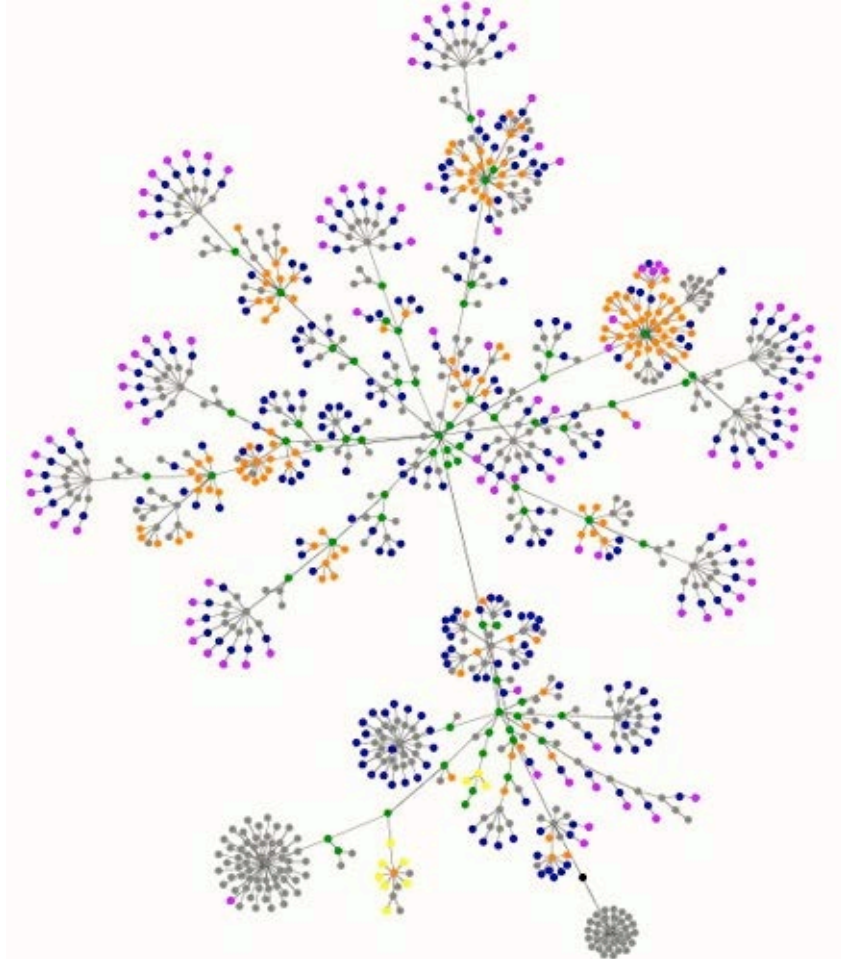


ENCOUNTER WITH
VISUAL
ANTHROPOLOGY



Sarah Harrison and Alan Macfarlane

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Preface to the series

There have been many autobiographical accounts of the creative process. These tend to concentrate on one level, and within that one aspect, the cerebral, intellectual working of a single thinker or artist's mind. Yet if we are really to understand what the conditions are for a really creative and fulfilling life we need to understand the process at five levels.

At the widest, there is the level of civilizations, some of which encourage personal creativity, while others dampen it. Then there are institutions such as a university, which encourage the individual or stifle him or her. Then there are personal networks; all thinkers work with others whether they acknowledge it or not. Then there is the level of the individual, his or her character and mind. Finally there is an element of chance or random variation.

I have long been interested in these inter-acting levels and since 1982 I have been filming people talking about their life and work. In these interviews, characteristically lasting one to two hours, I have paid particular attention to the family life, childhood, education and friendships which influence us. I have let people tell their own stories without a set of explicit questions to answer. This has led them to reflect on what it was in their lives which led them to be able to do their most interesting and rewarding work. They reveal the complex chains which sometimes lead to that moment when they discovered or made something new in the world.

I started for some years mainly in the disciplines I knew, anthropology, history and sociology. But after 2006 I broadened the project out to cover almost all fields of intellectual and artistic work. I have now made over 200 interviews, all of them available on the web. Future volumes based on these interviews are outlined at the end of this volume.

How to view the films

The films are up on the Internet, currently in three places.

Alan Macfarlane's website, www.alanmacfarlane.com

The Streaming Media Service in Cambridge:

<http://sms.cam.ac.uk/collection/1092396>

On both of these, the full summary of the interviews are available.

Most of the interviews are also up on the 'Ayabaya' channel of Youtube.

The films can be seen from within a PDF version of this book by pressing on the image. You will need to download an Adobe Acrobat PDF reader (free) from the web if you do not have it. If you right click on the image, further choices open up. (If you choose to open the film in a floating window, be sure to disable the content at the end of watching it before watching the next.)

Technical information

Unless otherwise specified, all the interviewing and filming was done by Alan Macfarlane, mostly in his rooms in King's College, Cambridge.

The detailed summaries, with time codes to make it easier to find roughly where a passage of special interest is to be found, were made by Sarah Harrison, who also edited and prepared the films for the web.

The cameras improved with time, but there are occasions when both the early cameras and microphones were less than satisfactory. We have had to wait for the technology to catch up.

Introduction

Although my parents had taken home movies with a small film camera in India when I was a child, I don't remember any interest in filming during my early years, or even while I was at Oxford. It was only when I went to the London School of Economics and became friends with Peter Loizos, who had worked in the B.B.C., that I first started to discuss film-making, specifically in relation to anthropology.

When I went to be supervised for my Nepal anthropology Ph.D. by Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf at the School of Oriental and African Studies, I discussed possible film-making, but, though he was one of the few anthropologists in Britain who had used cameras extensively (see appendix 2), he pointed out that both the camera and the film stock for 16mm film was very expensive. Fortunately when I was in Nepal I saw a very small, relatively cheap, 8 mm film camera which I bought and took a couple of hours of film, mainly to show my family and remind myself of Nepal when I returned home.

When I joined the Department of Social Anthropology in Cambridge in 1975 I found myself in a place where some of the first fieldwork film had been made (in 1891 by A.C. Haddon) and where the head of department, Jack Goody, was interested in new recording technologies. Working with the Audio Visual Aids Unit I arranged for two interdisciplinary seminars in 1976-7 to be filmed for posterity. Then in 1982 I set up the Cambridge Rivers Video Project to work with my students on visual anthropology with a new u-Matic portable camera which I had just encountered. I started an early student course in visual anthropology with Paul Henley and then began to do in-depth film interviews with anthropologists from 1983.

From 1988, when I bought my first video camera, I started to film more seriously and have taken over 150 hours of film in Nepal. This has increased my interest in visual anthropology and its potential. I was therefore delighted to be able to interview several key film-makers and others interested in visual anthropology, as seen below.

I have talked about some of my experiences in the field, and summarized the effects of the changing technologies of recording and communicating films in several interviews, as follows.

