



Beyond the Horizon

Essays on Myth, History, Travel and Society

Edited by
Clifford Sather and Timo Kaartinen

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Essays on
Myth, History, Travel and Society

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In Honor of Jukka Siikala



Studia Fennica Anthropologica 2

The publication has undergone a peer review.



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A digital edition of a printed book first published in 2008 by the Finnish Literature Society.

Cover Design: Timo Numminen

EPUB: eLibris Media Oy

ISBN 978-951-858-068-6 (Print)

ISBN 978-951-858-070-9 (PDF)

ISBN 978-951-858-069-3 (EPUB)

ISSN 0085-6835 (Studia Fennica)

ISSN 1796-8208 (Studia Fennica Anthropologica)

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21435/sfa.2>

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Introduction

Timo Kaartinen and Clifford Sather

The constant presence of the world beyond the horizon in the two senses of the word, past and abroad, became my main interest during field work. Travelling from island to island and country to country and telling about the past seem to be two of the main ways the Cook Island culture and society constitutes itself. – Jukka Siikala (1991: 3)

The impulse for writing this book has been the wish, by friends, colleagues and students, to mark the year of Jukka Siikala's 60th birthday. Jukka's theoretical interests, as he tells us in his monograph on the Southern Cook Islands, are concerned with theoretical and methodological topics evoked by the idea of horizon. After focusing on Melanesian cargo cults in his early work (Siikala 1982), he moved on to engage the debate about structural history – the question of how society is informed by its mythical and historical accounts of the past (Siikala 1990b; 1991; 1996). In each case his ethnographic analysis reveals that cultural models of the world are built on associations as well as analogies, continuities as well as breaks, and represent more than a specific interpretation of local events.

Jukka's latest writings have stressed the methodological implications of his view of cultures as inherently global systems. Not only does discourse about society circulate in a structured manner which informs perceptions of social being (Siikala 2000): society, taken as a whole, "distributes itself" in culturally characteristic ways and extends beyond such contexts as can be immediately observed by the anthropologist (Siikala 2001a). By virtue of these structures of distribution, the meaningful potential of ethnographically studied phenomena (texts, artifacts, relationships and practices) exceeds the implications of these phenomena in their immediate social context. Contrary to empiricist views which persist even in the most recent anthropology, the differences which order and constitute society are not merely ones that differentiate behavioral roles and social groups. Awareness of social relationships always extends beyond the local domain of interaction to diverse spheres of social existence, most of which are only accessible through cultural concepts. Attention to society as a conceptual world thus alerts us to its horizons and values, even if we can only study these through their local, empirical manifestations. Therefore it is possible to claim that the field sites in which we carry out our studies are located inside conceptual worlds rather than in geographic places (Siikala 2001b: 41).

Jukka's argument echoes Claude Lévi-Strauss's point that the object of ethnographic research is larger than what can be observed from a single point of view – large enough, in fact, to be of the same order as the observer's own global perspective (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 29). The common objection to this view is that it claims for the anthropologist the ability to look at culture as a totality which no native could grasp. What is easily missed, however, and what many recent writers are careful to point out, is that anthropology does not aim at representing this totality in an empirical sense. We no longer claim to describe ethnographic phenomena in a language of universally valid concepts but qualify our objectifying language as a "prop" (Wagner 1981: 9) or "refraction" (Dresch 1988: 61) which makes it possible to recognize cultural differences and alternative conceptual worlds. What makes it possible to go beyond this point is the fact that people reflect on their world through language. In the Herderian definition Jukka uses here, "reflection" is not merely about intellectual speculation but about the human ability to remember and recall the fullness of symbolic sensations when their external source is no longer present (Siikala 2001b: 30). No external causes or functional motivations need to be present for people to relive and elaborate certain salient experiences and events. This, however, does not mean that culture is reduced to the "imaginary." In order to interpret the conceptual world, the analyst needs to pay attention to "practical activities in a specific location" and the relationship of these activities to the unseen experiences and events accessible through language (Siikala 2001b: 42).

As Greg Urban (1996: 10) points out, linguistic and other publicly occurring signs are simultaneously sensible and intelligible. They are not only used to give symbolic expression to situated meanings but to frame, inscribe and objectify specific kinds of discourse as culture. Instead of actualizing situated meaning, certain genres and performative uses of language foreground its signifying potential and thus expand the interpretive horizon of speakers and audiences. Urban's argument makes it possible to define horizon in a second sense as an expanded perspective on time and place. The past circulation of discourse – repeating and quoting verbal utterances in numerous successive contexts – produces for those engaged in this circulation a "sediment" of accumulated relations of signification, and the association of verbal utterances with genres or types expands their potential to be applied to numerous kinds of contexts in the future (Hanks 1996: 124, 131).

