

itself a major contribution to Pacific scholarship. His introductory essays, "A. F. Grimble as an Anthropologist" and "The Grimble Papers" include new material on Grimble and his research.

The Notes include annotations to the text by both Grimble and Maude. Maude's additions include critical notes on Grimble's arguments; Grimble cross-references; citations to the publications of more recent scholars; translations from the Kiribati language. The Notes constitute a register of important issues and sources in Kiribati ethnography and history.

Maude's Glossary is methodologically as well as substantively interesting: "The following definitions represent, whenever possible, my understanding of the meaning which Grimble gave to some important terms used by the Gilbertese to express traditional concepts in their culture when it was in an intrinsically pristine state" (353).

The Bibliography is a great deal more than a set of references for the book. It is the most complete bibliography available (that I know of) in print on the I-Kiribati, and includes citations to theses that are not widely known.

We may declare fulfilled Maude's hope that the book will secure Grimble's reputation as premier Kiribati ethnographer. We can also suggest that Grimble's ethnographic contributions might have faded academically had it not been for Maude's very judicious use of them, and that if Grimble's work is treated with renewed respect, it is largely as a consequence of the respect with which Maude's own work is held in the field. This volume, in the very high standard Pacific Islands Mono-

graph Series, benefits from careful editing and is well produced.

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Prehistoric Architecture in Micronesia, by William N. Morgan with photographs by Newton Morgan assisted by Dylan Morgan. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988. ISBN 0-292-76506-1, xvi + 166 pp, maps, line drawings, photographs, bibliography, index. US\$49.50.

Traditional Architecture in the Gilbert Islands: A Cultural Perspective, by John Hockings. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1989. ISBN 0-7022-2179-1, xii + 254 pp, maps, glossary, line drawings, bibliography, index. A\$24.95.

In these thought-provoking books on the traditional architecture of Palau, Yap, the Marianas, Pohnpei, Kosrae, and Kiribati, Morgan and Hockings reveal valuable information for scholars of Micronesian culture, practicing architects in the islands, and the Micronesians from whom the information is obtained and to whom it is now returned. The concerted effort of the authors and their publishers in making these welcome sources of information available reflects the honorable academic commitment to sharing knowledge in the human sciences. Both studies incorporate practical and unique knowledge of the art of building in Micronesia—an art that is now, unfortunately, disappearing, yet should be treasured and revived. To this end I

encourage Micronesians to read these books because they contain knowledge and wisdom that should not die with the master builders of old but should be treasured by future generations as an essential part of the Micronesian way of life.

Morgan, trained at the Harvard Graduate School of Design and currently a practicing architect, conducted his study in 1983 and 1984 on Pohnpei, Kosrae, Yap, Palau, and the Mariana islands of Rota, Tinian, and Guam. He selected these islands partly because soundly documented monumental remains exist on them. Most of the architectural structures discussed in this book had previously been documented by ethnographers and archaeologists whose data Morgan used and properly acknowledged. Although Morgan's work contributes no new information to the existing body of data on traditional Micronesian material culture or to the temporal dimension of Micronesian culture history, it does add a new and critical perspective to the study of Micronesian prehistory. This study well reflects the needed interdisciplinary effort that can only enrich our present understanding of Micronesian culture and history.

Morgan formulated and tested no grand theory in this study. The general goals conveyed are that great architecture is at the very origins of humanity (153), that the study of prehistoric architecture presents an opportunity to deepen our understanding of human instinct (vii), and that richly diverse and inventive architecture evolved from a fundamental level of human creativity (vii). Specifically, Morgan demonstrates that in contrast to the

Western architects of today, the Micronesian builders of old created their monuments in direct and intimate contact with the natural systems of their environment. An innovative architect and a master of creating natural harmony between buildings and their sites, Morgan sees in this study a source of inspiration for those seeking meaning in the built-form of our present-day environment.

These goals are sufficiently dealt with and informatively presented in a textbook format designed to emphasize the unique features of each island group. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss various architectural structures and ideas from Palau and Yap respectively, while chapters 3 and 4 discuss architectural structures and ideas from Pohnpei and Kosrae. The least-known prehistoric architecture, that of the Mariana Islands, is discussed in the fifth and final chapter. Summaries at the ends of chapters and in the concluding section compare the architectural characteristics of the island groups with each other and with monuments outside Micronesia. Morgan punctuates his detailed descriptions with accurate and reconstructive illustrations, but provides minimal cultural interpretations of the structures investigated.