Fieldwork filming: reflections in the field - 2000



<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1775803/1775808.m4v>

Reflections on visual anthropology

Alan Macfarlane

[a series of short films made in 2014, filmed by Hunter Snyder]

Advice on fieldwork filming in the Himalayas

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1775596/1775601.m4v>

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1775708/1775713.m4v>

Changes in film technologies and their effects on anthropological filming

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1775708/1775713.m4v>

Early cameras and filming in Nepal

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1775775/1775780.m4v>

Multimedia book - the new potentials for combining film and text

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1775894/1775899.m4v>

Sarah and the Thak database for film-making

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1776658/1776663.m4v>

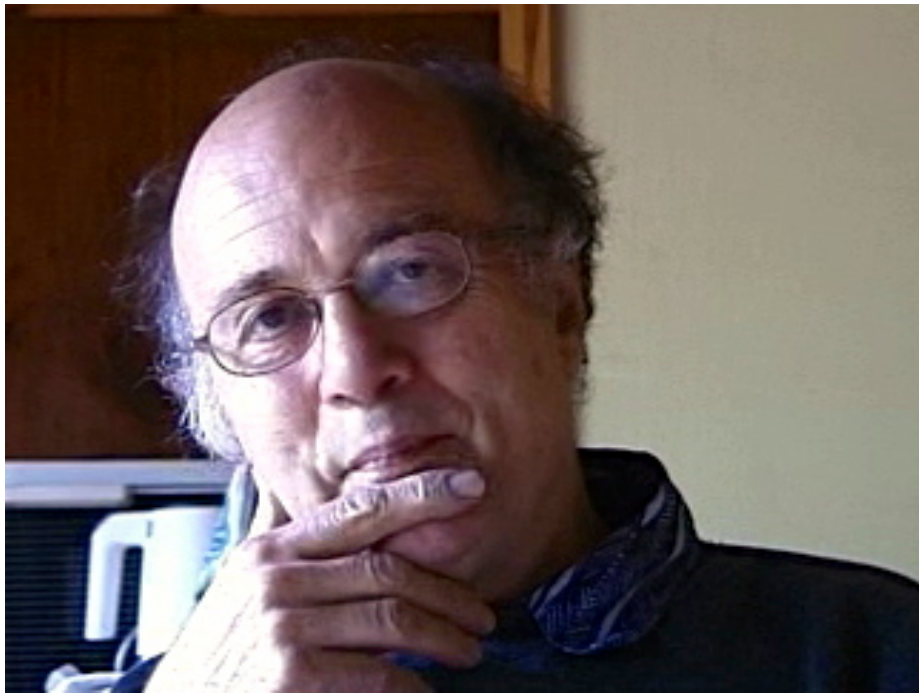
The film interview project

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1776721/1776726.m4v>

Video filming in Nepal

<http://upload.sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1776742>

Peter Loizos



14 September 2002

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1124906/1124925.m4v>

Loizos, Peter: *Innovation in Ethnographic Film: From Innocence to Self-Consciousness, 1955-1985* (1993)

INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Interviewed by Alan Macfarlane 14th September 2002

0:00:05 Introduction; parentage; mother, maternal grandfather; mother's early life; father from Cyprus; marriage breakdown, brought up by mother; schooldays; difficulty of explaining lack of a father; personal need to identify as of Greek origin led to studying classics at Dulwich and coloured the rest of life; by 29 had met father a few times and mother dead, no longer want to be TV film maker; at Cambridge read English but halfway through tempted to do anthropology but dissuaded by college as it would have meant an extra year without a grant; did read William Foote Wright's 'Street Corner Society' as wanted to know more about social science

0:09:30 Initially attracted by Leavis but found he lacked spontaneity; dissuaded by Donald Davey from doing a PhD though got firsts in both parts of the Tripos; went to Harvard on the Knox Fellowship but toyed with going to a film school in Poland or to work with Ivor Winters at Stamford with the idea of becoming a poet; at Harvard did a year's introduction to social science in Social Relations department under Parsons; taught by George Caspar Homans, David McClelland, Robert Rappaport, Stanton Wheeler (criminology), and Barrington Moore; got interested in film and met Robert Gardner at the Peabody who allowed me to take a reading course, after which given a 16mm camera and film and with the help of Timothy Asch, shot some film; next five years obsessed with cinema and ended up at the BBC in the science documentary department; did not have the courage to risk going to Hollywood but always stuck with well-funded institutions, probably as a result of fear of poverty in childhood

0:19:45 Really wanted to do films similar to those made by Timothy Asch where he held the camera, but the unionisation of the BBC meant that as an assistant director was not allowed to touch the camera; to use the camera would have had to have gone in as a technical trainee in an "officers and other ranks" situation; after a few years found it unsatisfying; took to reading anthropology books in the British Museum and in 1966 went to the L.S.E. and

met Raymond Firth; very welcoming; in British Museum had read an essay by Evans-Pritchard which suggested it would take ten years to become an anthropologist but Firth said it should be possible to halve the time; at Dulwich had thought of becoming a doctor but had taken the wrong path although now embarking on work that will include medical matters

0:23:16 Decided on the L.S.E. as it was the only place I knew; at BBC found projects uninteresting as really wanted to be a creative film-maker; shared memories of the L.S.E.; initially course painful and difficult; wrote many essays on kinship, encouraged by Anthony Forge; memories of Robin Fox, Ortiz, Burton Benedict, Maurice Freedman, Lucy Mair; comparative seminar run by Isaac Schapera, Percy Cohen and Lucy Mair, last joint activity between sociology and anthropology; gave paper on Greek-Turkish intermarriage; Audrey Hayley; Firth seminar and his summaries

0:36:39 Went to do PhD in Cyprus; 'Kula Ring' communication between fellows; in Cyprus visited by a number of colleagues; worked on stratification and marriage; much influenced by William Goode who responded enthusiastically to comments from the field; became apparent during fieldwork that politics were much more volatile and fundamental than had understood; first went to father's village in 1966 and between then and fieldwork in 1968, a military coup had occurred in Greece and the authoritarian nature of the regime extended even into the village; dampened the pleasure of fieldwork because of incipient violence

0:43:50 After PhD made a film on the village; had wanted to make a film in Taiwan with Martin Nettleship in 1966-7 but discouraged by Raymond Firth; Anthony Forge and Arianne Lewis had been shooting film and there was a feeling in the department that film was important, also James Woodburn; [omitted]; memories of Raymond Firth

0:51:39 Other influences; Kurusawa's early films; Hannah Arendt; Primo Levi; war crimes; Karl Marx; on anthropology and how it is practised

0:57:52 War and dislocation; influence of Colson's work on the Gwembe Tonga and the dislocation caused by the Kariba dam and Peter Marris's 'Loss and Change'; build on other's insights; ethnographic films

