Principles of Visual Anthropology

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Second edition

edited by

Paul Hockings

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Preface

This book was originally developed by and for the anthropologists of the world, as was described in the original Preface. Its popularity — far exceeding that of any of the other ninety books in the World Anthropology series — proved that anthropology had indeed suffered too long a serious vacuum. The appearance of a revised edition of this book may yet fill that vacuum; and the Editor has carefully added materially to its content. Foremost in the book is the late Margaret Mead's brilliant and much-quoted introductory essay. Then, enriching us all, are eight new papers to carry us forward into new arenas of Visual Anthropology as this millennium draws to a close.

Chicago, Illinois
July 19, 1994

SOL TAX*

* deceased

Foreword

The masterly introduction which Margaret Mead has written for this volume makes it unnecessary for me to emphasize either the promise that visual anthropology offers us today or the reserve with which it has been considered in the past. The present collection of papers will, I trust, serve to put visual anthropology into its proper perspective as a legitimate subdiscipline of anthropology and at the same time a contributor to the history of cinema.

A few words about the editorial procedure may not be out of place here. Nearly all of these papers were written in 1973 for discussion at the International Conference on Visual Anthropology, which was held in Chicago at the University of Illinois as part of the IXth I.C.A.E.S. A few were written or drastically revised afterwards as a result of that Conference. And the brilliant paper by Colin Young was produced six months later.

Visual anthropology is clearly the product of a dozen Western countries. Being familiar with many of the people active in this new field, I solicited nearly every paper with a view to how it would fit into the entire volume. To this end I sometimes suggested alterations and the excision of points duplicated in several of the papers. Where time has not permitted a long editorial dialogue, alternative viewpoints have simply been added as "comment" at the end of some papers. Only three papers were submitted in foreign languages: that by Peterson was translated by Russian experts, and those by Rouch and Lajoux were translated by me.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that nearly all of the key persons in visual anthropology have contributed to this volume. I should add that we are all indebted to the National Endowment for the Humanities, which made the International Conference possible; to Margaret Mead and Sol

Tax for their continuous interest in the project; to Jean Block and her staff for their valuable editing services; to Bill Hintz, the film Librarian at this University, for his help with problems in the Filmography; and to Karen Tkach of Mouton Publishers for easing my way to the press.

University of Illinois, Chicago PAUL HOCKINGS
May 1974

Table of Contents

Introduction

Visual Anthropology in a Discipline of Words

MARGARET MEAD

Anthropology, as a conglomerate of disciplines — variously named and constituted in different countries as cultural anthropology, social anthropology, ethnology, ethnography, archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology, folklore, social history, and human geography — has both implicitly and explicitly accepted the responsibility of making and preserving records of the vanishing customs and human beings of this earth, whether these peoples be inbred, preliterate populations isolated in some tropical jungle, or in the depths of a Swiss canton, or in the mountains of an Asian kingdom. The recognition that forms of human behavior still extant will inevitably disappear has been part of our whole scientific and humanistic heritage. There have never been enough workers to collect the remnants of these worlds, and just as each year several species of living creatures cease to exist, impoverishing our biological repertoire, so each year some language spoken only by one or two survivors disappears forever with their deaths. This knowledge has provided a dynamic that has sustained the fieldworker taking notes with cold, cramped fingers in an arctic climate or making his own wet plates under the difficult conditions of a torrid climate.

In the light of this record of devoted, tedious, often unrewarded work under trying and difficult conditions, it might be expected that each branch of practitioners of anthropology would eagerly avail itself of new methods which could simplify or improve its fieldwork. Thus, methods of dating became progressively available to archaeologists; phonograph, wire, and tape recording to musicologists and linguists; and still and moving pictures and video to ethnologists. The fantastic advances that have been made in each field when the new instrumentation became available (as

carbon 14 replaced tree rings, tape recorders replaced wax cylinders, sync-sound and filming replaced the wet plate camera) would seem to be so self-validating that a world congress in 1973 would only have to concern itself with a discussion of the latest theoretical advances, based upon the newest instrumentation, coupled with exhibits and demonstrations of the most trustworthy instruments — an approach exemplified by Joseph Schaeffer's article on videotape in this volume. Instead, we are faced with the wretched picture of lost opportunities described in Emilie de Brigard's article and the picture of what can still be done in the face of many lost possibilities in Alan Lomax's worldwide survey and synthesis.

All over the world, on every continent and island, in the hidden recesses of modern industrial cities as well as in the hidden valleys that can be reached only by helicopter, precious, totally irreplaceable, and forever irreproducible behaviors are disappearing, while departments of anthropology continue to send fieldworkers out with no equipment beyond a pencil and a notebook, and perhaps a few tests or questionnaires — also called "instruments" — as a sop to scientism (Plate 5). Here and there, gifted and original filmmakers have made films of these behaviors, and here and there anthropologists who could make films or arrange for them to be made have appeared, labored, been complimented and cursed in the perverted competitiveness of the unstable and capricious market place... but that is all. What we have to show for almost a century's availability of instruments are a few magnificent, impassioned efforts — the Marshall films on the Bushmen, Bateson's Balinese and Iatmul films, the Heider-Gardner expeditions to the Dani, Jean Rouch's tireless efforts in West Africa, some films of Australian aborigines, Asen Balikci's Netsilik Eskimo series, the Asch-Chagnon series of the Yąnomamö, and, on the archival and analytical side, the gargantuan efforts of the Columbia Cantometrics Project, the Child Development Film Project of the National Institutes of Health, the Research Unit at the Eastern Pennsylvania Psychiatric Institute,the Encyclopaedia Cinematographica, and the Royal Anthropological Institute in London.

I venture to say that more words have been used, spoken and written, disputing the value of, refusing funds for, and rejecting these projects than ever went into the efforts themselves. Department after department and research project after research project fail to include filming and insist on continuing the hopelessly inadequate note-taking of an earlier age, while the behavior that film could have caught and preserved for centuries (preserved for the joy of the descendants of those who dance a ritual for the last time and for the illumination of future generations of human scientists)

disappears — disappears right in front of everybody's eyes. Why? What has gone wrong?

A partial explanation of this clinging to verbal descriptions when so many better ways of recording many aspects of culture have become available lies in the very nature of culture change. Much of the fieldwork that laid the basis of anthropology as a science was conducted under conditions of very rapid change, where the fieldworker had to rely on the memory of the informants rather than upon observation of contemporary events. The informant had only words in which to describe the war dance that was no longer danced, the buffalo hunt after the buffalo had disappeared, the discontinued cannibal feast, or the abandoned methods of scarification and mutilation. Thus ethnographic enquiries came to depend upon words, and words and words, during the period that anthropology was maturing as a science. Lévi-Strauss has devoted all of his mature years to an analysis of that part of myth and folklore caught with a written translation of a written text. Lowie, working on Indian reservations, demanded how you could know that an individual was someone's mother's brother unless someone "told" you so. Relying on words (the words of informants whose gestures we had no means of preserving, words of ethnographers who had no war dances to photograph), anthropology became a science of words, and those who relied on words have been very unwilling to let their pupils use the new tools, while the neophytes have only too often slavishly followed the outmoded methods that their predecessors used.

Another explanation has been that it takes more specialized skill — and gift — to photograph and make films than it does to set a tape recorder going or to take written notes. But one does not demand that a linguist, carefully tape recording in the field, be able to construct a symphony out of his materials when he returns. Samples of filmed behavior can be made, just as adequately as can taped texts, by any properly trained ethnologist who can load a camera, set it on a tripod, read an exposure meter, measure distance, and set the stops. Surely any ethnologist with the intelligence to pass examinations based on a critical knowledge of the current sacred texts and worthy of being supported in the field can learn to make such records, records which can then be analyzed by our steadily developing methods of microanalysis of dance, song, language, and transactional relations between persons. We do not demand that a field ethnologist write with the skill of a novelist or a poet, although we do indeed accord disproportionate attention to those who do. It is equally inappropriate to demand that filmed behavior have the earmarks of a work of art. We can be grateful when it does, and we can cherish those rare combinations of artistic ability and scientific fidelity that have given us great ethnographic

films. But I believe that we have absolutely no right to waste our breath and our resources demanding them. That we do is the unfortunate outcome of both the European tradition of the overriding importance of originality in the arts and the way in which the camera has replaced the artist's brush and so developed film as an art form.

Thus the exorbitant demand that ethnographic films be great artistic productions, combined with the complementary damnation of those who make artistic productions and fail in fidelity to some statistically established frequencies of dramatic events, continues to clutter up the film scene, while whole cultures go unrecorded.

A second explanation of our criminal neglect of the use of film is cost. It is claimed that the costs of film equipment, processing, and analysis, in both time and money, are prohibitive. But as every science has developed instrumentation, it has required more expensive equipment. Astronomers did not give up astronomy because better telescopes were developed, nor did physicists desert physics when they needed a cyclotron, nor did geneticists abandon genetics over the cost of an electron microscope. Instead, each of these disciplines has stood behind its increased and expanded efficiency, while anthropologists not only have failed to support their instrumental potentialities but have continued to use questionnaires to ask mothers how they discipline their babies, words to describe how a pot is made, and a tangle of ratings to describe vocal productions. To add insult to injury, in many cases they have disallowed, hindered, and even sabotaged the efforts of their fellow research workers to use the new methods.

I think that we must squarely face the fact that we, as a discipline, have only ourselves to blame for our gross and dreadful negligence. Much of this negligence has resulted in losses that can never be regained. But there is still time, by concerted, serious, international effort, to get at least adequate samples of significant behaviors from every part of the world and to underwrite more full-scale records of whole cultures to add to the paltry few that we have.

There is, then, a second issue, and one variously addressed in the pages of this volume — how best to train ethnologists to understand filmmaking and film analysis, how best to train those who start as filmmakers and wish to learn ethnographic filming, and how to organize teams for massive fieldwork. A half century of inspired and unrewarded stabs at this problem has provided us with a fair amount of usable experience. It is possible to direct a cameraman who has no real knowledge of the significance of what he is filming, especially when much scene-setting has to be done, as in the kind of participatory reconstruction used by Asen Balikci in his

Eskimo series. It is possible for the filmmaker to use the work of an ethnographer who precedes him in the field, as Gardner did with Heider's work and as Craig Gilbert and his team did with my work on Manus. But I believe the best work is done when filmmaker and ethnographer are combined in the same person, although in many cases one interest and skill may outweigh the other. We have long insisted that the cultural ethnologist learn to take into account aspects of a culture in which he lacks personal interest and specialized technical training for recording. If he learns a language, he is expected to bring back texts; if the people make pots, he is expected to record the technique; whatever his problem, he is expected to bring back the kinship nomenclature. The requirement that certain minimum tape recording, filming, still photographic records, and video (where technically practicable) be brought back from every field trip can be added quite simply to the single field expedition. Such a requirement will not produce magnificent, full-scale, artistically satisfying, humanistically as well as scientifically valuable films — these, perhaps, will always be few in number. But recent work in New Guinea, such as the fieldwork of William Mitchell and Donald Tuzin, has demonstrated that it is possible to combine good traditional analytical ethnography with photography, filming, and taping. Assembling, mastering, transporting, maintaining, and using the equipment do add extra burdens. But in the past, the fieldworker had to contend with a great deal of illness that is now preventable with vitamins and minerals, and with immense gaps in communication between home base and field station that have now shrunk from months to days. The diaries of earlier fieldworkers like Malinowski (in the Trobriands), Deacon (who died of blackwater fever in the New Hebrides), and Olsen (ill days on end in the Andean highlands) are quite sufficient to document the savings that modern technology has given us. The time and energy made available by modern medical and mechanical technologies can now be diverted to using that same technology to improve our anthropological records.

