

traditions of Noh and Kabuki as in response to Western theatre, has in the postwar years assimilated the Western impact to such a degree that it now stands on its own as a substantial, very Japanese form. Furthermore, Professor Kawatake appears to overlook the fact that one can find in the beginnings of Noh and Kabuki certain aspects of Chinese or Korean origin. These traditional forms may well be more "Japanese" in a traditional sense than Shingeki. But to claim that they are uniquely so is hardly accurate, and to condemn Shingeki because it is a modern, Western-tinged phenomenon is, at best, not befitting a scholar of Professor Kawatake's stature.

His other inconsistency is actually an oversight, one in which he is not alone. How often have we in the West heard the claim that Kabuki's famed *onnagata* are, as Professor Kawatake asserts, "more woman-like than women . . ." (p. 189), that they express feminine beauty which women themselves are "not capable of expressing . . ." (p. 142)? Not to belittle the *onnagata*, whose art is often stunning, but this notion is surely open to question. Why, we may ask, can women not effect male roles with more masculinity than men? Professor Kawatake entertains not even an inkling of this obvious question; rather, he accepts as axiomatic the conventional wisdom on *onnagata*. He goes on in similar vein to discuss the fact that *onnagata* were required to live as women in real life in order to act "as if they had stepped out of actual life and onto the stage" (p. 193). But why were actors in other Kabuki roles, the merchants, the braggarts, the murderers, the thieves, not also required to live their roles in real life? Why is it that even today women are deemed incapable of rendering true femininity on the Kabuki stage? Why does Professor Kawatake not broach these questions? Of course, the fact that he does not reveals as much about the prevailing Japanese attitudes toward women as it does about Kabuki. Some objective discussion of this phenomenon would not only be germane but enlightening, adjectives which amply describe the rest of Professor Kawatake's portion of the book.

Admittedly, these are all mere quibbles when considering the work as a whole. One might have hoped for more insight and analysis to accompany an otherwise fascinating historical excursion. But the value of this book is as an introduction and as such it makes for good reading. Even scholars who might not find it a work to savor will be hardpressed to deny its usefulness. For it provides the means to a substantial end: an accurate grasp of the history and development of the very workings of traditional Japanese theatre.

OHNUKI-TIERNEY, EMIKO. *Illness and healing among the Sakhalin Ainu: A symbolic interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. xvi+245 pp. Appendices, bibliography, subject index. Hardcover £20.000. ISBN 0-521-23636-3.

*Illness and healing among the Sakhalin Ainu* is a valuable book in terms of its presentation of Ainu ethnomedicine, its analysis of the Ainu symbolic structure and its discussion of Ainu shamanism. In the studies of ethnomedicine the analysis of field data usually precludes any development of a broader perspective other than that of taxonomic classification. While the value of these studies is apparent, they seldom provide insight into a people's medical system as a whole or the principles of perception that underlie the classification of illnesses. Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney's book is a significant exception in that it attempts to relate the various cognitive, sensory and emotive factors

involved in Ainu symbolic medicine with the dyadic oppositions expressed in the Ainu world view.

Her work, based on fifteen years of research into Ainu culture, gathers together ethnomedical data and linguistic studies of Ainu illness and healing terminology to present an interpretation of this particular cultural activity as well as a general method. She discusses various theories of symbolic classification to indicate the positive contribution of ethnomedical data for anthropological research. Of particular importance in her symbolic analysis is the issue of unclassifiable elements or anomaly and their significance in Ainu rituals. Finally she discusses the formation of the Ainu shaman, the multiple social roles of this healer, and *imu*: or shamanic sickness as it relates to Ainu symbolic medicine and social sanction.

After an introductory section locating the Ainu in their geography, history and ethnography the author uses an ethnomedical and linguistic approach to present the Ainu classificatory schema of illnesses. Her underlying argument is that such an investigation provides a means for understanding the way in which the Ainu order their world. Furthermore, the Ainu perceptual structure may be determined by means of the illness terminology and their subsequent classification. Habitual illnesses, then, "... are those that the Ainu diagnose on the basis of such symptoms as the nature of the pain or the appearance of the ailing part of the body" (39). Treatment of these recurring illnesses is so standard that they are often ignored in symbolic anthropology. Researchers have consistently shown more interest in the metaphysical illnesses that involve supernatural beings which of necessity require symbolic expression. But the author emphasizes the significance of the sensory and emotive factors in classifying habitual illnesses suggesting that such factors provide initial insight into the perceptual structure underlying the world view. Ohnuki-Tierney then takes up a discussion of the metaphysical illnesses indicating that among the Ainu they are identified by causal agents in the supernatural world rather than by appearance. Thus the manner of perception is instrumental in later classification. A most important factor for understanding Ainu ethnomedicine, however, is the presence of those unclassifiable elements or anomalous symbols which figure so prominently in the sacred:profane opposition of the Ainu world view.