Paul Hockings



11 November 2005

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1121628/1121657.m4v>

Paul Hockings (ed.), *Principles of Visual Anthropology* (2003)

Interview Summary

Interview by Alan Macfarlane 11th November 2005

0:05:07 Introduction: born 1935 near Haileybury College with its East India Company connections; father was an engineer and also a county cricketer for Hertfordshire; his grandmother was Jewish and grandfather a Protestant; father became a choirboy in Westminster Abbey and sent to good Christian school; mother's father was Irish, probably Catholic, her mother, Protestant; mother brought up as Anglican but sent to a convent school; only two relatives travelled outside England, an uncle who became the British Consul in Syria and a great-uncle who was a camel driver in Central Australia

3:09:01 Grew up in Hampshire; at age nine became interested in pre-history and museums; no encouragement at school but after the war went to the reopened Basingstoke Museum and met G.W. Willis, the Curator and founder; with his help developed detailed knowledge of the area; also helped by near neighbour, the Duke of Wellington; first job was as a warden in the Basingstoke Museum at age fifteen; went to Queen Mary's Grammar School where the natural historian Gilbert White had been a pupil; went with Willis to Selbourne

7:33:11 Father as an engineer was personal assistant to Henry Royce founder of Rolls Royce; during war designed landing equipment for 'D Day'; when nearly fifty father decided to emigrate to Australia and I went too; went to Sydney University to study near-eastern archaeology; university had two totally separate departments of archaeology and anthropology; did a major in each subject from 1952; aware that there were more jobs in anthropology in Australia but decided to go to North America

11:15:09 Main teacher at Sydney was A.P. Elkin; department started by Radcliffe-Brown in 1925 with money from the Rockefeller Foundation; 1930 Raymond Firth followed and when he left for London Elkin took over; I had been at High School in Australia for about six months to qualify for a Commonwealth Scholarship and by coincidence the Principal had been a close

friend of Elkin and backed me against my parents' idea that I should go to a teacher training college to study French; department still following Radcliffe-Brown and a little stultifying

13:55:07 While at Sydney, Robert Hughes, who became the art editor of Time Magazine, was one of the members of the Sydney Art Group with me; no art department at that time so thought up a series of lectures; embarrassment over the invitation to Sir Arthur Trendell the Vice-Chancellor of the University and Professor of Greek and classical archaeology to speak on classical art; Aldous Huxley at Berkeley; Ruth St Denis, founder of modern dance

17:05:20 For various reasons decided to leave Sydney and went to New Zealand where I worked at a script writer, journalist and wool-classer in Auckland, but more importantly took part in the excavation of the landing site of the first moah hunters; next went to Vancouver and worked briefly in the University of British Columbia Museum; also worked as a script writer and journalist; hitch-hiked across Canada in mid-winter ending up in Toronto; took a job at the university library; talked with Tom McIlwraith probably the first professional anthropologist in Canada and chairman of the department; taken on as graduate student and teaching assistant; should take two years but could be done in eight months by writing three papers a week which I did for an M.A.; McIlwraith had studied under Haddon and Rivers in Cambridge; good teachers including Ronald Cohen

21:16:07 Applied to Harvard, Wisconsin and Berkeley; favourable response from all three but Washburn at Berkeley offered a job as a teaching assistant; at that time J.K. Galbraith had described Berkeley as arguably the best university in the world; did degree at Berkeley but also studied under Milton Singer at Chicago and got to know Sol Tax; also spent a year at Stanford where I met Srinivas; at Berkeley was first assigned as teaching assistant to T.D. McCown, the physical anthropologist; also taking courses with David Mandelbaum as I was interested in India; became his research assistant; in 1961 he was involved in setting up the American Institute of Indian Studies and I was the first beneficiary of a field research grant in 1962

27:03:01 Went to the Nilgiris where the Badagas had never been studied; got Ph.D. on this research; fieldwork went very smoothly; started by looking at land records; Mandelbaum had given me a useful introduction to a peasant farmer named Desin, a Badaga, who had helped him in the 1930's as an interpreter; Desin had also worked with Emeneau, another Berkeley scholar, so Desin happy to work with me; fantastic informant, very bright man who was invited to attend Madras University but prevented from so doing by his grandmother; he worked with me for three hours every morning for nine months; his English was so good that was the language we used; problem of one informant dealt with by doing a social survey on 6-700 people throughout the Nilgiris; as they were not just Badagas there was a problem of five languages so trained college students as interviewers and did survey with them over a period of about six weeks; brought back the material to Stanford where the answers were coded and processed on an early IBM 7090 computer in 1965; had no job and Mandelbaum did not help; Srinivas at Stanford introduced me to Walter Goldschmidt who invited me to U.C.L.A. as an assistant professor

36:02:23 Social survey data processed but not much used until the late 1990's when I decided I wanted to do a book about demography; had been doing a longitudinal study of four villages in the Nilgiri Hills, all Badaga villages; had take a full census every nine years over a twenty-seven year period; recorded a demographic transition at the mid-point when women decided to adopt birth control; noted that the standard of living went up, number of children born lower than in Japan, so not reproducing themselves; problem of using old punch cards as there were no card reading machines but had had the forethought to have the cards put onto computer tape and was found to be still readable; brought out a book 'Kindreds of the Earth' on the demographic modernization that I witnessed; moral of this story also applies to film and whether it will be readable in fifty year's time

43:40:12 Aldous Huxley at Berkeley; Ruth St Denis, founder of modern dance

48:37:05 had two main interests in anthropology - South India and film; among other books wrote dictionary of Badaga language with Christiane Pilot-Raichoor; had been a script writer for television in Sydney and had shot some 16mm film in India while doing fieldwork; Colin Young launched ethnographic documentary production program at U.C.L.A Film School; Richard Hawkins in charge but I was the anthropologist; taught for a couple of years together

52:49:00 Mark McCarty and I unhappy with documentary commentaries so decided to make a film in a language neither knew with no commentary; chose most difficult language, gaelic in Dunquin, west of Ireland; Blasket Islands three miles offshore which had been documented by Peig Sayers, Tom's " Críomhthain and Muiris " S' illibhe-in so didn't have to write an ethnography; we made a film called 'The Village' which is still in distribution and this year went into DVD

1:02:07:20 In 1969 made a career move as MGM studios needed an anthropologist to make a special film for NBC television called 'The Man Hunters' on recent research into the origins of mankind; by good fortune many palaeological sites were being re-excavated; filmed in South Africa, Israel and France; film reached a massive audience

1:04:43:10 Moved to University of Illinois to set up a similar program on film in anthropology; Chicago an interesting place to be; friendship with Sol Tax; in 1973 in charge of the film program for Ninth World Congress in anthropology in Chicago; Mouton had agreed to publish the proceedings; Sol Tax got them to agree to publish a series on World Anthropology which did not have to rely on Congress papers; given an opportunity to publish a book on Visual Anthropology and able to gather articles from Jean Rouch, Robert Gardner, Asen Balikci, John Marshall and others; Margaret Mead wrote the opening chapter; book did very well and has been translated and is still in print

1:11:36:04 Wrote several books on South Indian cultures and edited others; 1990's three huge editing projects; asked by Mel Ember to edit the South Asian volume of Encyclopedia of World

Cultures; followed with the South East Asian volume for the same; more recently South Asia editor Encyclopedia of Modern Asia; then Jay Ruby relinquished editorship of journal Visual Anthropology and I took over; film-makers not necessarily good writers, an exception is David McDougall; to maintain the standard widened the area of focus to theatre, circuses, rock art, archaeology etc.