A third problem is that of the relationship between the ethnologist, filmmaker, or team and those whose behavior (so precious and so trembling on the edge of disappearing forever) is being filmed. Although no film has ever been made without some cooperation from the people whose dance or ceremony was being filmed, it has been possible, in the past, for the filmmaker to impose on the film his view of the culture and people that are to be the subject of this film. This cannot, I believe, ever be entirely prevented. Still, the isolated group or emerging new nation that forbids filmmaking for fear of disapproved emphases will lose far more than it gains. In an attempt to protect a currently cherished national image, they

will rob of their rightful heritage their descendants, who (after the recurrent spasms of modernization, technological change, and attempts at new forms of economic organization) may wish to claim once more the rhythms and handicrafts of their own people. Not only the whole world of science and the arts, but their own future generations will be impoverished. However, there are contemporary steps that can be taken by the ethnographer, by those who are filmed, and by governments newly alerted to the problems of culture change in a world arena. Agreements can be made so that neither book reproductions of stills nor prints of films of ceremonies that are either sacred and esoteric, or illegal and therefore rejected under the new governmental system, may be shown within that country. Filming for television may be forbidden; in such cases, films may be restricted for scientific use only. This is one set of safeguards.

There is a second set of safeguards which does not (although it is often sentimentally claimed to do so) replace these formal safeguards on dissemination or use. This is the articulate, imaginative inclusion in the whole process of the people who are being filmed — inclusion in the planning and programming, in the filming itself, and in the editing of the film. We have just the beginning of such activities, not yet fully integrated, in Adair and Worth's films made by Navaho Indians; in the types of participation accorded Peter Adair in *Holy Ghost People*; in the training of local assistants and critics (such as those we trained in Bali, who could view the films in the field, for example, and discuss whether or not they believed that a trance dancer was "in trance"); and in the filming being done by some of Jean Rouch's former assistants in Niger. An ideal toward which we might set our sights would be a combination of films made by ethnographic filmmakers from different modern cultures — e.g. Japanese, French, American — combined with sequences photographed and edited by those who dance or enact the ceremonies or sequences of everyday life that are being filmed. The hazards of bias, both in those who film from their own particular cultural framework and in those who see their own filmed culture through distorting lenses, could be compensated for not by shallow claims of culture-free procedures, but — as in all the comparative work which is the essence of anthropology as a science — by the corrective of different culturally based viewpoints.

We must, I believe, clearly and unequivocally recognize that because these are disappearing types of behavior, we need to preserve them in forms that not only will permit the descendants to repossess their cultural heritage (and, indeed, will permit present generations to incorporate it into their emerging styles), but that will also give our understanding of human history and human potentialities a reliable, reproducible, reana-

lyzable corpus. We need also to consider that we would have no comparative science of culture without the materials generated by comparative work in all parts of the world (studies of the isolated peasant skills and movement styles in literate cultures as well as of the preliterate peoples who have maintained very ancient forms of behavior); the human sciences would still be floundering, as is much of our culture-bound, specialized social science, within an inadequate framing of experience which assumes that history and civilization as inaugurated by the Greeks form the pattern of culture.

As we approach a planetary communications system, there will inevitably be a diffusion of shared basic assumptions, many of which will be part of the cultural repertoire of members of all societies. We may hope, and it is part of anthropology's task to see to it, that before such planetary systems of thought are developed, the Euro-American tradition will have been broadened and deepened by the incorporation of the basic assumptions of the other great traditions and by the allowance for and recognition of what we have learned from the little traditions.

Nevertheless, the time will come when the illumination of genuine culture shock will be harder to attain, when the cultural diversity will be far more finely calibrated, and when greater and subtler educative experience will be required to perceive it and make constructive use of it. How then, in the future, will we be able to provide materials as contrastive as those from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas today and as comprehensive and comprehensible as the entire culture of an isolated Eskimo or Bushman group? It is by exposure to such differences that we have trained our students to gather the materials on which we have then developed our body of theory. The emerging technologies of film, tape, video, and, we hope, the 360° camera, will make it possible to preserve materials (of a few selected cultures, at least) for training students long after the last isolated valley in the world is receiving images by satellite.

Finally, the oft-repeated argument that all recording and filming is selective, that none of it is objective, has to be dealt with summarily. If tape recorder, camera, or video is set up and left in the same place, large batches of material can be collected without the intervention of the filmmaker or ethnographer and without the continuous self-consciousness of those who are being observed. The camera or tape recorder that stays in one spot, that is not tuned, wound, refocused, or visibly loaded, does become part of the background scene, and what it records did happen. It is a curious anomaly that those against whom the accusation of being subjective and impressionistic was raised — those, in fact, who were willing to trust their own senses and their own capacity to integrate experience

— have been the most active in the use of instrumentation that can provide masses of objective materials that can be reanalyzed in the light of changing theory. Those who have been loudest in their demand for "scientific" work have been least willing to use instruments that would do for anthropology what instrumentation has done for other sciences — refine and expand the areas of accurate observation. At the present time, films that are acclaimed as great artistic endeavors get their effects by rapid shifts of the cameras and kaleidoscopic types of cutting. When filming is done only to produce a currently fashionable film, we lack the long sequences from one point of view that alone provide us with the unedited stretches of instrumental observation on which scientific work must be based. However much we may rejoice that the camera gives the verbally inarticulate a medium of expression and can dramatize contemporaneously an exotic culture for its own members and for the world, as anthropologists we must insist on prosaic, controlled, systematic filming and videotaping, which will provide us with material that can be repeatedly reanalyzed with finer tools and developing theories. Many of the situations with which we deal, situations provided by thousands of years of human history, can never be replicated in laboratory settings. But with properly collected, annotated, and preserved visual and sound materials, we can replicate over and over again and can painstakingly analyze the same materials. As finer instruments have taught us more about the cosmos, so finer recording of these precious materials can illuminate our growing knowledge and appreciation of mankind.

Ethnographic Filming and the Cinema

The History of Ethnographic Film

EMILIE DE BRIGARD

Ethnographic films have been produced ever since the technological inventions of nineteenth-century industrial society made possible the visual recording of encounters with other societies. Since its beginning, ethnographic film has been burdened with the expectation that it will reveal something about primitive cultures – and ultimately, all of culture – which can be grasped in no other way. The fulfillment of this expectation is what concerns us here. It is usual to define ethnographic film as film that reveals cultural patterning. From this definition it follows that all films are ethnographic, by reason of their content or form or both. Some films, however, are clearly more revealing than others.

Since the simultaneous inventions in Europe and America of motion pictures, shortly before the turn of the century, almost every people in the

I am indebted for information about Haddon to Peter Gathercole and James Woodburn. Many others have generously helped me in countless ways. Among those not named in the text are: Charles Weaver and the staff of the American Museum of Natural History; Jacques Ledoux and the staff of the Cinémathèque Royale de Belgique; Ernest Lindgren and the staff of the British Film Institute; and Tahar Sheriaa, Executive Secretary of the Journées Internationales Cinématographiques de Carthage. This paper has benefited from discussions with Erik Barnouw, Jean Rouch, and Richard Sorenson, who called certain inaccuracies to my attention; and from the editorial scrutiny of Paul Hockings and Timothy Thoresen, the chairmen of the sessions on Visual Anthropology and the History of Anthropology. I alone am responsible for the views expressed, and for errors of fact and omission. I am especially grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, The Museum of Modern Art, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Choreometrics Project of Columbia University for support, and to the Directors of these bodies for their encouragement.

This paper is a précis of the forthcoming illustrated volume, *Anthropological cinema*, to be published by the Museum of Modern Art (New York).

world has been filmed in one way or another, and a few groups have been filmed repeatedly, intensively, and brilliantly.[1] Examination of the corpus of ethnographic film and its literature shows that filmmakers have been guided (and also limited) by the technical means available to them, by the theoretical formulations of anthropology and cinematic art and by the intended and actual uses of their films. The history of technical progress, theoretical advance, and increasing sophistication in the use of film runs counter to a long-standing reluctance on the part of social scientists to take film seriously. The overwhelmingly verbal bias of anthropology was naively, and ineffectually, challenged by the innovators of ethnographic film in the years before World War I. The period between the wars saw solid if isolated achievements in theory and application, and, outside the academic sphere, the creation of an audience for social documentary films; but ethnographic film became an institutionalized scientific field, with recognized specialists and a body of criticism, only during the 1950's. In 1973, on the twenty-first anniversary of the formation of the International Committee on Ethnographic and Sociological Film, its members recognized that their discipline was in process of reinterpretation and unprecedented growth.

It is no accident that respect for film in the scientific community in recent years has been equaled by interest in the concerns of anthropology among the viewing public. The postwar revolution in communications technology is responsible for this. Today's young citizens have grown up with the new freedom of 16-mm synchronous sound filming, the impact of television transmission, and the possibility of computerized videotape storage of records. This technological revolution has facilitated development of ethnographic film from the fragmentary and idiosyncratic to the systematic and thorough; it has also caused the disappearance of much of its traditional subject matter. But the irony of the situation is superficial. Although the inclination to capture "the conspicuous, the traditional and the bizarre" is still present, both in scientific and in commercial films, it has gradually been giving way to a more thoughtful tendency to try to record, as coherently as possible, items of unspectacular but significant behavior. We now turn our cameras on ourselves for a good hard look at our own societies, thus redressing an imbalance which the "native" subjects of ethnographic films have found highly offensive.

[1] A definitive filmography of ethnographic films, invaluable for determination of filming priorities, has not yet been published. The International Committee on Ethnographic and Sociological Film has to date completed catalogues of ethnographic films of Subsaharan Africa (1967), the Pacific (1970), Asia and the Middle East (in press), and is assembling material on films of Latin America.