The sedimenting effect is obviously not limited to language use: gift exchange is another example of a social practice which forces people to pay attention to the broader temporal perspectives and social trajectories that follow from what they do in a particular time and place (Hoskins 1993). The human capacity for reflection enables discursive signs and objects to represent more than a template of routinized conditions and actions. In Paul Ricoeur's phrasing they contain a "surplus of meaning," a potential to disclose a world and not just a situation (Ricoeur 1976: 80).

Horizon, by one usage, refers to the limits of an observer's point of view (Jolly 1994: 377). In anthropology it has become customary to emphasize such limits and point out the dangers involved in applying our own culturally-

based categories to cross-cultural understanding. The title of this book marks the writers' awareness of such caveats but also their commitment to reach beyond their own culturally grounded perspectives.

In another sense horizons are salient aspects of cultural experience located "elsewhere," "unseen," "past," "coming," or otherwise at a distance from the immediate interactional and perceptual field. In this sense of the word, horizon is not so much about limits of knowing but about potential being projected from a background of familiar experience (Hirsch 1995: 4). This definition of horizon brings up significant anthropological topics, but it also forces us to engage certain methodological issues as well. "Horizon" suggests perception which totalizes or transcends personal being; by the same token, however, it implies a subjective, situated position in the world. In the sense of "mediated perception," horizon seems to presuppose unmediated pre-cultural existence.

In order not to privilege these readings, we emphasize a third definition of horizon as a "conceptual world." It does not simply refer to things that stand in opposition to routine existence in the here-and-now. The most concrete, immediate things in our lives have a horizon – a metaphoric and metonymic potential to stand for something else as soon as they become a part of intentional projects. What we wish to stress, however, is the reflective process of appropriating the power of narratives about travels, origins, and strange events to disclose other dimensions of existence through which their horizons on the world are fused with more limited perceptual horizons (Ricoeur 1976: 93).

The fusion of horizons – a dialogue with no determined addressee – is fundamental for cultural awareness about global processes. Melanesian cargo cults as well as Western ideologies of development and progress conceive of the horizon as the source of new kinds of experience – unfamiliar, awesome things with the power to reconstitute and transform social life. In Roy Wagner's words we "invent" culture by making sense of those unfamiliar things as plausible manifestations of human intention. Through the invention of culture, people's awareness of the conditions of their existence is always projected beyond the here-and-now. Rather than being a system of concrete, phenomenal things and events, culture in this view is a virtual order, a set of meaningful relations between categories. As Marshall Sahlins has argued in formulating this view, cultural awareness of new events may either value them for their similarity to the already constituted system, or else the culture may respond to the shifting conditions of its existence and reproduce itself as a logic of its own change. The latter alternative, which is more interesting for current historical anthropology, implies that the symbolic system is "highly empirical" and "continuously submits the received categories to worldly risks, the inevitable disproportions between signs and things" (Sahlins 1985: xiii).

We might thus characterize horizon as the interface between empirical perceptions and their orienting categories, values and epistemological ideas. An obvious case are the spatial orientations and mental maps in terms of which people define their place in the world and imagine their relationship to things outside their immediate perceptual field. Equally important are the temporal horizons through which the orientation and value of actions

are defined by reference to past and future events. At a closer look, none of these horizons is determined by the immediacy of individual perception and action. A basic property of horizon lies in fusing facts which are known with unknown objects, agents and forces. For this reason horizons are never just cognitive frameworks, but inherently symbolic in the sense of collapsing into each other different contexts of signification.

The aim of this book is to explore these theoretical concerns with reference to specific ethnographic issues which are also central in Jukka's writings. The articles in this collection address the significance of outside contact, migration, travel, and the production of cultural texts as elements of cultural worldviews and the diverse ways in which cultures and societies constitute themselves by means of travel and through their use of myth and narrative histories. We present cases from a number of societies of the Pacific and Austronesian-speaking Southeast Asia. Our focus on cultural horizons in these two areas reflects the sense in which their historical perspectives, social reproduction and ideas about value hinge on relations with agents and domains outside society.