1:16:47:07 Recently have become Professor Emeritus from University of Illinois and now am teaching in Hong Kong; have become first English Dean of a Chinese university for over sixty years - Dean of Social Sciences and Humanities in a brand-new college in Zhuhai next to Macao run jointly by Hong Kong Baptist University and Beijing Normal University which we hope will give quality education entirely in English for Chinese students; after four years hope to develop a graduate program and a film production program

1:18:05:19 Of all the anthropologists I have known Robert Murphy and Ronald Cohen were outstanding; Mandelbaum was very good on caste theory; also had a close relationship with Louis Dumont as I was one of the translators of his book on ideologies; regret I never had a chance to study with him; like the French ethnographers including Marie-Louise Reiniche who directed the series on Tiruvannamalai; also close to Francis Zimmerman as I had written a book on medical anthropology of the Badagas

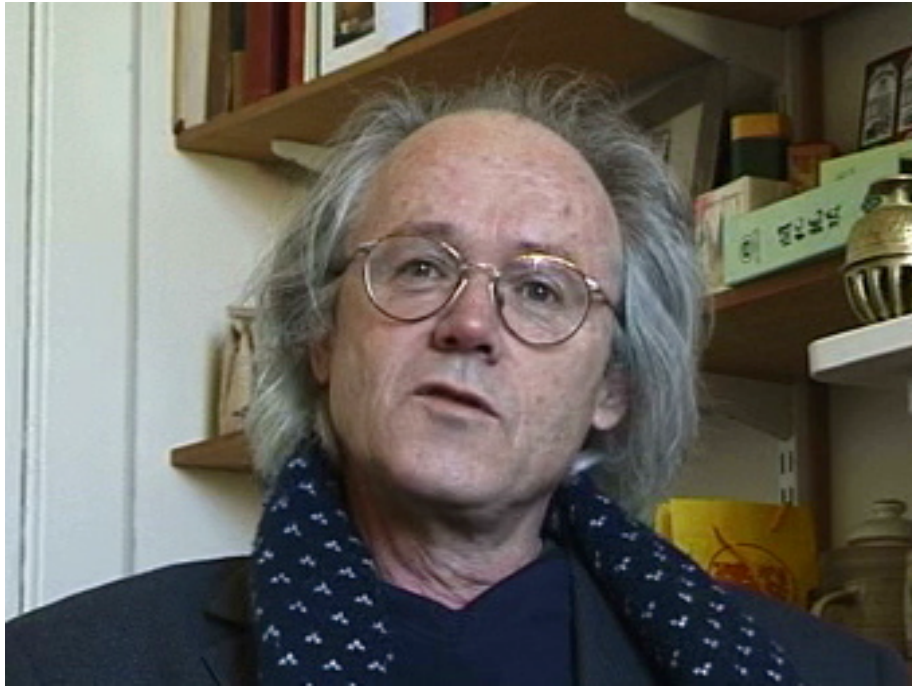
1:21:46:17 Our work on 'The Village' became known as observational cinema; a few years later Ireland joined the Common Market and the economy boomed; Dunquin became a tourist town; when we filmed there it was poor and sad, full of old people who had never married; our film turned out to be the last serious documentary on a peasant society; still a bartering society anthropological film-makers

1:25:46:09 Now working in Yunnan; full of foreign students; very welcoming and no political restrictions; ten years ago could go into villages with red flag flying in the middle; no longer see this except on Government buildings; a couple of years ago in a village near Kunming found the Party Headquarters was like an archaeological

site; the mayor was prepared to answer any questions without even asking who I was; talked with a good friend from television in Lijiang about the Dalai Lama who did indicate that it was better not to discuss him because the media does work under restrictions, but not ordinary people; for many years there were huge tracts of China that were closed to foreigners and C.I.A. and other intelligence organizations thought things were being hidden; I have been through some of these areas and the problem was that nowhere was there a western-style toilet so the Province was closed to prevent tourists from suffering bad toilets

1:30:42:01 Heard Jiddu Krishna Murty speak in Sydney when a student there; he had been picked out by Annie Besant as the new Messiah but had later rejected Theosophy; spent his life wandering round the world talking to people; a great guide for the twentieth century and possible this century

Gary Kildea



3 November 2006

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1139477/1139486.m4v>

From Free University in Berlin website

Gary Kildea was born in Sydney, Australia. He started his working life in a film studio as a sound assistant. He later moved into editing working on commercials, dramatic features and documentaries. In the early '70s he moved to Papua New Guinea taking a job as a director/cinematographer for the national film unit.

In 1975 he travelled to England and studied drama film direction at the National Film School of Great Britain. After that he returned to Australia and worked on a series of independent documentaries in the Asia/Pacific region. He came to the Australian National University in Canberra in the mid 80's to work in its Ethnographic Film Unit. He continues to work at the ANU and as an independent documentary filmmaker. In recent years he has also taught filmmaking in the Visual Cultural Studies program at the University of Tromsø, Norway.

Some of his films as director are: *The Great Chimbu Pig Festival* (1972); *Concerning the Lives of the People* (1973); *Trobriand Cricket - an ingenious response to colonialism* (1975); *Ileksen* (1978); *Celso and Cora - a Manila story* (1984); *Valencia Diary* (1991); *Man of Strings* (1999); *Koriam's Law* (2005).

INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Interviewed by Alan Macfarlane 3rd November 2006

0:05:05 Born in Sydney, Australia, 1948, of Irish ancestry; went to Catholic school where didn't do very well; didn't go to university but wanted to go into the film industry; making films even when in high school with 8mm borrowed cameras; did a holiday job and bought an instamatic camera; got interested in photography and saved up for a SLR camera; read books on film making including 'The Simple Art of Making Films' by Tony Rose; left school at 16 and went into the sound department of a general film studio which did everything from advertisements to documentaries; couple of years later got opportunity to do sound edits on feature films and then to picture editing

4:46:20 Starting at 16, by 20 beginning to be a film editor; started to get interested in Papua New Guinea; father was there during the war as an electrician building airstrips and showed us pictures; Papua given by British to Australia at turn of the century; at that stage German New Guinea to north and Dutch New Guinea to west; latter now Indonesia and Germany stripped of colony after the war and became a U.N. mandated territory which was administered by Australia from 1919 to 1975 when it gained independence; first went there end of 1970; got a job in Department of Information Film Unit as director-cameraman; made films for the administration but later got a chance to make ethnographic films

8:29:18 First film was 'Bugla Yunggu' about the great Chimbu pig festival; went up by myself with Canon 16mm camera without sound which was recorded separately; this period was when first sync sound was coming in; at that time had not much knowledge of anthropology though did consult later, including Paula Brown who had worked in the area; made a couple more films before 'Trobriand Cricket', one called 'Concerning the Lives of the People' which was my first foray into cinema verité type film with sync sound with the idea of sub-titling; idea of the film was to give some idea of the country at the time of self-government in 1973 which preceded independence in 1975; had freedom to go where I

wanted and film in a style that I determined; at that time had not seen the MacDougal's film or met them at that stage though I had heard of it and inspired me

14:21:22 Around that time Jerry Leach who had been working in the Trobriand contacted me and asked if I would like to work on the film which later became 'Trobriand Cricket'; thought I would be confined by anthropological strictures but found there were none; the film was a reconstruction and is described as such several times in the film; it was a demonstration match; working with an anthropologist was progress for me as it introduced me more intimately to the whole notion of anthropology and brought me here to Cambridge 30 years ago to work with Jerry on the editing; in some ways a backward step from unfettered film making towards where I was heading as in 'Celso and Corea'

18:36:10 One of the great things was to come here to Cambridge and to spend the best part of a year here in 1975; I remember going to some seminars, Jack Goody was in charge; remember Stephen Hugh-Jones and Paul Sillito was here; remember Gilbert Lewis whose son is now an anthropologist whom I met at L.S.E. last year; anthropological imagination open to anyone; think anthropology a wonderful philosophy but I am first and foremost a film maker

21:20:08 best in film making has more in common with best in anthropology; people deride visual anthropology as a nonsense as you can't make an argument in a movie; interesting debate philosophically and should be taken seriously as it goes to some of the most profound epistemological notions; most of the debate is at a superficial level with epistemological concerns mixed up with institutional concerns; arguments for and against visual anthropology; Jay Ruby's hopes for it; fundamental differences in perception and knowledge making in the mind; Kant's reflective and determinant judgements and propositions; Walter Pater's dictum on music relevant to film; anthropological film makers must understand they must go with the event and have it lead to abstractions like Harold Pinter, it is a play

37:55:00 Showing of 'Koriam's Law' at Kent and Bill Watson's comments on the film holding back on explanation; better to read the film as if it were a play rather than an ethnography; other people feel anthropology should be broader than a scientific discipline but should aspire to be a humane and engaged philosophy and more like an art; this is an argument for anthropologists to solve; latest film 'Koriam's Law' made with anthropologist Andrew Lattas is about anthropology, the anthropologist and the informant are the moral centre; description of the beginning of the film which sets out its rationale - black, white, history; contains ethnography but does not constitute ethnography but at the same time it is suffused with anthropology; where else can we find the simple truth that different cultures are equivalent, all trying to solve the same problems of the human organism; Peter, the main informant, says as much at the end of the film; worth of anthropology; thoughts on cargo cult and cosmological ideas

David MacDougall



29,30 June 2007

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1125763/1125773.m4v>

David MacDougall, *Transcultural Cinema* (1998)

From Australian National University website

David MacDougall is a documentary filmmaker and writer on cinema. He was educated at Harvard University and the University of California at Los Angeles. His first feature-length film, *To Live With Herds*, filmed in Uganda, won the Grand Prix Venezia Genti at the Venice Film Festival in 1972. Soon after this, he and his wife Judith MacDougall produced the Turkana Conversations trilogy of films on semi-nomadic camel herders of northwestern Kenya. Of these, *Lorang's Way* won the First Prize of Cinéma du Réel in Paris in 1979, and *The Wedding Camels* the Film Prize of the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1980. With Judith MacDougall, he then co-directed a number of films on indigenous communities in Australia and, in 1991, a film on photographic practices in an Indian hill town, *Photo Wallahs*. In 1993 he made *Tempus de Baristas*, on goat herders in the mountains of Sardinia, winner of the 1995 Earthwatch Film Award. In 1997 he began conducting a film study of the Doon School in northern India. This resulted in five films: *Doon School Chronicles* (2000), *With Morning Hearts* (2001), *Karam in Jaipur* (2001), *The New Boys* (2003), and *The Age of Reason* (2004). He then began filming at a progressive, co-educational boarding school in South India and in a shelter for homeless children in New Delhi. His experimental film *SchoolScapes* (2007) won the Basil Wright Film Prize at the 2007 RAI International Festival of Ethnographic Film and his recent film, *Gandhi's Children* (2008), was awarded the Grand Prize at the 2009 Astra Film Festival. It was also nominated for "Best Documentary Feature Film" at the 2009 Asia Pacific Film Awards and awarded a High Commendation. MacDougall's latest film is *Awareness* (2010), made jointly with Judith MacDougall. MacDougall writes regularly on documentary and ethnographic cinema and is the author of *Transcultural Cinema* (Princeton University Press, 1998) and *The Corporeal Image: Film, Ethnography, and the Senses* (Princeton, 2006). He lives in Australia and is presently Adjunct Professor at the Research School of Humanities, Australian National University, and Canberra.

INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Interview by Alan Macfarlane, 29th and 30th June 2007

0:05:08 Born New Hampshire, US, 1939; parents both teachers at a progressive co-educational boarding school; father, Canadian, trained as a civil engineer but both parents taught during the depression and then started the school with some other teachers; there for first five years of my life; father son of a minister, mother from up-state New York and her father was a surgeon; met on a boat going to Europe as students; married in the British Embassy in Paris; mother interested in literature and the arts; father, though a scientist, played musical instruments and as a youth carved wooden puppets; mother interested in films and I was taken often by her to the cinema; have an older brother but because of seven year's difference upbringing more like an only child; moved to New York from Vermont during the War; mother teaching at the Dalton School, Manhattan, where I went from grade 1 to 8; remember one geography teacher, John Seeger, who was a great story teller, and interesting, kind, influential teacher; first film I remember seeing at school was 'Nanook of the North'; also had a good chemistry teacher

9:29:14 Started taking photographs at an early age; first camera took 127 film, next camera took half-frames; later started doing street photography and got a Voigtlander camera with good lens and began to work in the dark room at Dalton School; had begun developing film at home in a dark room I had made in a closet; continued developing and printing photographs through secondary school where they also had a dark room; at thirteen went to boarding school, Putney; some resemblance to the Doon School as in all boarding schools you are away from the family and have to make a life with other people; other common things are dormitories, meals at certain times, sports, bells; enjoyed school as stimulating environment; music, writing for the school literary magazine which I eventually edited; not a keen games player but did fencing which I also did at University; myopia; good English teacher, an African-American, educated in England, had run for Governor of a State, had been a wrestler and preacher, and loved

literature - Jeff Campbell; in senior year had another English teacher, a lover of Yeats' poetry