A comprehensive inventory of Micronesian built-forms, this study describes and illustrates no less than sixty individual architectural structures of great diversity, ranging from the monumental sculpted hills and carved megaliths or "Great Faces" of Palau to the simple utilitarian *toorba* (copra-drying house) of Yap. Examples of more grand architecture in this study include the *latte* structures of the

Marianas, the magnificent tomb enclosure of Nandouwas, Pohnpei, and the megalithic ruins of Leluh, Kosrae, for which Morgan derives a construction evolution spanning the six-hundred-year period between 1250 and 1850. Included among the culturally important structures discussed are the Micronesian meetinghouses, the *bai* of Palau, the *pebaey* of Yap, the *nahs* of Pohnpei, and possibly the *latte* of the Marianas.

Hockings, trained as an architect at the University of Queensland and currently a senior lecturer in architecture there, spent two years on the southern Kiribati island of Onotoa gathering data to test propositions on the relationship between the evolution of built-form and culture. His study of traditional Kiribati architecture is intended to serve as a model for the integration of architecture into the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and psychology—a rather ambitious goal, satisfactorily dealt with in this book. His findings strongly support an argument for recognizing architecture as an active element within any process of cultural evolution rather than as an element shaped by a culture already defined (244).

Organized in a textbook format, seven of the eight chapters in the book have an introduction, discussion accompanied by informative graphic illustrations, and one or more summaries of the topic(s) under consideration. In chapter 1 Hockings develops a strong theoretical argument to the effect that cultural system, personality system, and social system are all intricately linked to the built-form. This relationship between built-form and

culture may be revealed by the manner in which discrete mental constructs that bear reference to built-form (in this case, Kiribati vernacular buildings) are grouped to form that society's conscious model of its relationship with the built environment. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 trace the early migrations (beginning around 1200 or 1400) of the I-Kiribati via the Samoan Islands to their established settlement (island and community settlement patterns) on all sixteen islands of Kiribati.

Chapters 5 to 8 describe and interpret the social, cultural, and ideological relations associated with the articulation and use of the *uma-ni-mane* (literally, men's house), *bangota* (shrine or ceremonial enclosure), *ko* (bleaching house or young girl's initiation house), *mwenga* (household or residential unit), *bata* (dwelling house), and *maneaba* (community meetinghouse). Hockings concludes that Kiribati architecture can be interpreted as a symbolic means toward cultural ends. As such, traditional Kiribati architecture elaborates on the Kiribati way of life. It is as much an environment of ideas as of physical structures arranged in space.

The data collected in both studies are a welcome addition to the growing body of similar data on what might legitimately be termed Micronesian ethnoarchitecture. Neither author uses the label ethnoarchitecture, but it is quite clear that Morgan's study wedded architecture to archaeology and prehistory, while Hockings' wedded architecture to ethnography and social anthropology. Both studies involve empirical observations and the use of appropriate analytical approaches, but they differ in their theoretical interpre-

tations of the data generated. While Morgan's interpretations are functional and tend to be environmentally deterministic, Hockings' are structural and historical. Hockings' theoretical approach is the Levi-Straussian brand of structuralism that addressed elements of social relations as expressed in spatial (built environment) terms and articulated by binary oppositions.

The following examples illustrate the types of interpretations one might expect from these studies whose subject matter is basically the same and whose theoretical approach is different. Morgan suggests that the lowering of the *bai* roof like a sail is an ingenious method of protecting the house from typhoons (150). Hockings points out that should the *oka* (rafters) protrude above their longitudinal roof plate, there would be continual fighting and argument within the *maneaba*.

Morgan suggests that relatively high population densities in the past influenced the Micronesian architectural evolution (150). Hockings points out that symbolic means of continuing definition of the rights and responsibilities of the various clans toward each other were reflected in the allocation of *kainga* (clan estate) sites and the particular orientation of *inaki* (roof panels) within the *maneaba* geometry (245). Although it is a matter of opinion which interpretation is correct, most Micronesians adhere to both types of interpretation.

The last two decades have witnessed drastic alteration and transformation of the Micronesian built environment, and it appears that this trend will accelerate at an even faster pace during the next two decades. Given this pattern of

rapid cultural change, these studies are timely, and they should serve as a reminder that the Micronesian way of life is an integral part of the Micronesian built environment. Changes and alterations to one will inevitably affect the other. In addition to their intellectually stimulating content, these studies could potentially provide practical guidelines to Micronesian government leaders on such matters as urban development and housing construction. Finally, archaeologists, ethnographers, and historians who are studying Micronesian culture and history from the Islanders' perspectives would benefit from reading these studies.

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Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory, by Catherine A. Lutz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988. ISBN 0-226-49721-6, xii + 273 pp, maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. US\$35.00 cloth; US\$13.95 paper.

Unnatural Emotions is a valuable work, contributing insights into Micronesian life and American culture. It sets new standards for ethnopscychology, the effort by anthropologists, especially students of Pacific societies, to appreciate the meaningful world of peoples in part through those peoples' understandings of psychology.

The title is ironic: Ifaluk emotions are unnatural only from the Western view that emotions are somehow natural and universal. Lutz sets out to