Ethnographic film began as a phenomenon of colonialism, and has flourished in periods of political change: socialist revolution, democratic reform, independence for developing nations. Its problems bear comparison with those of the new cinemas in former colonies: like these it enjoys an essential seriousness (sometimes ideologically tinged) and suffers from technical and financial handicaps by comparison with the established film industry. Like these it struggles to overcome Hollywood conventions; and it does without mass acceptance. But a few ethnographic filmmakers have influenced important movements in the cinema, and thus shaped the way in which generations of viewers saw life on the screen (cf. Young's paper, *infra*). Moreover, there are indications that some films have aided cultural renewal. The most exciting possibility of ethnographic films is to enable many who would not otherwise do so — amongst them, those whose specialized knowledge directs men's affairs — TO SEE, newly and richly, the range of patterns in the behavior of man. Its essential function, however, was stated by its very first practitioner and remains unchanged today. Film "preserves forever all human behaviors for the needs of our studies" (Regnault 1931:306).

The first person to make an ethnographic film was Félix-Louis Regnault (Plate 2), a physician specializing in pathological anatomy who became interested in anthropology around 1888, the year in which Jules-Étienne Marey (Plate 1), the inventor of "chronophotography," demonstrated his new camera, using celluloid roll film, to the French Académie des Sciences. In the spring of 1895, Regnault, aided by Marey's associate, Charles Comte, filmed a Wolof woman making pots at the Exposition Ethnographique de l'Afrique Occidentale. The film showed the Wolof method of making pottery, using a shallow concave base which is turned with one hand while the clay is shaped with the other. Regnault claimed that he was the first to note this method, which, he said, illustrates the transition from pottery made without any wheel at all to that made on the primitive horizontal wheel used in ancient Egypt, India, and Greece. He wrote up his experiment, including several line drawings taken from the film, and published it in December, 1895; the same month that the Lumières gave the first public projection of "cinématographe" films, a successful commercial experiment which launched the motion picture industry (Lajard and Regnault 1895; Sadoul 1966: 11).

Regnault's subsequent films were devoted to the cross-cultural study of movement: climbing a tree, squatting, walking, by Wolof, Fulani, and Diola men and women (Regnault 1896a, 1896b, 1897). He championed the systematic use of motion pictures in anthropology, and proposed the formation of anthropological film archives (Regnault 1912, 1923a,

1923b). Toward the end of his life he seems to have felt that his urgings had not been effective. In fact the Anglo-Saxons and Germans soon overtook the French in ethnographic filming; nonetheless, Marey's countrymen continued to excel in filming physiology (Michaelis 1955: 87).

One of the events marking the transformation of nineteenth-century speculative anthropology into a discipline with standards of evidence comparable to those of natural science was the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to the Torres Straits, which Alfred Cort Haddon, a former zoologist, mounted in 1898. The expedition was conceived as a team effort of systematic salvage ethnography covering all aspects of Torres Straits life, including physical anthropology, psychology, material culture, social organization, and religion. A whole battery of recording methods was used, some of them new, such as W. H. R. Rivers' genealogical method, which has since become standard, and photography, together with wax-cylinder sound recording and motion pictures. Haddon's ethnographic films, for which a Lumière camera was used, are the earliest known to have been made in the field. What remains of them (several minutes' worth) shows three men's dances and an attempt at fire-making.

Haddon encouraged his colleagues to array themselves for fieldwork with photographic equipment (Plate 5). In 1901 he wrote about filming in a letter to Baldwin Spencer, who was about to undertake an expedition to Central Australia. Spencer and his associate, F. J. Gillen, spent the next thirty years studying the Australian Aborigines, and they produced monumental ethnographies copiously illustrated with photographs, but Spencer filmed on only two occasions, in 1901, and in Northern Australia in 1912. Despite flies, difficulties of transport, and the shyness of the Aranda, he collected over 7,000 feet of film, chiefly of ceremonies, and a number of wax cylinders. The scale of this effort (running time more than an hour) was large for its time, and the films are still legible enough to be used in research today. One long sequence of a Bugamani ceremony on Bathurst Island is even eerily beautiful. Notwithstanding the merit of what had been done, Spencer apparently made no further use of his films once they were housed in the National Museum at Victoria. Another colleague of Haddon's, Rudolf Pöch of Vienna, saw the Torres Straits films at Cambridge in 1902, and then took motion picture and stereoscopic cameras on his field trips to New Guinea and Southwest Africa in 1904 and 1907. Pöch's attempts at filming met with mechanical snags – underexposure and loosening of the lens through rough handling. Nearly half of the footage exposed in New Guinea failed to come out. Pöch ruefully advised developing film in the field whenever possible, or

at least testing a strip from each roll, in order to catch and correct technical problems as they came up. He managed to film dance in Cape Nelson, girls carrying water and children playing in Hanuabada (Port Moresby), and a man being shaved with an obsidion razor (Pöch 1907: 395 ff.).

Pöch's films were restored and published by the University of Vienna in 1960, and Spencer's were shown in a retrospective of Australian ethnographic films which attracted world-wide attention in 1967. To be unused and unknown has been the fate of all too many ethnographic films stored in the vaults of museums or in the garages of anthropologists' families. Many were destroyed as fire hazards, and others will soon be beyond saving, unless the programs of restoration which have been carried out on an *ad hoc* basis since the 1950's are rationalized, centralized, and well funded.

Of the pioneers of ethnographic film, only Regnault is known to have made use of it over a period of years. Why were the efforts of others without a sequel? Filming has always been far more expensive than writing, and it was, relatively speaking, even more so in the early years of the century.[2] There was real danger in working with highly inflammable nitrate film; gruesome fatalities occurred as late as the 1950's, and taking the necessary precautions, for example building a fireproof projection booth, added expense and inconvenience. Filming in the field resembled a wrestling match with protean equipment: cumbersome cameras fixed on tripods, with or without panning heads, viewfinders, or extra lenses, and using film whose low exposure index demanded shooting in broad daylight. These technical difficulties were serious enough; when problems of theory were also taken into account, the prospects for ethnographic film seemed bleak indeed (Plates 6 and 7).

Regnault had a theoretical focus for his filming: "the study of physiology proper to each ethnic group" (Regnault 1931: 306). Haddon's motive was apparently the urgent one of salvage, and cannot be faulted as such; but ethnographic salvage, however valuable, is not a substitute for a program of scientific inquiry. Moreover, interest in the material expressions of culture, which occupied Haddon's generation, began to be supplanted, early in this century, by emphasis on psychologistic traits and the intangibles of social structure. For many years it was beyond the technical capabilities of cinematography to follow this shift.

Up to this point the exposition has been concerned with ethnographic research films, which were made by scientists and were not intended to be

[2] For examples of budgets, see Hilton-Simpson and Haeseler (1925: 330) and Collier (1967: 127-135).

seen by laymen. But if we were to limit ourselves to what has been filmed by scientists, our history would appear poorer than it is. Comparative study of human behavior on a global scale, by means of the World Ethnographic Film Sample, would be severely hampered if all commercial and sponsored films were excluded.

Edgar Morin (1956) has described the transformation of motion pictures, the plaything of inspired *bricoleurs*, into the cinema, the dream machine of the masses. From its earliest days, two tendencies in the cinema can be made out: the documentary or *actualité* film, originated by the Lumières, and the fiction film, invented by Méliès in 1897 to win back to the box office a public which had speedily become bored by motion pictures (Sadoul 1966: 32). Actuality is generally less expensive to film than fiction. At various times and places, producers and public have preferred one of these tendencies to the other, but the distinction is often blurred to take advantage of both. The hybrid *documentaire romancé* – the story film set in a genuine exotic background – made its appearance by 1914.

Among the earliest commercial films were some autobiographical documentaries of the Lumière family: *Le déjeuner de Bébé*, *La partie d'écarté*, *La pêche à la crevette*, etc. (1895).[3] In 1896–1897, their *opérateurs* fanned out across the globe, showing films to curious crowds on all continents and shooting items to be sent back to Lyon for the Lumière catalogue (Sadoul 1964). The American firm of Edison sent cameramen to film Samoan dancers at Barnum and Bailey's Circus, Walapai snake dancers in the pueblo (Plate 7), and Jewish dancers in the Holy Land. From 1905, Pathé Frères produced and distributed 35-mm *actualités* with an average length of 300 feet on a variety of subjects in Europe and abroad; other firms engaged in this activity were Warwick, Urban, Kineto, and Gaumont.[4]

Georges Méliès' firm, Star Film, which was known for its fantastic productions (as a trip to the moon was then considered), suffered chronic financial difficulty after an initial period of success. In 1912, Gaston Méliès, a brother, sought to cash in on the vogue for films of faraway places by producing melodramas in the South Seas. He assembled cameras, film, and a troupe of actors, and took ship for Tahiti and New Zealand. On his return to New York in 1913, Star Film released five two-reel *documentaires romancés*, none of which has survived. The best of

[3] For further information on the films cited, see the item on "Filmography" in this volume.

[4] The national archives of many countries contain film catalogues which repay close study.

them, from the point of view of ethnographic production values, was probably *Loved by a Maori Chieftainess*, in which an English explorer of the 1870's, about to be killed by a headhunter, escapes to an island with the help of a beautiful princess, marries her, and is accepted as her husband by the Maori. The action took place against a background of genuine village life, dancing, and war canoes (O'Reilly 1970: 289–290). Méliès planned to distribute a whole series of these tropical entertainments, but he discovered that most of his film had been ruined by a year of South Seas humidity. Star Film never recovered from the blow. Georges Méliès sold his company and eventually died a pauper (Sadoul 1966: 39).

Apart from entertainment, what is the value of nonscientific films of peoples and customs? Availability of information supplementing the film is of critical importance. *Actualités* and newsreels, often short and sometimes falsified, seldom give a systematic view of anything, although dance fares better than most categories. Human behavior in documentary and fiction films is subject to directorial distortion to such an extent that the film may be scientifically worthless. However, authenticity can be found on levels untouched by dramatic action (cf. Weakland's paper, *infra*).

A case in point is Edward Curtis' remarkable 1914 film, *In the Land of the Head-Hunters*. (The beginnings of visual ethnography of the American Indian, incidentally, are not in the films of Edison or Thomas Ince, but in still photography [Taft 1938: 249 ff.][5] The photographers of the Indians were not trained anthropologists, but the best of them did their work with enthusiasm, extraordinary dedication, and sensitivity.) Curtis, a prolific still photographer, spent three seasons with the Kwakiutl filming a drama of love and war in settings painstakingly reconstructed for precontact authenticity. Curtis had learned the same lessons as D.W. Griffith, and he handled suspense well. What gives his film its lasting appeal is the way in which Indian elements are used to tell the story visually. Its plot, which concerns a wicked sorcerer, a hero, and their respective factions battling for a girl, was to recur twenty-five years later, in H. P. Carver's Ojibwa melodrama, *The Silent Enemy*.