The threefold division of articles in this collection follows their emphasis of different aspects of symbolic awareness. The first part of the book offers ethnographic examples of societies living inside a forest in which the immediate, perceptual horizon is usually very near. In order to maintain itself as a valued, moral framework and avoid coalescing with the surrounding bush, society faces the need to constantly transcend, dissolve or obviate its horizons. This may give rise to an eschatological interest in religion and an intense attempt to divine and interpret what is *particular* about afflictions, strangers and unforeseen or catastrophic events. The second part of the book deals with island societies which face a maximally distant physical horizon. These cases bring into focus the technologies and cosmological concepts which people identify with their own ability of reaching beyond the horizon. Such activities as navigation, boat-building and catching fish are ordered by specific orientations towards the cosmos, but, as our examples show, they also involve people reflecting on the transformational possibilities of their ordering categories. In the third part of the book, our attention turns to performances and texts. Recent discussions about cultural performances stress their potential to frame the object of performance as something that exists apart from the particular telling or artistic display. Cultural texts in this sense instantiate a virtually existing tradition with a complex social life of its own. Historical and mythical narratives thus reach beyond the horizon of immanent social relationships and interaction, towards alternative horizons evoked by the practices of narration.

Horizons of experience

As we have suggested, the papers comprising this first section address variously conceived horizons, how they are transcended or dissolved, and the role they play in shaping social practice, cosmologies, and history.

In the first essay, Joel Robbins reminds us of the potential significance of yet another “horizontal outlier” – besides abroad and the past – namely, “the world that lies beyond the present in time,” that is to say, the future. Since the late 1970s, the Urapmin of West Sepik, Papua New Guinea, have embraced and now intensely hold to a charismatic form of Christianity that profoundly stamps their cosmological orientation and is mirrored in virtually every aspect of their everyday life. A notable feature of Urapmin Christianity, Robbins tells us, is its markedly millennial character. Thus, the Urapmin fervently await the Second Coming which they believe is imminent. When Jesus returns He will rapture those who believe in Him into heaven, destroy the earth, and consign sinners to hell. Most Urapmin therefore aim to lead lives that demonstrate their belief in God so as to assure themselves a place in heaven and consequently have developed elaborate rituals that serve to absolve sin, restore their moral selves, and prepare them for God’s final judgment. With such rituals dominating community life, heaven can justly be described as the group’s overwhelming preoccupation.

Heaven for the Urapmin is beyond the horizon in several significant senses. Temporally, it exists in another time; not in the present, but in the future. Spatially, it exists elsewhere; not where the Urapmin now live, but in another place, in this case, in the sky, where, the Urapmin hold, believers will dwell after the earth has been destroyed. In contrast to the Polynesian cosmologies on which Siikala has written with such insight, the world beyond the horizon to which the Urapmin attach greatest value is not the past, conceptualized, as it is by the Cook Islanders, as a place of origin, but rather the future, conceptualized in other-worldly terms as their ultimate destination. The Urapmin, as Robbins says, even in the present, “live for the future.” The question he poses is: do the different values that the Urapmin and Cook Islanders assign to places beyond the horizon have different social consequences? Do they, in other words, shape social action, structures, and the making of history in different ways? In partial answer, he notes that the corresponding differences in cosmologies differently hierarchize space. For the Urapmin, the earth is not only less valued than heaven, but on earth the Urapmin themselves occupy a particularly marginal, underdeveloped region, which they identify as “bush.” Here, conditions least resemble those of heaven. In the future, by attaining heaven, they will come to live in a decidedly different place, where all of the distinctions that currently define earthly hierarchy to their disadvantage will disappear. By adopting a future-oriented point of view, millennial Christianity thus provides the Urapmin, Robbins argues, with a way of confronting their current situation and of dealing with present-day political, racial, and economic realities that otherwise leave them, in stark actuality, both marginal and powerless.

The next essay by Peter Metcalf moves us from New Guinea to central Borneo and back in time to the 1970s. Here, Metcalf describes his field site, the longhouse at Long Teru, Sarawak, as a small riverbank “island,” surrounded, not by vast stretches of sea, but by a virtually horizonless rainforest. As with the Urapmin, here, too, local cosmologies hierarchize space. For the people of Long Teru, their own small “island” is regarded