16:57:21 Didn't begin filming until University and then only in a minor way; had my great aunt's camera, an early 16mm Bell and Howell and did begin to make little films about my friends; majored in English at Harvard and did begin to take anthropology; in anthropology, Barbara Whiting was teaching; first ethnography I read was 'The Nuer'; before this, at fourteen, had been to Africa where father was working on a survey of a river system in northern Angola; allowed to take a term off from school to join parents there; very valuable experience; able to go with engineers up rivers in dugout canoes, crocodiles on the banks; got a job doing their photographic processing in their dark room in the main office in Luanda; from that time on always had an interest in Africa but more accidental that I ended up making films there as that was part of a postgraduate film making project; no particularly memorable teachers either in anthropology or English

23:17:03 At the end of four years at Harvard had decided I wanted to make films; friends and I went weekly to the Brattle Theatre and saw some extraordinary films; this was an art cinema and saw films by Antonioni, Godard, De Sica; had been taking writing courses and in final year studied with Archibald MacLeish but decided I was much more fascinated with cinema; decided to try to find a job in film making; found one in New York with a company making documentary and educational films called 'US Productions'; one of the directors, Al Butterfield, an historian (brother of Herbert), and they made both history and science films; hired as a researcher; first job was on a film about the White House which they hoped to get cooperation on from Jackie Kennedy; film never made; did some writing as well but forbidden to touch a camera or an editing machine; secretly took a night school course at Columbia in film production where I was finally able to get my hands on a camera and to edit film; good course where the whole class collaborated on a single film, the subject of which was 'garbage'; each filmed some footage and edited jointly; I filmed mostly in Fulton Fish Market and garbage trucks; 1962 about to be drafted to Vietnam; applied to the Peace Corps to put off the draft and was sent to Africa; once

out of the Peace Corps applied for an educational deferment to go to graduate school which was granted

30:42:10 Not really politicised until I went to UCLA and then began to feel the idiocy of the war; as a Peace Corps worker sent to Nyasaland which became independent Malawi while I was there; sent as a secondary school teacher in a teacher training college; very much enjoyed two years there and got another view of school life; had a camera but had little experience; filmed some of the independence celebrations and cultural performances; enjoyed roaming round villages on my own; continued to take still photographs; read a lot of books on prehistory and archaeology of Central Africa there; visited the museum in Livingstone; applied for two postgraduate programs in US, one in anthropology at Berkeley because Desmond Clark was teaching there, the other the film school at UCLA; opted for the film school

35:31:21 The Director was Colin Young, who became a major figure in my life; went there in 1965 and stayed until 1970 by which time I'd got an MFA degree in cinema and had made a number of films; there when they created one of the first programs in ethnographic film; joint program with Wally [Walter] Goldschmidt, head of anthropology, funded by the Ford Foundation, to bring together anthropology and film students; teachers led fairly ambitious projects to make films, in Ireland and Chile; I became involved in the third project in Uganda; by that time I had met Judith on the course and had asked her to shoot one of my first student films and I shot her thesis film; both went to Uganda as crew; I was asked to shoot the film; our professor, Richard Hawkins, nominally directing the film left a lot of decisions to me due to unpredictability of subject; used 16mm with sync sound; very privileged as film students to have access to the very latest equipment

40:10:15 Rationale of this ethnographic film program was to create collaborations between anthropologists and film makers, the anthropologists supplying the knowledge and concepts and the film makers supplying the film making skills; however at the back of Colin Young's mind was the anthropologist-film maker, someone who combined the two; one reason why Rouch was such an

influential character; trained initially as an engineer, then as an anthropologist and wrote PhD on labour migration in West Africa; perhaps one of the few who combined anthropological and film making skills; I believe in an authored cinema, essentially made by one person rather by the industrial model with separate roles for sound engineer, camera man, director, producer, editor; the latter was the model for the 'Disappearing World' series which worked occasionally but often not well at all; always conflicting concepts of what the film should be; there were some good films such as those made by David Turton and Leslie Woodhead [among the Mursi], 'Onka's Big Moka', Hugh Brody's film on the Inuit, one on Ashanti market women, but in general there were tremendous tensions in the process; film maker is after a different kind of knowledge to the anthropologist, so an epistemological question about how you define anthropological knowledge arises; this is the problem that runs through visual anthropology; often the film maker is making just as rigorous an analysis of what's being filmed as the anthropologist but it is a different one, and this creates the problem; or the anthropologist is interested in a didactic and informational film and the film maker in an experiential approach to knowledge

47:49:24 In Uganda, Richard Hawkins teamed up with Suzette Heald who was doing research on the Gisu so we made a film about Gisu initiation; initially the film came to nothing as Richard had large teaching commitment and didn't get round to editing it, then tragically all the negative footage was lost in film laboratory and all we had was the scratched cutting print; finally finished many years later by Richard and Suzette; University let Judith and me stay on in Uganda with the film equipment to try to make a film of our own; we sold our return tickets to America and bought an old Land Rover; made a kind of connection with Makerere University in Kampala through Peter Rigby who was teaching there; they lent us a tent and camping equipment and wrote the necessary letters to give to officials when asking permission to film; went up to Karimoja District in north-eastern Uganda where there are herding people where I wanted to make a film; met some other anthropologists who gave us connections to local people; more or less worked out a film that was to be my thesis film as Judith had finished hers; had everything but film; Richard Hawkins found

enough money to buy some black and white film and we had a little colour film left over from the Gisu project; made one long film 'To Live with Herds' and two short films, 'Under the Men's Tree' and 'Nawi'; these films made at a significant point in visual anthropology because of the use of subtitling; this developed as a result of being able to film with synchronized sound so that you could record conversations, then people wanted to know what subjects were saying; also, we'd grown up looking at subtitled films from Europe so seemed absolutely logical; also a rejection of the didactic style of documentary film we had grown up with where you are told what to think of the images and images are often just background to the soundtrack; led to longer takes, not running round for different angles; also attracted by the narrative possibilities of cinema; increasingly felt that films should be shot from more or less one perspective, as observers rather than directing the action

1:01:47:10 In the case of 'To Live with Herds' we had gone to make a visual ethnography of Jie life in past and present; found Jie under stress due to Government administration and moving into a cash economy; problems of water shortage and dependence on bore holes; whether to send children to school; realized it was more important to make a film on the contemporary situation and the Jie response to new pressures; effort by administrators to settle pastoralists and turn them into agriculturalists in places where agriculture was marginal; influential paper by Peter Rigby 'Pastoralism and Prejudice'; if there was a target audience for this film it would have been Government administrators; advocacy anthropology