Toward the end of the pioneer period of ethnographic film came the first use of film in applied anthropology, the origin of the colonial cinema. By 1912, it had occurred to the Americans who administered the Philippines that films might serve a purpose in native education: where a language barrier prevented giving lessons successfully by word of mouth,

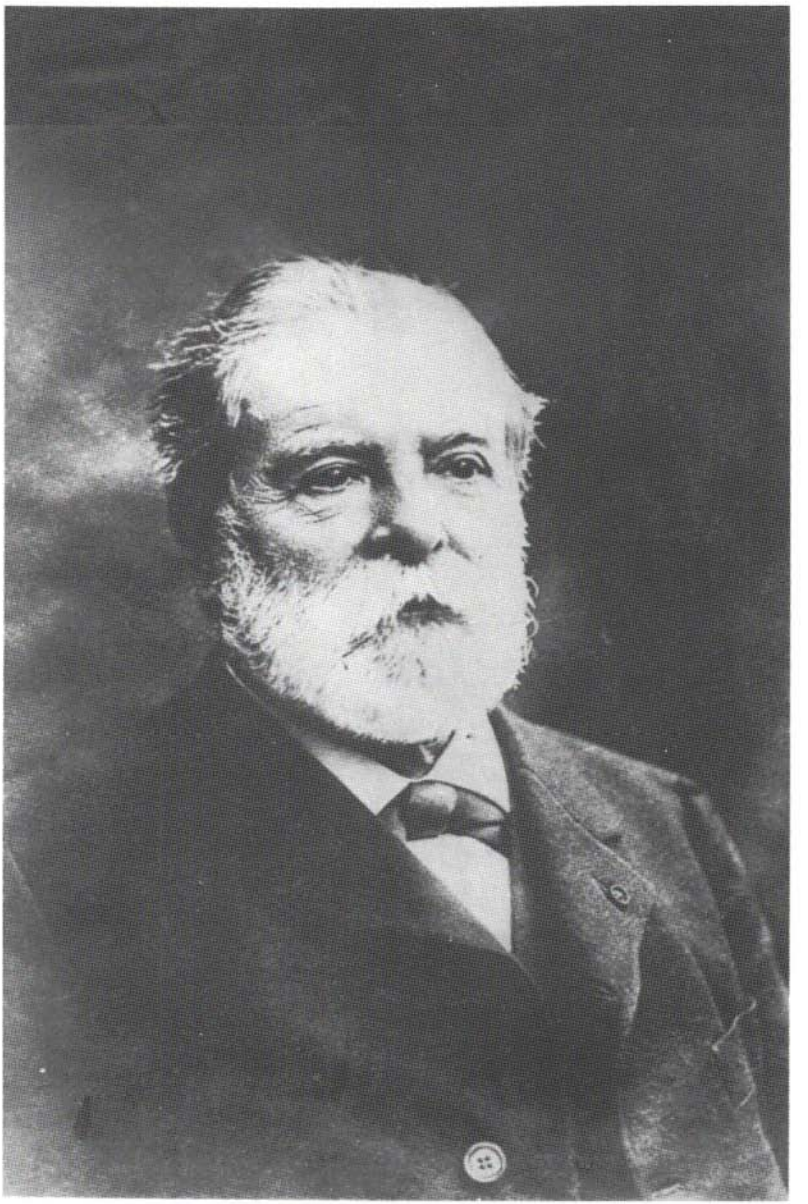
[5] For surveys of photography in anthropology, see Rowe (1953); Mead (1963); and Collier (1967).

films would convey the message. Worcester, the Secretary of the Interior for the Philippines, devised a program of sanitary education for the provinces. To hold the interest of the Bontoc Igorot, Ifugao, and Kalinga between health films, Worcester's subordinates projected scenes of native and foreign life. The program achieved the desired result; when shown moving pictures of better conditions, the people showed a disposition to change. Moreover, Worcester reported, "the old sharply drawn tribal lines are disappearing... At the same time that all of this has been accomplished, the goodwill of the people has been secured" (Donaldson 1912: 41–42).

The generation before World War I was a time of innovation; the period between the wars was a time of popularization. In 1931, Regnault surveyed the status of film in anthropology, formulated a typology of film according to its use for entertainment, education, or research, and asserted that the importance of film in scientific research had been forgotten (Regnault 1931: 306). In fact, this was not the case; film had an established place in the laboratory (Michaelis 1955). But until Mead and Bateson's work of 1936–1938, the films made by anthropologists in the field, though intrinsically valuable, were not original in conception. What was new was the spread of film in anthropological teaching, fostered by museums and universities. Alongside the development of the teaching film, educational motion pictures, in the broadest sense, found a new dimension in the documentary. The technical advance of miniaturization of the 16-mm teaching film made possible the unprecedented fluency of Mead and Bateson's visual research. The aesthetic development of the documentary profoundly influenced the shape of the ethnographic film when it came into its own after World War II (cf. Young's paper, *infra*).

The history of the teaching film can be traced from the origins of motion pictures, but its great spurts occurred during the World Wars and in the periods following them, when film equipment and personnel were diverted to civilian life (Anderson 1968). By the mid-1920's, the anthropological teaching film evolved its canonical forms: the single-concept film of ceremonial, crafts, and the like; and the filmed cultural inventory, more or less complete. Another form, the comparison film (of houses of the Arctic and the tropics, for example) was less common. In format the anthropological teaching film was from ten minutes to over an hour long, silent, with intertitles which sometimes took up more than half of the film. After the adoption of sound in 1927, voice-over narration gradually replaced titles.

Museums were well-suited to produce films on anthropological subjects, since they had the possibility both of sending cameramen on their expeditions and of attracting steady audiences to their programs. An ex-



Photothèque française

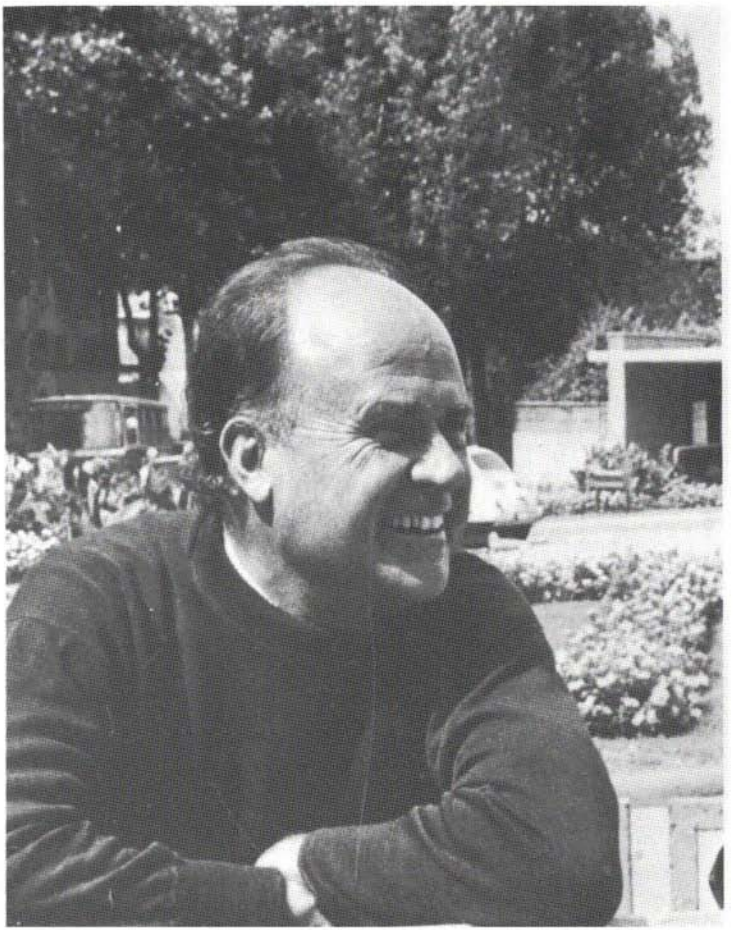
Plate 1. Etienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904).

Photothèque française

Plate 2. **Félix-Louis Regnault** (1863–1938).

Asia Society of New York

Plate 3. Robert Flaherty (1884-1951) on location in Samoa.



Comité international des films de l'homme

Plate 4. Jean Rouch.

Indische Reisebriefe (Berlin, 1883)

Plate 5. Ernst Haeckel in Ceylon (1882).