as a “metropolis” bearing the characteristics of everything they consider to be civilized. From here, directions take their bearings from the river that runs along one side of this “island.” The main coordinates are thus upriver//downriver, away from//towards the river. While most outsiders reach Long Teru from the coast by coming upriver, the dead, by contrast, after a liminal period spent in the rainforest, leave this world by traveling downriver, journeying almost to the sea, and then turning upriver again, thereby entering the invisible abode of the ancestors. Contrary to the evidence of linguistics and prehistory, the Long Teru people and their upriver neighbors trace their origins, not downriver, and eventually to the sea, but upriver, to an inland plateau above the river watersheds along which they live. From here, their ancestors are said to have descended, moving down and outward along these present-day watersheds. The river, on whose banks the longhouse stands, opens an otherwise rare vista to the sky. Here, within this “window to the heavens,” augurs in the past called for the major omen bird, *plake*, who, by his appearance and flight, carried messages from the upperworld Creator Spirit, Bili Ngaputong. Today, all of this is gone. The “island” is no more; the rainforest is largely felled by commercial logging operations and the people who once lived at Long Teru are dispersed, many of them now living in timber camps or in coastal cities and towns.

The next essay by Clifford Sather is also set in Borneo, but among a far more numerous, outwardly mobile and expansive people, the Saribas Iban. The immediate Iban spatial world is also defined by reference to rivers. These, however, together with their connecting watersheds, coastal mouths and tributaries act more as gateways or avenues, facilitating travel and migration, allowing people, particularly men, to move in search of farmland, employment opportunities, profit, and adventure. Today, even more than in the past, travel is a prominent feature of everyday Iban life. It is also a major metaphor in traditional Iban religion. Thus, virtually every important ritual is enacted and verbally structured as a journey. The gods and spirit-heroes are also seen as travelers and became differentiated from the ancestors as a result of past migrations, the gods having moved to the sky, and the spirit-heroes to a raised world intermediate between the sky and what is now the human world. Although now spatially and visually separated, for the Iban, continued life and success in this-worldly affairs depend upon maintaining contacts with these now distanced supernaturals. The task of keeping alive these contacts falls chiefly to the shamans and priest-bards, who, acting as ritual intercessors, call down the gods from the upperworld, enlist their involvement in human affairs through the intermediating agency of the spirit-heroes, and, more generally, insure that their human clients are not forgotten, but remain fixed within the benevolent gaze of these otherworldly supernaturals.

Here the principal horizon that Sather addresses is cosmological, as well as spatial and perceptual, dividing, as it does, the human world from the upperworlds of the gods and spirit-heroes and, at the same time, separating what, in human terms, is visually perceptible from what is not. Sather additionally reminds us that horizons are defined by the perspectives of situated observers and that different vantage points may entail different modes

of awareness and knowing and of acting upon whatever falls within their different purviews. In interceding with the gods and spirits, Iban shamans employ a mode of knowing that involves the personification of nonhuman others. Personification implies attributing to others a point of view, and to intercede successfully requires that the shamans apprehend and are able to project and work within these differently conceived vantage points. Taking as his point of departure a major ritual of intercession, the Gawai Betawai, Sather shows how its performance is structured as a horizon-crossing journey through the use of shifting perspectives and the employment of verbal imagery that at times mystifies the ordinary, while at other times, renders mundane what lies beyond the direct apprehension of its human audience.

In the final essay in this section, Roy Wagner explores what it means to fashion a way of life in the absence of apparent horizons. In contrast to the visual remoteness of the Cook Island horizon, for the Daribi people of Mount Karimui, Papua New Guinea, the horizon has seemingly contracted virtually to the point of disappearing altogether. One is tempted to liken the result to an ethnographic analogue of a black hole in space from which nothing that passes within its gravitational field reemerges. Thus, Wagner tells us that here roads, rather than bearing those who use them to some destination, “go into the ground and are never seen or heard from again,” “talk turns back on itself as it is spoken,” exchange never comes out equal, and perspectives are replaced by introspection.

Travel and models of relationship

The second set of papers deals variously with travel and its social and culturally constitutive effects.