A significant contribution of this work, then, is its discussion of anomaly as a central element in understanding Ainu medical symbols, shamanistic activity and world view. Ohnuki-Tierney refers to theories of symbolic classification and the way in which they treat of this unclassifiable element. She raises questions regarding the possible investigation of the anomalous by developing classes of expression. She accentuates the need for study of the particular symbolic structures that deem phenomena as anomalous as well as the mediating capacity of anomalous symbols. Using Ainu data Ohnuki-Tierney articulates three manifestations of anomaly, namely, as a negative threat to the existing order, as a positive benefit to the current structure, or as an anti-structural element that mediates change of the structure. Anomaly as negative anti-structure, or demons, can cause sickness thus threatening the classified world of the Ainu and upsetting the dyadic balance of the sacred: profane world view. But evocation of certain anti-structural anomaly or spirits can also be mediated in formalized rites of mythic recitation by men or in non-formalized shamanistic rites by women. Both of these ritualized expressions augment the Ainu way of life, the profane side of the dyadic opposition, in order to reassert balance. The multivocality of creative anomalous symbols is further analyzed by the author using symbolic oppositions such as sacred: profane, nature: culture, and men: women to indicate two sets of belief systems in which the Ainu can invert the male and female roles with relation

to healing as a profane activity. For example, Ainu shamanistic rites draw extensively on cooking for symbolic forms which accentuates the women's profane side as the locus for countering anti-structure rather than the invocation of the sacred to combat evil as in the men's healing by mythic recitation.

With regard to the contrast between habitual and metaphysical illnesses Ohnuki-Tierney critiques structural theories which are unable to adjust to varying principles of perception within particular cultures. Modes of perception, she suggests, may very well accompany sets of belief systems within one culture. Following this discussion the author elaborates her linguistic method especially its indebtedness to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. This hypothesis posits correlations between the structure of a people's world view and the grammatical categories of their language. In relation to perceptual structures, Ohnuki-Tierney indicates that conceptual forms may also find a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic expressions.

The final chapter presents a general discussion of the shaman in relation to the patient and the larger Ainu society. After reviewing the formation of the shaman she presents two aspects of the power of the shaman, namely, communication with deities and "miracle performances" of unusual skill customarily performed by men. Various roles of the shaman are associated with their formalized power recognized by society and their non-formalized power which is not so recognized but which Ohnuki-Tierney identifies with domestic shamanism. This form of Ainu shamanism is largely open to women and politically marginal men. The roles considered are: religious specialist, health care specialist, theatrical performer, and covert politician. Finally describing the individual shaman and his sickness or *imu:*, the author presents comparative materials on shamans in various Ainu societies. She acknowledges the psychological disturbance prevalent in a majority of Ainu shamans; but she indicates that the Ainu perception of this *imu:*-sickness is not of a pathology but rather of a non-formalized contact with power. In the final section, Ohnuki-Tierney reasserts the need for a dual approach to the study of shamanism which takes account of the individual personality as well as significant sociocultural factors.

The points in her work which might be critiqued more closely are her apparent reliance on one "key informant," the introduction of a variety of interpretive theories which cause some ambiguity regarding her own position, and the absence of an assessment of the cultural role (emic) of religion in mediating anomaly, curing sickness and explaining the individual formation of a shaman. While all of these points are mentioned in the book, a fuller discussion would be helpful in supporting her overall analysis.

In conclusion, this reviewer welcomes this work as a positive contribution to the development of the ethnomedical method as well as an insightful analysis of the Ainu people in their symbolic classification of illness. This work provides a new interpretation of Ainu healing and illness; and, perhaps most importantly, it demonstrates the value of utilizing multiple field methods in elucidating a more comprehensive view of a "classic people," the Ainu of Sakhalin Island.

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