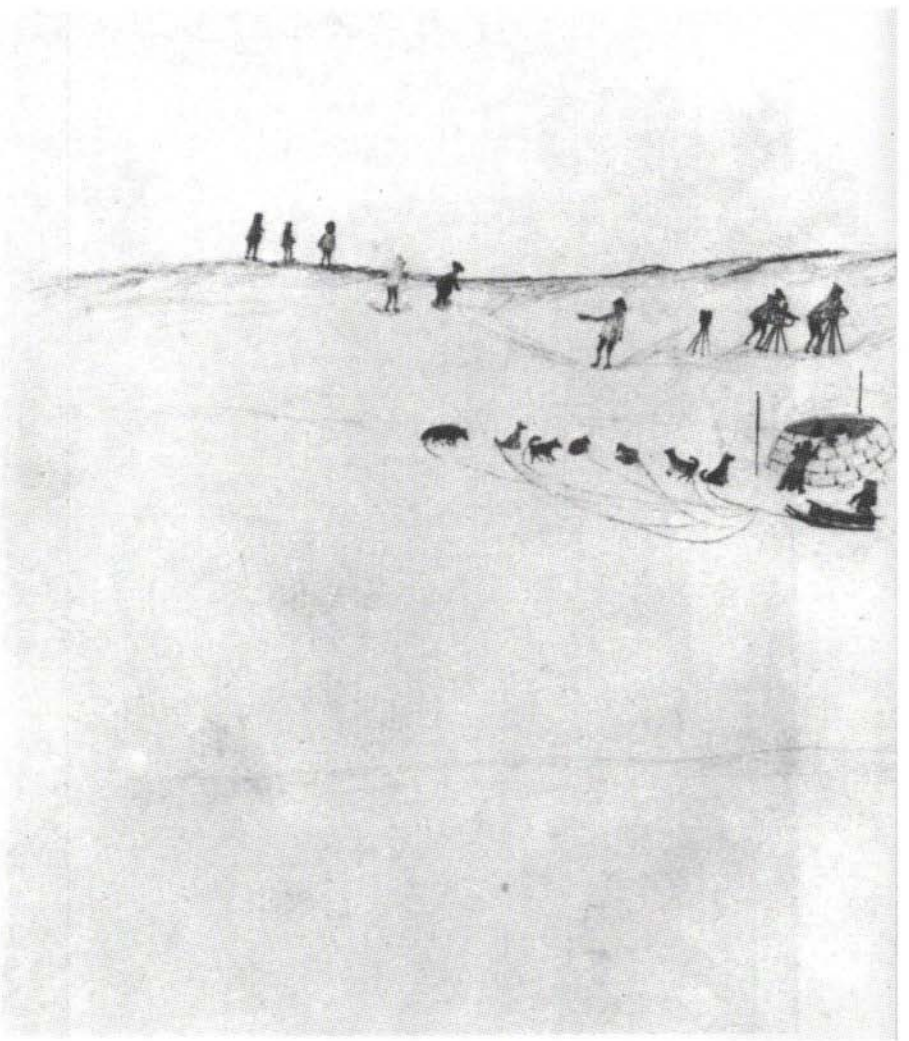
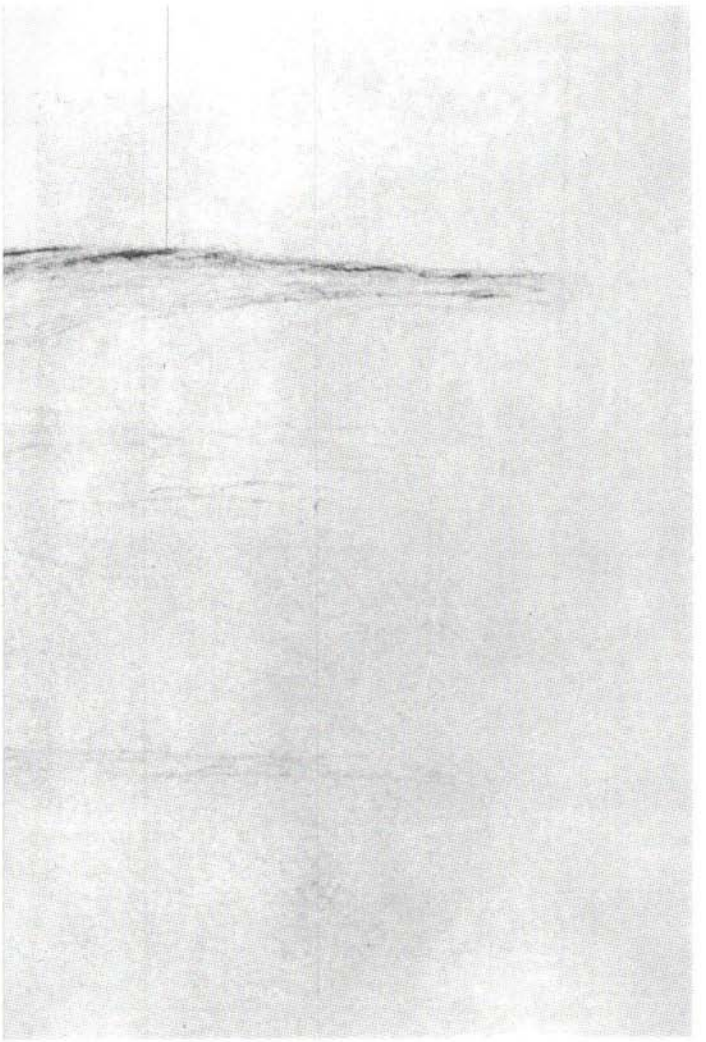


Plate 6. Eskimo sketch of Robert Flaherty in three different acts of film making – directing, setting up, and shooting – all shown simultaneously. This may come from the shooting of *Nanook of the North*, 1920–1922, or from an earlier film venture in the Hudson Bay area.



Royal Ontario Museum

Edmund Carpenter

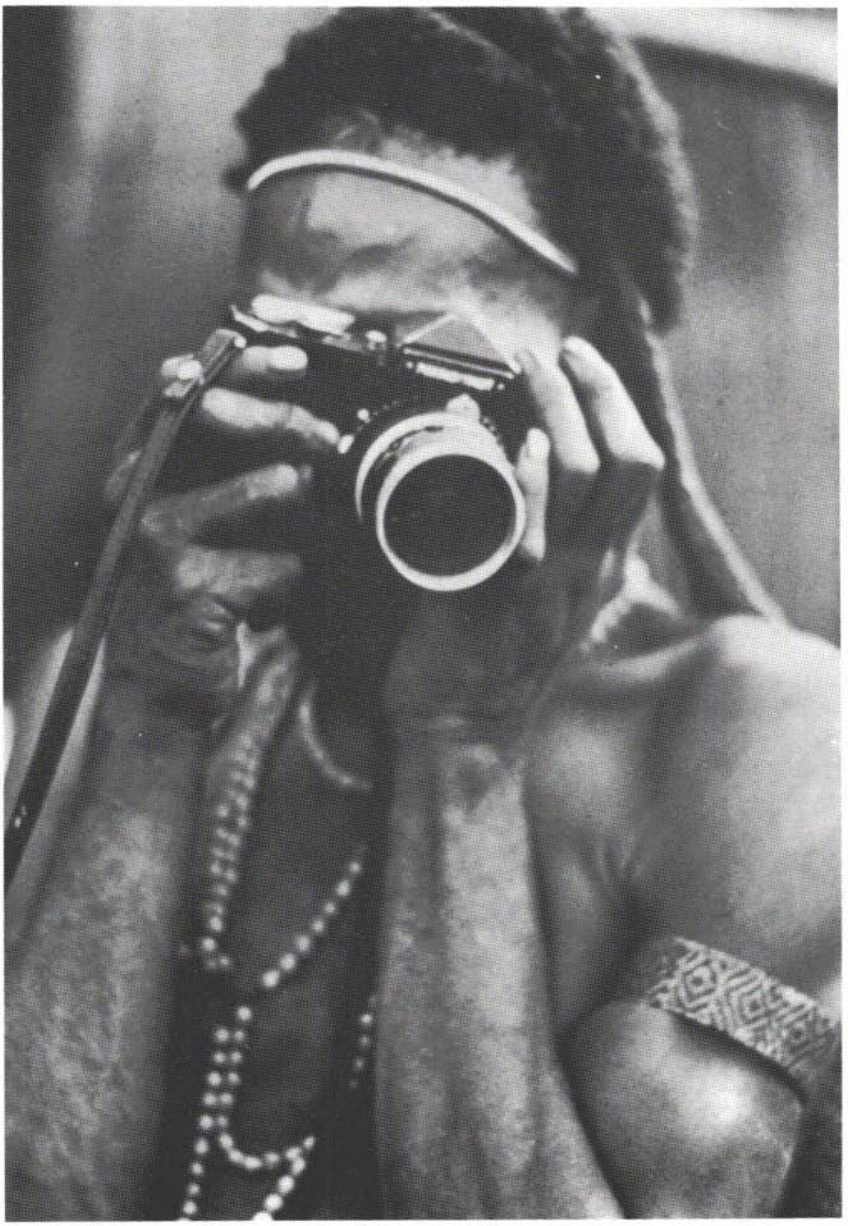
Plate 7. Hopi snake dance, Oraibi, 1898. Photographer Adam Clark Vroman. Note movie camera. Filmmaker probably Thomas Edison, believed to be the first person to film this dance; though tourists, even at this early date, sometimes numbered in the hundreds and many brought still cameras, possibly even movie cameras.

Plate 8. Mark McCarty (right) in Ireland (1967). Note sophisticated Éclair and Nagra tape-recorder.

Paul Hockings

E. R. Sorenson

Plate 9. Mothering among the Foré. Research film footage from New Guinea reveals the range of mothering behavior within a community.



Adelaide DeMenil

Plate 10. Biami, Papua, 1969.

Plate 11. Authentic Zuñi Katchina, circa 1945.

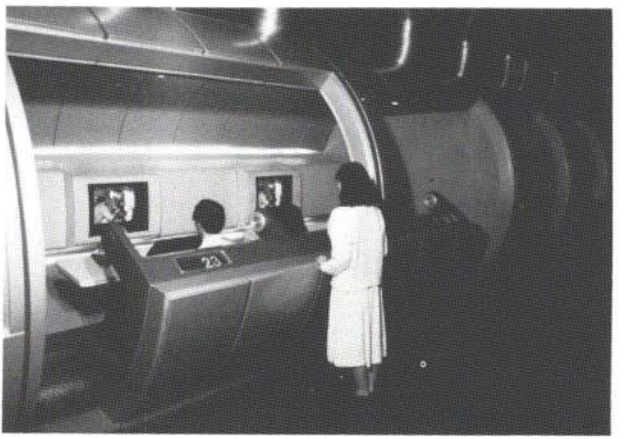


Plate 12. A viewing booth at the National Museum of Ethnology Videotheque, Osaka

Plate 13. Close-up of a viewing booth.

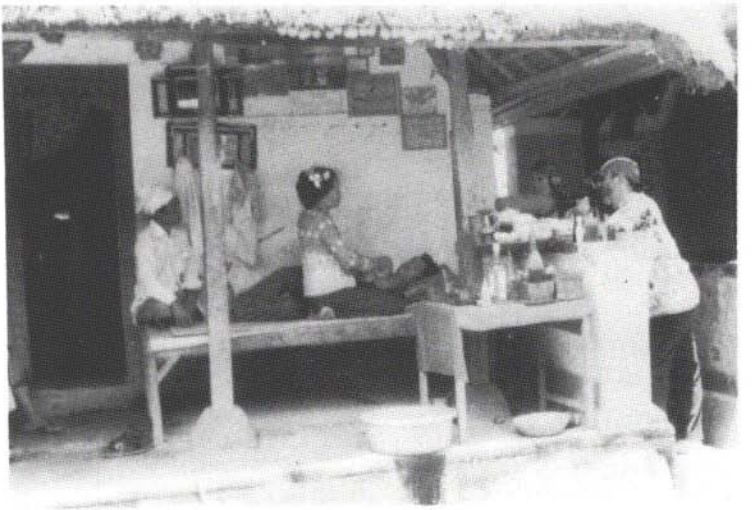
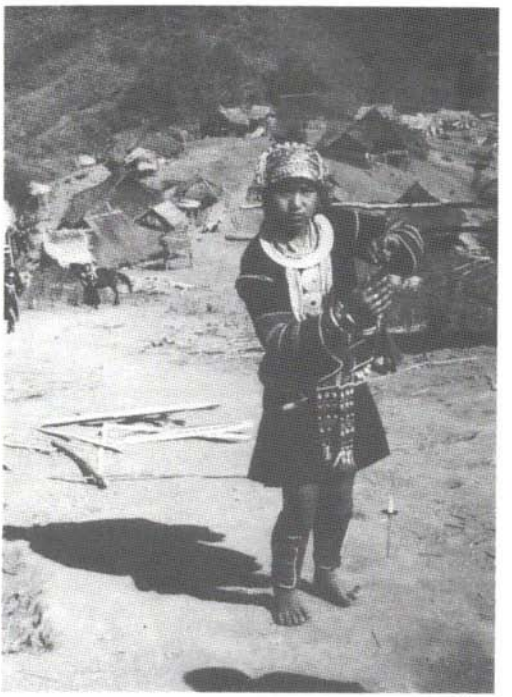