The first essay by Harri Siikala explores a general comparative issue. Taking Polynesian history and society as his subject, Siikala examines two key symbols or “ordering tropes” by which, he argues, Polynesians organize and conceptualize their societies: namely, the house and the canoe. Both, as containers of persons, are constructed as total social bodies or totalizing representations of society to which, in each case, distinctive histories are attached. While both objects thus articulate social groups with their origin, they do so, he argues, in complementary ways. In Polynesian oral traditions, society is often depicted either as fixed by reference to a point of origin or as a mobile whole that becomes internally differentiated as a result of political segmentation and geographic dispersal. Where a fixed point of origin is emphasized, social hierarchy is established by the rootedness of groups to the land. Here the house becomes a central symbol, expressing continuity and wholeness and the legitimization of social groups as land-connected territorial units. By contrast, where mobility determines origins and results in segmentation, authority is characteristically established through the mythic migrations of founding ancestors. Correspondingly, the canoe receives special emphasis. Drawing on the work of Bellwood, Fox, and others, Siikala terms societies in which the spatial fixity of the house is emphasized as “Origin

Societies” and those in which the mobility of the canoe is stressed as “Settler Societies.” As he argues, these symbolic forms are not mutually exclusive, but, rather, they coexist in complementary relation to one another, and his principal purpose in distinguishing them is to show how, he tells us, in moving across Polynesia in a roughly historical trajectory, from west to east, they interact and transform each other in ways that reflect different structural forms, histories, patterns of hierarchy and chiefly power.

In the next essay, Frederick Damon also looks at some of the ideas that boats embody. The boats that directly concern him are those that sail between the islands comprising the classic Kula Ring. Here, Damon tells us, boats act as moving metaphors. As sailing craft, they synthesize extraordinarily complex relationships both in their construction and in the circumstances of their operation. Within the Kula region they act, for example, as complex “communication technologies.” Thus, between the different island societies making up the Kula Ring, boats serve as the principal means for conveying words, products, and people. They are also a moving model of relationships, including those of inter-island exchange, differentiation, and dependency. Finally, and, Damon suggests, most saliently of all, boats “enchant.” Like myths, they are the object of aesthetic as well as of technical interest, whose form serves as a model for the appropriateness of other forms and relationships. Boats, in this case by their form and operation, and also by the remarkable body of technical knowledge and experience that goes into their construction, communicate, Damon argues, “the fundamental conditions of existence in the region.” Underlying these conditions is an *el niño*-dominated environment that subjects various life processes to a level of unpredictability best characterized, he argues, as “chaotic.” Consequently, fit into the design of these boats are both elements of chaos itself and solutions to the unpredictable circumstances that these elements impose. By concentrating on the selection by skilled boat-builders of different tree species of the genus *Calophyllum* for use in fashioning the vital parts of these boats, and drawing on cybernetics and chaos theory, Damon shows how principles of chaos are reflected in the structure of these parts and in their successful functioning. In this connection, boats, he tells us, operate like mathematical equations. Highly dependent upon initial conditions, they display transformative relations between their various parts. Thus, for example, the keel, as the most operationally sensitive part of a sailing craft, establishes the initial conditions to which the other parts, such as masts and outriggers, must proportionally conform. There are two dominant types of boats that operate within the Kula Ring and each provides for those who build and sail them both a model of reality and a way of coping with its inherent unpredictability.

The next paper by Antony Hooper takes up several topics particularly dear to Jukka, among them, fishing, the sea, manhood, and the wisdom of the elders. Hooper’s paper describes an epic 16 days of community skipjack fishing that occurred more than thirty years ago on the Tokelau atoll of Fakaofu. Events of those days, which, he tells us, have never been repeated since, dramatically brought to the fore a number of vital, but otherwise largely unarticulated features of Tokelau society, namely, the continuing authority of

the elders over community life, the value accorded to technical knowledge, male proficiency and skill, and the importance of cooperation, generosity, and of working together with others under the direction of the elders in a spirit of humility. Although most of the principal actors who took part in these events are no longer alive, the knowledge and underlying values that were revealed during those eventful days continue to live on among the people of Fakaofu, both at home and abroad, in the more dispersed modern world, either as ideals or increasingly today as consciously compiled “heritage.”

James J. Fox, in the last paper in this section, turns to a topic central to much of Jukka Siikala’s writings – cosmogonic myths and their social significance. The myths he deals with in this case concern the coming into being of natural periodicities: notably, the rhythms of night and day, the apparent movements across the sky of the sun and moon, and the ebbing and flowing of the tides. For the Rotinese of eastern Indonesia, all important cultural goods and processes derive, according to origin narratives, from exchanges between the Sun and Moon and the Sea and Ocean. Thus, the Sea and Ocean exchanged knowledge, women, and wealth with the Sun and Moon, and, in the past, the ancestors of the Rotinese benefited from these exchanges through mythic encounters with various sea creatures. As Fox argues, these ritual narratives reveal a distinctive cultural conceptualization of these natural periodicities, linking them at once to both ordinary Rotinese routines, such as tree planting, farming and fishing, and to an idealized conception of perfection represented by a heavenly order that, in the human world, can be only imperfectly realized.

