accepts a fruit offering from a low-caste woman named Śabarī after she has already taken a bite from it. Williams interprets this elevation of a tribal character in a story about royalty as a reflection of the ethnic mix of the Orissan population.

*The Two-Headed Deer* is a significant contribution to scholarship on the interactions of visual art and narrative traditions in India. Williams's relatively small case study has large implications for the understanding of the creative processes that have produced a wide range of cultural expressions in India.

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#### AFGHANISTAN

TIFFOU, ÉTIENNE. *Hunza Proverbs*. In collaboration with Y. Ch. Morin, H. Berger, D. L. R. Lorimer, and Nasir Uḍḍin Hunzai. Calgary: The University of Calgary Press, 1993. ix + 252 pages. Maps, tables, indices of proverbs, Burushaski and English words, proper names, bibliography. Paper US\$19.95; ISBN 1-895176-29-8.

Any scholar nowadays trying to collect proverbs in Pakistan or neighboring countries is likely to be faced with a difficult undertaking. Except for the older generation, people have largely given up paying attention to oral literature; because of the influence of the modern mass media, proverbs are no longer considered essential in life. In many cases traditional wisdom, wit, humor, and even etiquette are easily abandoned for Western consumer culture. Old guardians of traditional culture who still preserve proverbs, sayings, and riddles often take

them to the grave unless they share their knowledge with a linguist, ethnographer, or folklorist. Fortunately, the situation is still slightly different in remote areas, like the high mountain valley of Hunza in northern Pakistan.

A veritable treasure house of oral literature has been preserved by Étienne Tiffou, a renowned linguist and specialist in the Burushaski language who has devoted more than twenty years to studying the intricacies of this fascinating language, spoken in two valleys of the Karakorum. The author wrote the present volume in collaboration with H. Berger (an expert in the subdialects of Hunza and Nager at the University of Heidelberg), Y. Ch. Morin (University of Montreal), and Nasir Uddin Hunzai (Khanah-I Hikmat Karachi); he also drew from the work of the late D. L. R. Lorimer, who prepared the ground through his earlier studies. In this way he has brought together, so to speak, the *crème de la crème* of scholars dealing with the Burushaski language.

The volume includes 563 proverbs; as Tiffou mentions, the main credit goes to Nasir Uddin Hunzai. Berger's and Lorimer's entries (131 and 213, respectively) are specially marked. In chapter 1 the author focuses on different aspects of Burushaski grammar, and discusses the problems of classifying the material. He opted for a formal classification based on the mode of expression: proverbs, jussive formulas, questions, exclamations, comparisons, phatic phrases (blessing formulas, etc.), and riddles (chapters 2–7). No doubt anthropologists would have welcomed a functional grouping based on themes, accepting the shortcomings of necessary cross-references and inevitable overlaps. But the present way of arranging the material is a good and satisfying solution. The index of English words is especially helpful for readers interested in the ethnography of Hunza. In addition, native speakers find an index of proverbs, while other indices list the Burushaski words and proper names. Each proverb entry is given in its complete form, followed by a word-for-word translation and an English rendition. An additional section provides interpretations, indications of the cultural context, notes on translation problems, references to Shina proverbs, borrowings from other languages, etc.

Being an anthropologist and not a linguist, I can attempt to review only the ethnographical aspects of this study. Proverbs belong to a specific literary genre that can be very instructive for anthropology, reflecting folk wisdom and the value system of the ethnic group in question and giving information on traditions, beliefs, and customs. Moreover, proverbs are "connotated," often being a kind of binder highlighting the combinations of different cultural contexts. In the field of material culture, for example, proverbs and riddles aptly illustrate the nature of objects and reveal local thinking about them. Particularly expressive are the following proverbs: "The bottom of the cooking pot is well known to the hearthstones" (no. 1013 L) and "This one hides behind the mortar, the other behind the pestle" (no. 1141). Other metaphors mention millstones, wooden vessels, oil flasks, and even leather capes. Some proverbs and formulas characterize animals, while others highlight the crucial role of water in Hunza, the importance of firewood, and the position of the ruler, of kinship groups, and of women.