Photo: Patsy Asch

Plate 14. Jero Tapakan and Ida Bagus talk with Linda Connor and Timothy Asch during the filming of *The Medium is the Masseuse: A Balinese Massage.*

Photo: Patsy Asch

Plate 15. Jero Tapakan explains the history of Ida Bagus' illness to Linda Connor during the filming of *The Medium is the Masseuse: A Balinese Massage.*

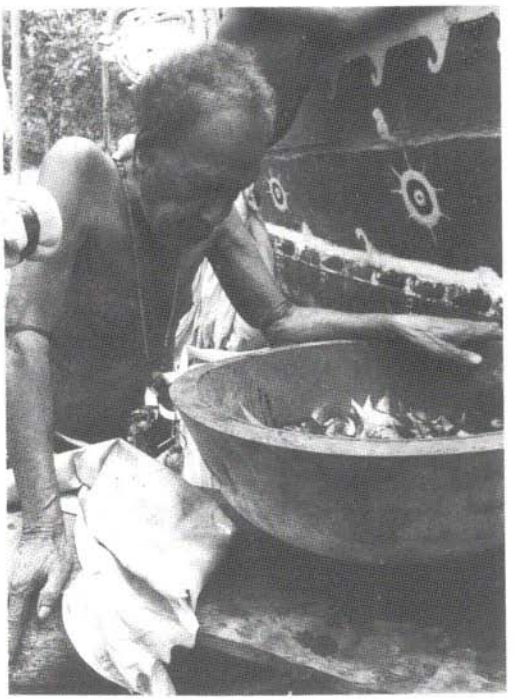


NAV, Tokyo

Plate 16. *Hateshinaki Yama no Horosha* – An Akha girl.

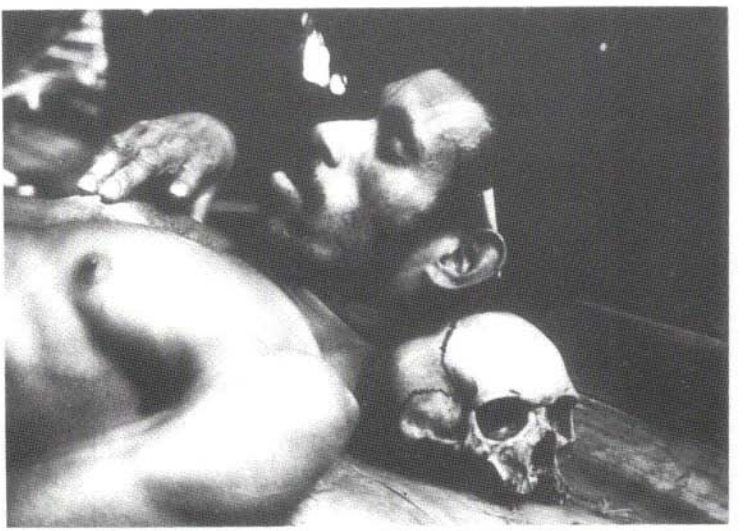
NAV, Tokyo

Plate 17. *Women in China Today* – Shooting the reunion of a long separated family at Wuxi station.



NAV, Tokyo

Plate 18. *Yena Am* – Old Tokovatarya says the "Yena Am" spell over the black paint for a canoe.



NAV, Tokyo

Plate 19. *The Asmat*-people rest their heads on skulls of close kinsmen to show their affection.

cellent series about the Zuñi was made in 1923 by F. W. Hodge, ethnologist, and Owen Cattell, cameraman, for the Heye Foundation-Museum of the American Indian. An overview film, *Land of the Zuñi and Community Work*, shows planting, threshing, water carrying, children at play, and gambling, by men, women, and children who appear to be going about their daily occupations with complete absorption, oblivious of the camera. Three films of ceremonials show dancing and the planting of sacred wands. The rest of the series covers hairdressing, housebuilding, baking bread, and tanning and wrapping deerskin leggings. Despite occasional awkwardness in the technical process films, these compare favorably with the series directed by Samuel Barrett at the University of California more than thirty years later.

Sensing the possibility of profit, commercial film producers entered into association with museums and universities; the Harvard-Pathé project produced a number of short, straightforward films on the *Battacks of Sumatra*, *Mongols of Central Asia*, *Wanderers of the Arabian Desert*, etc. (1928), before the relationship was dissolved. Nordisk Films Kompagni and Svensk Filmindustri coproduced the Svarta Horisonter (Black Horizons) series (1935–1936) directed in Madagascar by Paul Fejos, the Hungarian director. Later, as Director of Research of the Wenner-Gren Foundation, Fejos trained film crews in anthropology (*Nomads of the Jungle*, 1952) and anthropologists in filming (at Yale and Columbia Universities), but his excellent anthropological documentaries (*A Handful of Rice*, 1938; *Yagua*, 1941) are not as well known as his theatrical films, *Lonesome* (1928) and *Légende hongroise* (1932) (Bidney 1964; Dodds 1973).

Eastman Kodak developed the 16-mm format (1923) expressly for the school market, but by the 1950's most educational films were still being filmed in 35-mm and reduced for distribution. A certain stiffness marred even the best of these films. And the format of the visual lecture, now in color, is with us still.

However successful teaching films might be (and it should be remembered that Eastman Teaching Films was a subsidized operation, designed to bolster the parent firm's sales of film stock), they were surpassed in visibility and profitability by explorer films and by fiction films set in exotic locations, which enjoyed great popularity between the wars. Among explorers, Martin Johnson was the durable producer of *On the Borderland of Civilization* (1920), *Simba*, *Congorilla*, *Baboona*, and *Borneo* (1937). Frank Hurley's *Pearls and Savages* (1924) was probably the first film made in New Guinea. The makers of *Grass* (1925), Merian Cooper and Ernest Schoedsack, went on to film Lao villagers and elephants in

Chang (1927), before their greatest success, *King Kong* (1933). Léon Poirier's *Croisière noire* (1926), the first feature-length French film made in Africa, did its job (advertising Citroën trucks) so well that it was released in a sound version in 1933. The Marquis de Wavrin's *Au pays du scalp*, record of an Amazon expedition edited by Cavalcanti and with music by Maurice Jaubert, appeared in 1934. Fiction films of the period include episodes of the *Perils of Pauline*, filmed in the Philippines in the 1920's, and Cecil B. de Mille's remake of *Squaw Man* (1931), which is all the more poignant since it is unclear which locale is meant to be more exotic, the studio interior of an English country house or the Wild West. W. S. Van Dyke directed the singularly offensive *Trader Horn* (1930), which was partly filmed in Africa, and *Tarzan, the Ape Man* (1932). Jean Mugeli's *Rapt dans la jungle* (1932) was the first Melanesian talking picture. And André-Paul Antoine and Robert Lugeon produced what was to become the first publicly exposed ethnographic film hoax, *Les mangeurs d'hommes* (1930). Antoine and Lugeon engaged a village of Christianized Small Namba to enact a terrifying drama of cannibalism, supposedly set in the "unknown region" of the interior of Malekula, where the authority of the white man was "entirely nominal." The deception was unmasked by their host in the field, the Bishop of Port Vila, but not before a celebrity-studded première had taken place in Paris (Leprohon 1960).

Although he transcended these genres, Robert Flaherty began his filmmaking career as an explorer, and he continued by directing a South Seas love story for Hollywood. *Nanook* (1922) was described by a spokesman for the Asia Society as "drama, education, and inspiration combined"; and of *Moana* (1926) John Grierson wrote: "*Moana*, being a visual account of events in the life of a Polynesian youth, has documentary value." Both films were technically innovative. For *Nanook*, Flaherty used a tripod with gyro-movement, which allowed him to follow and anticipate his subjects with the delicacy which became his trademark; and while filming *Moana* he discovered that the panchromatic film intended for his special color camera gave excellent skin tones in black and white, and his improvement became industry standard. (Unfortunately, Flaherty's interest in the problems of sound did not equal his visual gifts.) As an artist, Flaherty is of the first rank; as an anthropologist (which in any case he did not pretend to be) he leaves much to be desired (Plates 3 and 6). Iris Barry's attack on the authenticity of *Nanook* can never be well answered, since Flaherty, always the raconteur, did not leave a systematic record of its making. Mrs. Flaherty's 1925 account of the conditions under which *Moana* was filmed is sufficient to dismiss its value as a

record of interpersonal behavior, although its sequences of crafts are acceptable. Alas for Flaherty! *Man of Aran* (1934) was denounced for being escapist, for ignoring the political realities of the tenant system; *The Land* (1942) was shelved because it was considered too pessimistic, too grimly realistic to be circulated in wartime. Flaherty's gift was not that of a reporter or recorder, but rather that of a revealer.

The social documentary film, which came into being in the 1920's and flourished in the 1930's, was a mass education medium sensitive to the needs of government policy or of opposition politics in various countries. "Of all the arts," Lenin told his Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, "for us the cinema is the most important" (Leyda 1960: 161). "I consider *Las Hurdes* one of my surrealist films," remarked Buñuel (Taylor 1964: 90). Scientific data are to be found amidst the actuality, but they are clothed in argument more subtle than fiction. If the explorer film cannot escape its exploitative nature, neither can the documentary desist from visionary exhortation.

Concern with the transformations in society is a trait common to Soviet anthropologists and filmmakers; as Marxists, they have tried not only to describe social change, but also to cause it to happen (Debets 1957; Krupianskaya, *et al.* 1960). What is striking about the first generation of Soviet filmmakers is the closeness of their ties to science, as well as to the *avant-garde* in art. Theoretical explicitness and candor about how they produced their effects distinguished Eisenstein, Pudovkin, and other Soviet filmmakers from their Western contemporaries, from whom they had learned much (cf. Temaner's paper, *infra*). Dziga Vertov, the pioneer of Soviet documentary, directed the *Kino-pravda* series (i.e. "cinema truth"; "*cinéma vérité*") (1922) and expressed the following theory of montage, or "the organization of the seen world":

1. Montage during the observation period (immediate orientation of the naked eye at al times and places).
2. Montage after observation (logical organization of vision into one or another definite direction).
3. Montage at the time of filming (orientation of the ARMED eye — the moving picture camera — during the search for the appropriate camera position, and adjustment to the several changing conditions of filming).
4. Montage after filming (rough organization of the filmed material according to main indications, and ascertaining what necessary shots are missing).
5. Judgment of the montage pieces (immediate orientation to link certain juxtapositions, employing exceptional alertness and these military rules: judgment – speed – attack).
6. Final montage (exposition of larger themes through a series of smaller

subtler themes; reorganization of all material while keeping the rounded sequnce in mind; exposure of the very heart of all your film-objects) (Belenson [1225] quoted in Leyda [1960:178–179]; cf. Rouch's paper, *infra*).