1:07:05:00 Went back to film school; thesis film was 'Nawi'; both received our degrees in 1970; got a job working with James Blue who had taught for a time at UCLA, trained in the French film school IDHEC, who had made a feature film in Algeria during the war there and a number of other interesting documentaries; Rice University in Houston had created a new media centre funded by the Menil family; invited James Blue to come and I got a job with him; Colin Young also came for short periods to teach and similarly Roberto Rossellini; David Hancock, promising young film maker, also on the staff but unfortunately died young; tried to

rotate the three teaching positions so that each one would have a year off to do a film project; felt that teachers of film making must be active although hard to get the University to accept; Judith and I went back to Africa for a year and a half to make the Turkana films

1:11:53:08 On the Turkana, the main film we set out to make which ended up being 'The Wedding Camels' was fairly conventional in anthropological terms; wanted to look at Turkana society through a focal event which highlight all the major preoccupations of their life - live-stock ownership, alliances between families, polygyny; wanted to follow a marriage from the discussions over bride wealth right up to the ceremonies; had to wait nine months for this to happen as nobody was marrying until the rains came; spent time trying to work out all the potential marriages that might take place, then selected one; this film worked as we intended; made two other films which were less predictable, one about the ways co-wives cooperate and their relationships with husband - 'A Wife among Wives'; third became a portrait of the patriarch of the family, Lorang - 'Lorang's Way'; essentially making three films at once; I was shooting and Judith did the sound recording; shared the decision-making entirely; Judith regrets that we didn't spend more time focussing on women's lives; she is a marvellous cinematographer and I now feel we should have done more sharing of jobs, but we did collaborate very well in the field and in the editing stage

Second part

0:05:08 Turkana films took several years to edit; problems in the filming due to remoteness of the place; for any communications had to go to Eldoret or Nairobi; after exposing about 5000 feet of film, sent it to the lab and when the rushes came back found half of it was out of focus; due to an element in the lens having been put in backwards when checked by technician before we left; problems with camera motor burning out which we tried to get repaired in Nairobi; have kept a dossier of all these difficulties with letters going back and forth; Land Rover also once stolen; had originally intended to go back to Jie but in the interim Idi Amin took power in Uganda and we realized it would be difficult and dangerous; shifted the project over the border to Northern Kenya; Turkana

speaking essentially the same language as the Jie so the closest group culturally that we could work with; in Nairobi a procedure to go through to get permission to film which involved getting a research permit from the President's office and permission from the Ministry of Information; frustrating as each wanted the other's permission first; luckily Richard Leakey stepped in as we'd made an association with the National Museums of Kenya and got the permissions for us; went up to the Turkana region and started working, language learning and meeting people; at first Lorang was the one senior person in the area who wanted nothing to do with us; told his wives to keep away from us; eventually did meet him and discovered he was extraordinarily interesting, the intellectual among his peers; had the advantage of having been away from Turkana so had a wider perspective than most men; after a short time got on well together and he enjoyed talking about the problems of change; permitted us to film in his compound; indicates that the most keen for contact are not necessarily the best to work with; after waiting for nine months, the rains came and Lorang's daughter married, and we were able to follow the bride-wealth negotiations

8:39:23 Due back to teach at Rice but the ceremony took longer than expected and James Blue very kindly stood in for me; while in Turkana we received a letter enclosing an advertisement from the Aboriginal Institute in Australia for two ethnographic film makers to re-establish a film unit at the institute; previously Roger Sandall had made films for them and they had contracted others to Curtis Levy; telegram sent inviting me to come to Australia for an interview; we were in middle of the bride-wealth negotiation, filming every day, so no possibility of leaving; camera motor burnt out at this point and sent telegram to Roger Sandall in Sydney asking him to meet and take the motor for repair while I went to Canberra for the interview; jet lagged and late for the interview; disagreed with the plans they had for the unit but was offered the job with Judith as part of the team; picked up the repaired motor and returned to continue the filming; fulfilled the rest of my commitment at Rice to teach for the rest of the year and then took up the post at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

14:28:09 Thought we would stay in Australia for a few years but have stayed there since 1975; prior work of the Institute had been primarily salvage anthropology, trying to film ceremonies mostly in the Central Desert which were thought to be disappearing; Roger Sandall had done a long series of films with Nicolas Peterson and others, documenting these events; Curtis Levy had made film about Tiwi mortuary ceremonies and I was told by Peter Ucko on my arrival that I would be expected to film a further mortuary ceremony that was happening in a few weeks; got in touch with Maria Brandl who was doing anthropological work among the Tiwi on Melville Island; went there and made film guided by her; brought a Tiwi man to Canberra to help with editing and he provided a commentary on the events in the film; this was a practice we continued to use in Aboriginal communities; found it very different from filming African pastoralists where a premium is placed on being able to speak well in public which seemed totally different from the cultural style of Aboriginal people whose discourse is highly referential and symbolic; struggled with the problem and never quite solved it; then realized that times were changing and it was important for indigenous people now to make the sorts of films we had been making before; training programme for Aboriginal film makers; after about 12 years eased ourselves out and proposed that the film unit should be dissolved; began to work independently for a while on grants; Kim McKenzie had been appointed as third member of the Film Unit and he went on to make 'Waiting for Harry' and he solved the problem in a very different way

22:01:20 Peter Ucko marvellous to work with as he was loyal to staff and allowed one to work as one wished without interference; Institute very lively but gradually became more bureaucratized and lost its spark when he left; Ian Dunlop not part of this group but worked for the Australian Commonwealth Film Unit which then became Film Australia so based in Sydney; first met him in 1968 and when I came to Australia we became friends; conferred about many things such as what policy we should adopt if people wanted to use footage from our films; how to deal with distress that Aborigines might feel if films were shown of people who had died

24:55:00 From 1986 filming free lance; had a brief fellowship at Humanities Research Centre, ANU, and also did some teaching there; Ian Donaldson was the director of the HRC at the time and Anthony Forge the head of the anthropology department; Judith and I applied for a documentary film fellowship established by the Australian Film Commission in conjunction with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation; proposed making a film about still photography; theme of ten undocumented photographs and detective work on identifying them; given the fellowship but didn't make this particular film; at that point invited to an ethnographic film conference being held in India in the palace of the Maharajah of Jodhpur organised by his cousin; had never been to India before but encouraged by people at the conference to make the film in India as it had a long history of photography; interesting proposition so began to travel around; notion of finding a village with one photographer and focusing on his clientele and the events recorded; never found such a place; had been reading the novels of Narayan and his focus on small figures in Malgudi and we hoped to find a photographer like that; next step was to make contact with Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) and met Director Martand Singh who suggested we go to Mussoorie; hill station full of photographers of all sorts; resulted in the film 'Photo Wallahs'