Additional comments or corrections need be made on only a few proverbs. In no. 1165, a proverb dealing with "chewing tobacco," a better term would be "mouth tobacco," according to my colleague A. Janata (as the tobacco is not in fact chewed). The plant called *sopât*, which is mixed with the tobacco, is Ephedra. Riddle no. 6022 B, mentioning a balance, is also found in Iran and could be borrowed through the Persian language. Following Lorimer, it is said in no. 4072 that the oil-flask is a small pumpkin, but so far I have only seen vessels for apricot oil made of wood and stone.

Finally, I want to raise a small objection regarding the inconsistent spelling of a term given as *Nagar* in the text, index, and map, and as *Nagir* throughout the introduction; following local pronunciation, the correct spelling is *Nager* (preferred by H. Berger). Also, it must be asked why the proverbs of the neighboring Nagerkuts were not collected or marked in

this volume on Hunza proverbs, given the close relation between the two cultures; this would have extended the scope of this study (Nager is only partly included, cf. nos. 1139 L, 3043 L, 4037 L, 4110). Similarly, the specific genre of sayings, jokes, and insults dealing with the arch-enmity between the Hunzukuts and Nagerkuts could have been included. Hopefully in the future the oral literature of Nager will receive the acknowledgement that is its due.

In all, though, "Hunza Proverbs" is a praiseworthy scholarly work that will serve as an example for future studies. The folklorist gains many new insights into different aspects of the traditional and nowadays fast vanishing culture of this high mountain area in the Karakorum.

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### EUROPE

APO, SATU. *The Narrative World of Finnish Fairy Tales: Structure, Agency, and Evaluation in Southwest Finnish Folktales*. FF Communications 256. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1995. 322 pages. Appendices, research materials, bibliography, indices of names and tale types. Paper FIM 150; ISBN 951-41-0749-7. Hardcover FIM 175; ISBN 951-41-0770-5.

This monograph originally appeared in 1986 as a doctoral dissertation written in Finnish. The critical apparatus is very good, including a substantial appendix with a full text of eighteen of the tales under investigation, a relating of these Finnish variants to the Aarne-Thompson system, a lengthy bibliography, and an index of names and tale types.

Satu Apo has now revised and translated her study of Southwest Finnish fairy tales and presents her conclusions in this FF Communications volume. Much of the work still reads and looks like a dissertation, but that does not diminish its overall value. Perhaps, however, the real value lies in the suggestions made by the author for the further study of Finnish tales.

There are over 7,000 tales that have been recorded from the Finnish-Karelian area. Apo's research materials consist of 235 fairy tale texts from six parishes in the Satakunta region of Finland (Eura, Eurajoki, Pori, Ulvila, Tyrvää, and Hämeenkyrö). The majority (80%) date from the period 1880-99, with the earliest being recorded in 1852 and the most recent in 1937. Only 14% of the texts under scrutiny date from the present century (243).

Much of the monograph is used to identify the various theories and approaches to fairy tale research. Apo suggests what one might readily assume, that in the past the historic-geographic method dominated in Finland, with only a few attempts being made at structural studies and even fewer attempts to address the meaning of these tales. The second most dominant portion of the monograph is the lengthy layout of the main plot types. There are four main types that are isolated and that Apo presents as: A1—hero(ine) wins spouse; A2—hero(ine) wins fortune; B1—hero(ine) overcomes the threat of a monster; and B2—hero(ine) overcomes a crime. Each of these major plot types is then elaborated by suggesting a representative of the type, followed by presenting the various methods by which, for example, the hero(ine) may win a spouse: by performing suitor's tasks, by rescuing her from a monster or criminals, by making himself or his partner an eligible spouse candidate, by erotic means, or by a combination with other plot elements.

It becomes quite clear in the text that too little is known about the individual narrators to attempt any kind of narrator-oriented analysis, even though there is a good indication that the narrators reflect a rather wide-ranging social distribution. The author is thus left with the