Three Songs of Lenin (1934) is considered to be Vertov's best film. It ends with a lyric section on the progress "from past to future, from slavery to freedom" of the Soviet Union's Central Asian ethnic minorities. The Soviets encouraged the development of regional filmmaking in Uzbekistan, Armenia, Georgia, and elsewhere. Mikhail Kalatozov's *Salt for Svanetia* (1930) shows past hardships of life in the Caucasus ("tormenting hunger for salt") overcome by Soviet technical aid (tractors construct an all-weather road). The Svans took offense at the film, and denied that the old customs portrayed in it had ever existed. Another "before and after" film, Viktor Turin's *Turksib* (1928), shows the building of the Turkestan-Siberian railway and the reactions of people along its path.

In Eastern and Central Europe, documentary filmmakers approached traditional life with a reverential attitude. Karel Plicka directed *Za Slovensky ludem* [Games of Slovak Youth, 1931], *Večna piseň* [The Eternal Song, 1941], and *Zem spieva* [Earth in Song, 1933], which he considered to be his "hymn to the Slovak people." Drago Chloupek and A. Gerasimov filmed a Croation *zadruga* in 1933 (*Dan u jednoj velikoj hrvatskoj porodici* [A day in a large Croatian family], anticipating later peasant symphonies by Henri Storck in Belgium and Georges Rouquier in France. German filmmakers were also attracted by folklore and ethnographic subjects, which they fashioned into *Kulturfilme*. The more ambitious of these trace the development of a trait from primitive beginnings to its advanced form. Wilhelm Prager's *Wege zu Kraft und Schönheit* (1925) compares Greco-Roman with modern German athletics, and illustrates the development of dance from Hawaiian and Burmese, through Spanish and Japanese, to Russian ballet and the dance dramas of Rudolf Laban. It concludes with shots of famous sportsmen, including Lloyd George golfing and Mussolini on horseback. The UFA publicist claimed that this film would promote "the regeneration of the human race" (Kracauer 1947: 143).

French documentary, unlike Soviet and German documentary, was individualist, largely anti-establishment, and undeveloped (cf. Rotha *et al.* 1963: 268). Noteworthy, even brilliant beginnings were made, but they were to mature later or elsewhere. In 1926, Alberto Cavalcanti made *Rien que les heures*, the first of the city symphonies. In 1929, Georges Rouquier made *Vendanges*, forerunner of *Farrebique* (1946) and his other films of peasant life. An obscure film, *Coulibaly à l'aventure* (1936), made by G.

H. Blanchon in French West Africa, preceded Rouch's *Jaguar* by twenty years, both in theme (migrant labor) and treatment (improvised acting). Documentary techniques found their way into fiction films, such as Jean Renoir's *Toni* (1934).

In Spain, Luis Buñuel used money won in a syndicalist lottery to produce that succinct masterpiece of dreamy outrage, *Las Hurdes* (1932). The stuff of Buñuel's argument is not only the misery of the inhabitants of Cáceres, but also our curiosity, never innocent, because human.

No such dark scruples are to be found in British and American documentaries, which were meliorist in tone and popular in scope.[6] A film of North Sea herring fisheries, John Grierson's *Drifters* (1929), was the beginning of the British documentary movement, which had as its purpose the formation of a more aware citizenry by means of the "creative treatment of actuality" (Hardy 1966). Production was supported by government and industry, and dealt with the broad topics of Empire capitalism, domestic social reform, and (with the coming of war) colonial propaganda. Rotha (1936) describes two stages of British documentary: the first, "impressionistic" stage peaked with Basil Wright's exquisite *Song of Ceylon* (made for the Ceylon Tea Propagation Board in 1935), with its symphonic structure and Eisensteinian views of Sinhalese working the fields. The second, or "realist," stage quietly anticipated the social reporting of the 1960's, by making use of spontaneous, unrehearsed speech, filmed with synchronous sound. In *Housing Problems* (produced for the British Commercial Gas Association in 1935), Edgar Anstey and Arthur Elton took camera and microphone into the working-class districts of South London. The residents pointed out the vermin and other signs of dilapidation "without prompting" (Rotha 1936: 255). In this way the film not only gained credibility but disarmed potential criticism of the makers' motives: "When the subjects raised more obvious social issues, facts and people were made to speak for themselves" (Broderick 1947: 50). To Rotha's stages must be added a third, beginning with the formation, in 1939, of the National Film Board of Canada, under Grierson, and the Colonial Film Unit (CFU), directed by William Sellers. Both were propaganda organizations, concerned with the war effort, Grierson from a stance inside European culture, Sellers from the outside. The CFU, for example, made a film designed to present the British way of life to Africans, *Mister English at Home* (1940). In the decade after the war,

[6] Until McCann (1973), the British movement was the better documented, thanks to John Grierson and his editor, Forsyth Hardy. Grierson's writings, when collated with an account of Britain's domestic situation between the wars, constitute a primer on the politics of film.

Sellers and his group were instrumental in developing television in Anglophone Africa.

Whatever the ideological angle of filmmakers in the 1920's and 1930's, their films share a new quality: for the first time since the Lumières, ordinary people in their everyday surroundings were seen on the screen. At the same time, the mass medium of cinema was becoming demystified through technology. Amateur filming in 16-mm was no longer an oddity. Armed with the ciné-Kodak, Major P. H. G. Powell-Cotton and his family filmed systematically in Africa during the 1930's and 1940's. In a single year, 1937–1938, the impresario, Rolf de Maré, collected an estimated 49,000 feet of 16-mm film of dance, in Sumatra, Java, Bali, and the Celebes. Film, the toy of scientists and the instrument of fantasists, was coming of age.

In anthropology, the middle of the 1930's was the watershed between film's unimportance and its acceptability. To W. D. Hambly, Melville Herskovits, Patrick O'Reilly, and Marcel Griaule, film was an illustration, not an integral part of research to be used in understanding and cited in publication. Quality, in this kind of filming, still meant 35-mm and, if possible, a trained cameraman. (But Norman Tindale, in Australia, and Franz Boas, in British Columbia, took their own 16-mm films.) By contrast, Gregory Bateson and Margaret Mead's decision to use cameras in Bali and New Guinea, in 1936–1938, was dictated by the needs of their research. They innovated both in the scale of their filming and photography (22,000 feet of 16-mm film, 25,000 stills) and in its aim, the description of the "ethos" of a people.

> The shift in scale was directed primarily at recording the types of non-verbal behavior for which there existed neither vocabulary nor conceptualized methods of observation, in which the observation had to precede the codification (Mead 1963:174).

Harris states that Mead turned to photography as a direct result of criticism of her previous works, challenged over their "soft" unverifiable data (Harris 1968:417). Mead's own account of the events leading to the "quantum leap" of research in Bali and Iatmul emphasizes personal and intellectual factors (Mead 1972). Whatever its causes, the effect of methodological originality in *Balinese Character* was to make photography a respected tool in anthropological research (Bateson and Mead 1942).

The expedition to Bali was financed by the Committee for the Study of Dementia Praecox, who recognized an opportunity to cast some light upon the etiology of schizophrenia. The anthropologists brought complementary abilities to the project: Mead's unsurpassed note-taking skill

and her interest in babies and family life, Bateson's grounding in natural science (he had been a student of Haddon, another former zoologist) and interest in communication and context. His was the task of taking pictures, while Mead and a Balinese secretary, equipped with chronometers, recorded events verbally, and carefully cross-referenced the pictures and notes. They were without means of recording sound.

> We tried to use the still and the moving picture cameras to get a record of Balinese behavior, and this is a very different matter from the preparation of a "documentary" film or photographs. We tried to shoot what happened normally and spontaneously, rather than to decide upon the norms and then get the Balinese to go through these behaviors in suitable lighting (Bateson and Mead 1942:49).

For the greater part of their two years' stay, Mead and Bateson lived in the mountains at Bajoeng Gede, where "everything went on in a kind of simplified slow motion," owing to the poverty and hypothyroidism of the villagers. Bateson took pictures "as a matter of routine," without asking special permission. Habitually he directed attention to his photography of small babies, and the parents came to overlook the fact that they were included in the frame as well, so that the angular viewfinder, for photographing sensitive subjects, was seldom needed or used. Some theatrical performances were specially staged in daylight, as a concession to the camera. As the corpus of photographed data grew, it "was used consciously to compensate for the changing sophistication of the viewer" (Mead 1963:174), by comparing photographs taken before a hypothesis was formulated with those made afterwards.

On their way home from the field, Bateson and Mead spent six months in New Guinea, collecting comparative data among the Iatmul. Then World War II made fieldwork impossible, and other urgent research priorities demanded attention. Despite these, Bateson and Mead prepared *Balinese Character* and edited several films, which were released, after the war, in the Character Formation in Different Cultures Series (1952). In discussions of film, Mead often fails to distinguish it from still photography, a usage which reflects her method in dealing with both (Mead 1963). After viewing the 25,000 stills sequentially, Bateson and Mead chose and arranged 759 of them in 100 plates, thematically juxtaposing related details without "violating the context and the integrity of any one event" (Mead 1972:235). The films were edited chronologically (*Trance and Dance in Bali*) or by presenting contrasting items of behavior (*Childhood Rivalry in Bali and New Guinea*) (cf. Plate 9).