Narrative horizons on culture, history and myth

The third set of papers deals with the cultural horizons invoked by text and performance. For some time, these words were used to stand for two contrasting methodological orientations as anthropologists and folklorists stressed the production of meaning in the actual contexts of interaction and discarded the idea of culture as a more lasting, objective phenomenon. More recent theoretical debates show a resurgent interest in people’s awareness of their own culture and the various objects and modalities of such awareness. In her contribution to this volume Judith Huntsman discusses a written, autobiographic text which, she argues, should not be seen as part of the repertoire of the oral tradition of the writer’s community, but nevertheless makes a commentary on its structure and values. The author of this text, a spokesman for the Catholic minority of Tokelau, reflects on a long history of interaction between outside powers and the inhabitants of Tokelau, consistently affirming the convivial competition and mutual respect between different elements of Tokelau society as an arena for the display of genuine authority and valued aspects of personal character. The most interesting aspect of this text, and the focus of Huntsman’s analysis of it, is not the chronology of events presented in it but the interactional style in which the local protagonist causes foreigners to “reveal” their real intentions.

Petra Autio's contribution deals with the communicative significance of dance competitions on the Micronesian islands of Kiribati. The dance performances are an aggregate of verbal, musical and bodily expressions, each of which involves codified messages, but the principal importance of dancing as a whole lies in its effect on different kinds of audiences and its enactment of their hierarchical relations. Autio argues that in spite of the ostensibly high position of the "guests of honor," these people are not the ones whose appraisal is sought by the contestants; instead, the songs accompanying each dance aim at giving voice to the whole community of people whom the dancers performatively represent. The formal style of performance thus becomes a metacommunicative comment on the multiple relations which affect the performance behind the stage: the secret instructions of teachers to students, the relations between competing groups, and the relationship of the dancers to the guests of honor whom the dance aims at impressing with its beauty. Even as the formal expression of singers and dancers appears to de-individualize the event of a performance, lending an aura of self-evidence and incontestability to these relations, Autio argues that they add persuasive force to the creative agency of teachers, authors and performers.

In his article Timo Kaartinen describes a dispute in which the self-evident nature of inter-group relations and political leadership comes under question. Instead of being resolved through customary means – an assembly of village elders which involves formal exchanges and oratorical complaints – this dispute evokes mythological reflections about the ancestral relations which constitute a diversity of people as a society. In parallel with the cases discussed by Huntsman and Autio, the main communicative purpose of narrating ancestral history in this case is to comment on the structural basis of authority and the productive potential of different kinds of action. By revealing the ancestral background of different parties to the dispute, narrators offer two related perspectives for evaluating the present situation in terms of broader, cultural categories. Even as each narrative lends plausibility to certain personal ambitions and collective interests, it indicates what actions are clearly destructive to society and therefore devoid of value. In each myth, a primordial dispute or war marks simultaneously the ontological source of authority and the limit of exercising it. Instead of simply providing a charter for present social identities and status relations, the myths thus reveal their internal contradictions which people are forced to deal with in symbolic terms.

The common theme of these three papers is the power of writings, cultural performances and storytelling to reveal the hidden value of different aspects of social being. We can perhaps speak about cultural texts – broadly defined – as horizons of value, signs which mark the discontinuity between taken-for-granted aspects of life and the domains of generative and creative processes. Drawing from Paul Ricoeur's view of writing, Jukka and Anna-Leena Siikala characterize textuality as a meaningful potential in which people recognize their culture. "What is fixed by writing is thus a discourse that could be said, of course, but that is written precisely because it is not said" (Siikala & Siikala 2005: 59).

Society is never just a localized aggregate of people but exists by virtue of its members' narrative and conceptual awareness of other times and places. In Jukka Siikala's work this idea evolves into a broad ethnographic and theoretical interest in worlds beyond the horizon, in the double sense of "past" and "abroad." This book is a tribute to Jukka's contributions to anthropology by his colleagues and students and marks his 60th birthday in January 2007. By exploring the near, distant, inward and outward horizons towards which societies project their reality, the authors aim at developing a new, productive language for addressing culture as a way of experiencing and engaging the world.

The volume as a whole demonstrates anthropological practice as not merely a search for difference but as one which investigates the interiority of cultures ... All the articles deal with central anthropological issues and carry them further into matters of highly relevant contemporary discussion. (Bruce Kapferer)



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