

loudly proclaimed. We should, also in the study of folktales, leave behind studies of types or structure in which the time axis is disregarded in order to arrive at historical studies which consider folktales in their relation to historical society and the history of literature. This is the point I felt most deeply upon reading this book. (English translation by Kanō Noriko)

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OHNUKI-TIERNEY, EMIKO, *The Monkey as Mirror. Symbolic Transformations in Japanese History and Ritual*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. xv+269 pages. References, index. Hardcover US \$29.95; ISBN 0-691-09434-9.

In 1978 the author visited Hikari City in Yamaguchi Prefecture, where she met Mura-saki Yoshimasa, head of the Suō Sarumawashi no kai (Suō Monkey Performance Group), and other people involved in training monkeys for performance, and saw monkeys in training. In Japan there is also a group of primate scholars researching monkey performing arts (headed by Kawai Masao, Director of the Japan Monkey Center) which has begun a comprehensive survey of this topic. The author is presently working at the Institute of Anthropology at Princeton University, and is an expert on Japanese culture, having already studied illness perception and health care in Japan from an anthropological point of view.

A general impression that people have of monkeys is that they are "curious." The author alludes to this in her opening words. Her cultural study of the relationship between monkey and human being, however, began with her encounter with a troupe engaged in monkey performance (*sarumawashi*), an art which has miraculously recovered from near extinction. She has studied its historical background based on historical documents concerning its transmission, textual sources, forms of the art, and its actual performance. On the basis of a survey of the audience, the author discusses the cultural concepts concerning monkeys among the Japanese.

The academic stance of the author seeks to go beyond mere cognitive research and to incorporate ethnological and historical research methods. She has attempted to clarify the significance of the "monkey" through the historical process in which legends and rituals of monkey performances have appeared and passed down.

The bulk of this book, as the author admits, is a description of cultural transformation in the language of monkey symbolism. The remainder analyzes forms of public entertainment including monkey performances. This analysis is mainly a historical consideration of entertainment, touching on the ancient belief in the monkey deity as a manifestation of the mountain god (*yama no kami*); the belief in the monkey as a guardian deity of the horse stable and on a monkey show with the monkey impersonating a religious practitioner (*kitōshi*) (41-47); the transformation of the art itself into a public street performance during and after the medieval period. All of these topics are astutely pointed out. This meant a historical transformation in the monkey's symbolic expressiveness, from that of mediator to scapegoat and finally to clown.

As the author points out, it is not necessary to concentrate only on "nature" or historical works as the background to the formation of Japanese culture. She focuses instead on the symbolism, ritual, and cultural interest surrounding the monkey. But

given the advanced state of ecological studies concerning the Japanese monkey, more consideration of the naturalness of the monkey itself could be hoped for.

The later chapters, on the meaning of the monkey through history (chapter 3), the history of the special status people in Japanese society (chapter 4), and the historical transformations of the forms of the monkey performance (chapter 5), contain various speculations by the author. The development of a discriminated caste in Japanese society from the group of special performers, and an understanding of the activities of those involved in monkey performance or of other wandering entertainers, continues to raise various problems to the present day. As an analytical conclusion concerning this historical consideration of monkeys, chapter 6 deals with the cultural concepts of the accommodating and friendly Japanese people with regard to the monkey as a mediator, hypocrite, and clown.

The development of the cultural view concerning monkey performance and the monkey in the late Medieval Period is the topic of chapter 7, and chapter 8 deals with monkey performance and its ritualism in contemporary Japan. The final chapter deals with the monkey as an object of laughter as a clown in the context of the basic development of Japanese society and culture. The text concludes with statements concerning the structure of the monkey's meaning related to symbols in the historical process of Japan.

This book is a significant effort to grasp the meaning of monkey performance throughout the shifts of Japanese history, in history and ritual, and as an art, by examining historical records such as old documents and picture scrolls. The author has found the reason why the monkey has served as a versatile symbol in Japanese culture in the patterns by which the Japanese think of the monkey.

The way the author seized on the transformation in the images of the monkey as scapegoat, trickster, and clown, is truly remarkable. And that she uses the *Jōge yukikō*, the fruit of a survey carried out by the transmitters of these special performing arts, is another point on which she is to be commended.

In sum, this book on "The Monkey as Mirror" is a study of a culture of monkey performance. The animal "monkey," so closely linked with various Japanese conceptions of the world, is not limited to the position of a mere clown. The unique contribution of this book is that the author recognizes the cultural value of the monkey as a part of Japanese spiritual culture. Through the monkey as metaphor, she has studied Japanese culture and succeeded in taking an approach which must be taken in order to grasp a society as a whole.

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