While Bateson and Mead were in Bali, Jean Rouch was in Paris, studying engineering and forming the associations which would lead to his be-

coming a leader of the ethnographic film wave in Europe, and an indefatigable producer and popularizer. At the Musée de l'Homme, Rouch heard the lectures of Marcel Mauss and Marcel Griaule. He encountered Henri Langlois, now the director of the Cinémathèque française. His decision to study anthropology seriously was made during the war, which he spent in French West Africa supervising the construction of roads and bridges. "Culture conflict struck me from the start," he said (Desanti and Decock 1968:37). Rouch was not among those chosen, in 1946, for the Ogooué-Congo Expedition, a well-equipped (in 35-mm) group of explorer-filmmakers (Francis Mazières, Edmond Séchan, and Pierre Gaisseau) and anthropologists (Raoul Hartweg, Guy de Beauchêne, and Gilbert Rouget). Instead he floated down the Niger with two friends, making films by trial and error with a 16-mm Bell and Howell from the flea market. The tripod soon fell overboard, and necessity nudged Rouch toward an original shooting style (Rouch 1955). In order to film a hippopotamus hunt on the river, he enlisted the help of Damouré Zika, a Sorko who was to collaborate with Rouch in research and filming (*Les maîtres fous*, 1953), as did Oumarou Ganda (star of *Moi, un noir*, 1957; director of *Le wazou polygame*, 1971) at a later date. Rouch's career has been described as one of "inveterate amateurism" and "incurable dilettantism" (Marcorelles 1963: 18). Rouch is, in fact, the first full-time ethnographic film professional (Plate 4).

The only film that Rouch had to show for those months on the Niger was sufficiently well done to be bought by Actualités Françaises, blown up to 35-mm, embellished with narration and shown as *Au pays des mages noirs*, on the same bill as Rossellini's *Stromboli*. There was a grander sequel in 1955, when a number of Rouch's short films in color were enlarged, combined, and released as a feature, *Les fils de l'eau*. This was rapturously reviewed in *Cahiers du cinéma* by Claude Beylie, who compared Dogon cosmogony to the philosophy of Thales, Empedocles, and Timaeus, and asserted: "WE are the monsters" (Beylie 1959). Rouch by this time was Executive Secretary of the International Committee on Ethnographic Films (CIFE), which had been formed in 1952 at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences at Vienna, to further preservation, production and distribution. The French section of this organization prepared analyses and critiques of 106 films, and in 1955 UNESCO published this catalogue as part of its series on Mass Communication. Thus, under Rouch's care, the genre of ethnographic film acquired scientific and political as well as artistic stature in the postwar decade.

Others besides Rouch were active in this transformation (or, as Rouch

called it, "renaissance"), and there were other conceptions besides that of CIFE as to what an ethnographic film should be. In Germany, the Institut für den Wissenschaftlichen Film was reorganized immediately after the war, and soon German anthropologists were again filming in Melanesia, Africa and Europe. The Institute's approach to anthropological film was characterized by emphasis on scientific purity (Spannaus 1961:73–79). Subjects and treatments that might have ideological significance were to be avoided, along with the tendency to admit laymen to the field. The Institute conducted intensive courses in film technique for anthropologists preparing to do fieldwork, and supplied equipment for expeditions supported by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, provided the applicants had taken the course. On the basis of this program, the Institute published its "Rules for film documentation in ethnology and folklore" in 1959. These require that filmmaking be done by persons with sound anthropological training or supervision, and that an exact log be kept; that the events recorded be authentic (technical processes can be staged for the camera, but not ceremonies), filmed without dramatic camera angles or movement, and edited for representativeness.

In 1952, the Institute's director, Gotthard Wolf, was the first to implement what had repeatedly been proposed, by establishing at Göttingen the first systematic anthropological film archive. Films meeting the Institute's scientific criteria were first solicited from anthropologists in Germany and then, with growing success, from abroad. At the start, Konrad Lorenz worked on assembling and arranging the *Encyclopaedia cinematographica* and others have added several thousand films on anthrothropological and biological subjects. To facilitate comparative research, each film consists of a single "thematic unit," such as dance, work, or ritual, and the films are arranged in natural science categories, biological subjects by phylum, genus, and species, ethnological ones by geographical location and social grouping, e.g.:

SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
E75 Tukurina (Brazil, Upper Purus River) — Curing the sick by medicine men. 1950 (Color, $2^1/_2$ minutes) H. Schultz, São Paulo.

This natural science treatment of ethnographic film contrasts with and complements CIFES' social science orientation. (The Committee added the "*Sociologique*" to its name in 1959.) Several countries have institutional affiliations with both CIFES and the *Encyclopaedia cinematographica;* CIFES has been less active than its counterpart, however, in making films routinely available to scholars. Wolf's efforts in this regard have been major and prescient. Since 1966, an American archive of the

Encyclopaedia cinematographica has been housed at Pennsylvania State University; and in 1970, a Japanese archive was established at Tokyo.

As ethnographic film became institutionalized, it quickly accumulated a literature. Definitions and typologies of ethnographic film were devised. Griaule sustained Regnault's conception of ethnographic filming as a scientific activity concerned with traditional ethnographic subjects. He distinguished three film types: archive footage for research, training films for anthropology courses, and public education films (including, occasionally, "works of art") (Griaule 1957). (Although Griaule was hardly a film enthusiast, he became in death the subject of a "public education" film — of his own Dogon funeral.) André Leroi-Gourhan expressed a more original view of things in an article, "Le film ethnologique existe-t-il?", in which he applied the term "ethnological" to another tripartite classification: the research film, the "exotic" travel film (to be abhorred as superficial and exploitative), and the "film of environment... produced with no scientific aim but deriving an ethnological value from its exportation" (Leroi-Gourhan 1948). These contrasting typologies of ethnographic film, one exclusive in tendency and the other inclusive, survive to this day. Griaule's view has been echoed by many who differ among themselves chiefly as to the degree of prophylaxis necessary against the "contamination" of the commercial cinema. On the other hand, it has been pointed out by Sol Worth that definitions of ethnographic film are tautological, since no film can be called ethnographic in and of itself (Worth 1969). Much depends upon the uses to which a film is put, regardless of the intentions of its author. A single film can be used in a variety of ways. It's a simple matter, when film represents the confrontation between "us" and "them" (Europeans and natives; scientists and laymen), for the filmmaker and the viewer to negotiate the conventions. But especially since World War II (though even long before it), neither "we" nor "they" have ceased to change.

The "steady inertia" *vis-à-vis* new technical devices in anthropology, of which Rowe complained in 1952, has since been supplanted by steadily accelerating activity, heightened, in recent years, by the availability to anthropologists of videotape. We are now waiting for videotape storage of data, in a central location servicing far-flung terminals, to be implemented (Ekman *et al.* 1969). But the existence of technology has never been a sufficient condition of scientific advance.

Although Kuhn (1962) has questioned the existence of paradigms in the social sciences, a fair degree of consensus exists as to what constitutes normal anthropological research using film. The state of the field a decade ago can be glimpsed in Michaelis (1955), Spannaus (1961), and Mead

(1963); today's situation is exposed in the papers in this volume, and, often more revealing, in their overlapping bibliographies. New uses of film, and refinements of old ones, are constantly occurring. Semiotic analysis and evocative techniques have joined the following long-established uses of film by anthropologists: as a note-taking tool for events which are too complex, too rapid, or too small to be grasped with the naked eye or recorded in writing; as a means of salvaging data for future generations of researchers, either because the behavior is about to disappear, or because the theoretical equipment to deal with it does not yet exist; and for comparisons. These may be either synchronic (cross-cultural, emic-etic, macro-micro) or diachronic (individual maturation or cultural change).

The use of film to elicit responses, which occurred in psychological research as early as 1909, became fairly common in psychiatry during World War II (Moreno 1944; Saul 1945; Prados 1951), and was adapted to sociological research by Rouch and Morin in the early 1960's. (In 1925, Mead used still photos taken during the filming of *Moana* to elicit responses from Samoan children.) Rouch not only recorded his actors' comments and exclamations at seeing themselves on the screen (in *Jaguar*), but also used the presence of cameras and cameramen to provoke psychodramas in *La pyramide humaine* (1959) and *La punition* (1962). Worth and Adair carried the process still further in 1966, when they experimented with eliciting films AS RESPONSES. They undertook to teach a group of Navaho men and women to make their own motion pictures, on any subject they wanted, in order to elicit a "visual flow" that could be analyzed semiotically, i.e. "in terms of the structure of images and the cognitive processes or rules used in making those images."

> A working hypothesis for our study was that motion picture film, conceived, photographed, and sequentially arranged by a people such as the Navajo, would reveal aspects of coding, cognition, and values that may be inhibited, not observable, or not analyzable when the investigation is totally dependent on verbal exchange – especially when such research must be done in the language of the investigator (Worth and Adair 1972:27–28).

The Navaho filmmakers learned to use 16-mm Bell and Howell cameras with amazing rapidity, and within two months produced short exercises and seven silent films. These were shown to the Navaho community, analyzed by the researchers (who compared them with films made by Philadelphia teenagers), and eventually placed in distribution, where they have acquired a renown in experimental film circles.

The use of videotape as an experimental agent in urban anthropology, by George Stoney, the Rundstroms, the Videograph project and others,

has added synchronous sound (namely, speech) to the resources available to informants for their productions.

Reinterpretation of "ethnographic film" as a process of communication between filmers and filmed is among chief developments in this kind of filming since the war. The Balinese experience has never been replicated, but it served to open up the whole communication field, which has been so fertile that only a few of its works can be mentioned in this short account. When war and cold war destroyed some cultures outright and made others inaccessible, Columbia University's Research in Contemporary Cultures Project, directed by Ruth Benedict, gathered together a team from various disciplines to study cultures "at a distance," by means of interviews, films (preferably Grade B films, less idiosyncratic), literature, art, and other types of material. During the war, Bateson worked at the Museum of Modern Art on an analysis of the UFA film, *Hitlerjunge Quex* (1933), in order to derive some of the "psychological implications of Nazism." Martha Wolfenstein went on to apply the principles of thematic analysis to the content of films made in Western nations (England, France, Italy, and the United States), and discovered national patterns in fantasy. These studies gave rise to others dealing with personal and formal levels of filmic communication, exemplified in the "*politique des auteurs*" expounded in *Cahiers du cinéma* from 1950, and the anthropology and semiology of the cinema (Powdermaker 1950; Morin 1956; Metz 1974; cf. Weakland's paper, *infra*).

One would assume that the study of nonverbal communication would demand the use of film, and the members of the American linguistic school have used not only film but also videotape in their research. But Ray L. Birdwhistell, who adapted the methods of descriptive linguistics to the study of culture, at first used film less to study communication than to communicate about it; he mapped the kinesics of American English by eye, using a written notation system (Birdwhistell 1952). Other researchers in choreometrics have from the start depended upon rater consensus and successive refinements of parameters discovered by repeated inspection of a large sample of dance films. The musician and folklorist, Alan Lomax, has since 1961 directed a cross-cultural study of expressive style, of global proportions, involving song, dance, and speech; his Choreometrics Project, which is concerned with movement style, has collected for analysis films of dance and work from nearly two hundred cultures. Most of the footage analyzed by Lomax and his collaborators was filmed by others, both scientists and laymen, for a variety of reasons. Each extract found to be acceptable for research was coded, using a descriptive system based on the Laban Effort-Shape theory. The ratings thus