36:12:22 Indirectly led to the film on the Doon School; next project was without Judith, made a film in Sardinia at the request of the Ethnographic Institute there on mountain shepherds - 'Tempus de Baristas' - made as co-production with the BBC, one of the few times there has been television money; commissioning editor was Andre Singer who was commissioning a series called 'Fine Cut' at that time; extra money allowed me to take more time and to hire Dai Vaughan as editor who had worked with us on 'Photo Wallahs'; probably the finest documentary editor in British television and learnt a lot from him; project finished in 1994 when film was shown; BBC version was 90 minutes though the actual film was 100 minutes; lost four sequences which I prize the most but not essential to the framework; next project was the Doon School; contacted by an Indian anthropologist Sanjay Srivastava who was completing his PhD on three schools of Northern India at Sydney University; suggested it might make a good subject for a

documentary film; had thought of collaborating but he got a lectureship and went off to teach and I made the films

42:15:00 On first visit met the headmaster who was remarkably open and welcoming thinking it would give the school a different perspective on itself and be very valuable; students' education word-based and not very critical of visual images and very good for them to have a film maker around; able to do this work on a fairly small budget as could use digital video; started with a Sony model 200 which one held on the shoulder; Doon School is probably the most famous boys' boarding school in India; the use of digital video permitted me to make the films alone which seemed appropriate in the context of the school; had made a verbal agreement with ABC Television and BBC to make a film on Doon but BBC pulled out so made it on University research budget; felt free to make films as I chose; 'Doon School Chronicles' is over two hours long, divided into ten chapters, looks at the ideology of the school as well at the responses of the boys; part of the quid pro quo was that I should train some student film makers which I did with a group of about eight; they made a fortnightly film magazine which was shown to the school on film nights until they dropped the school camera in the river; used texts found in school archives and round the school which I used as epigraphs for chapters; began experimenting inserting still images; went on to make four more films which become progressively more narrowly focussed, the last on a single student

52:32:13 'Doon School Chronicles' was the product of a change in direction in my own thinking; had thought of school as a meeting place for boys with great varieties of experience - home, religion - but found school homogeneous with strong traditions and rituals; modelled on British public school to train leaders who would take over after Independence; stressed leadership, independence, self-confidence, but regimented in a way; after a few weeks felt I was in the middle of a stage play; wondered if you could look at a school as a creative work in some sense; led me to look at the social aesthetic of the school, trying to look at rituals, patterns of gesture, speech behaviour, which creates the specific cultural and physical environment; later films less explicitly about that but still in the background; over period of 3-4 years was in the school for about

fourteen months, for periods of up to four months at a time; never had any problems with climate of fear surrounding filming children which effects such ventures in Britain and Australia; still do not find this anxiety in India but don't believe such films could be made in Britain and Australia; nothing really surprised me, found parallels with other schools, and my own boarding school had prepared me for much that went on; classic problems of teasing and bullying that went on under the surface; found school tried to account for every minute of the students' time and they ended up being quite stressed, especially towards the end of term; school's complex punishment system, preoccupation with clothing

1:02:22:09 After finishing the Doon project (the last film was edited 2003) I began filming at a school in South India called the Rishi Valley School, a coeducational boarding school, based on the ideas of Krishnamurti; progressive educational philosophy which is similar to the one at Putney School where I went; just substitute John Dewey for Krishnamurti; began filming and have made two long and several shorter films which are in collaboration with students; as a third project began living and filming in a shelter for homeless children in New Delhi; comparing three institutional sites for children in India; just finishing a fairly complete edit of the third project film; to edit use Final Cut Pro on a Mac; have an editing room at the University next to my office; Judith and I have been back to Rishi Valley School as I had not been able to film the girls; during a month's stay she filmed a group of girls while I did a group of boys; that film has yet to be edited

1:06:38:23 Advice to a young anthropologist - don't be afraid about making a film if you don't know the subject fully; camera can be a way of exploring the subject; feel that films should be part of the process of research not post facto publication of some previous research; may end up not making a film at all but the camera gives you access to situations through which you learn; I don't enjoy technology for its own sake; learn to hold the camera steady, find a frame of interest, let us look at what you find interesting

1:10:10:22 Think films can reflect complex thought but not good at making propositional statements about the world, partly due to dealing with specific cases and not having the ability to summarize

many examples; films can be highly analytical in the way they explore their subject and the kinds of juxtapositions they create; words are incredibly important in film as in writing; attraction of Lorang as a Turkana intellectual; also find children have intellectual skills we tend to underestimate; words are important but don't like them to dominate films; camera can be a personal writing instrument in allowing other people to experience what you have; I move from one mode to another depending on the circumstances

Karl Heider



30 June 2007

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1120495/1120504.m4v>

Karl G. Heider, *Ethnographic film* (revised edn., 2006)

INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Interviewed by Alan Macfarlane 30th June 2007

0:05:08 Born Northampton, Massachusetts, 1935; father was an Austrian gestalt psychologist (Fritz Heider) who came to Smith College to work with Koffka for one year in 1930; met Grace Moore, a graduate student whom he married in December 1930; I was first of three sons and grew up in what should have been a bi-cultural environment but unaware that father was not American until about ten; father wrote important book 'Psychology of Interpersonal Relations'; in 1940 he made a little film of geometric figures as an experiment to talk about what became known as attribution theory; always remained in back of my mind; recently the problem that most interests me is how you use visual materials for research which is somewhat different from making ethnographic films; in West Sumatra over the last 20 years I have been trying to develop various ways to use video in research into emotions; realize what I was doing was quite similar to what my father had done in 1940; when I started working on emotions he was very opposed to the idea that there were any cultural components to emotions; like most psychologists he thought he was dealing with a pan species phenomenon; father never spoke German at home; his life before 1930 was a closed book and he didn't really want to talk about it; mother was also a psychologist; she worked with father and eventually got a PhD

8:16:09 We moved to Kansas in 1947 which I hated; summer that I graduated in 1952 I went on an archaeological dig in South Dakota reservation with Carlyle Smith, as a shovel hand for \$17 a week plus room and board with other Kansas High School boys and boys from the reservation; entranced by stories of Indian life and became hooked on anthropology; went to Williams College in Massachusetts but they had no anthropology at the time; kept doing fieldwork in South Dakota in the summer; transferred as a junior to Harvard which at that time in 1954 had one of the few anthropology departments; interviewed by Hallam Movius and Ernest Hooten who said I could stay in the Peabody and do real anthropology or go to Social Relations; went to Department of Anthropology at the Peabody; already knew a lot; took courses

from Cora du Bois which were not good though I did get to know and like her later on; over all I had three great teachers there, Cora du Bois, Clyde Kluckhohn and John Pelzel; was in Kluckhohn's seminar a year before he died which was marvellous; he knew a little bit about everything; I dedicated my revised dissertation when published to him; Cora du Bois gave me a studio photograph of him; contemporaries included Olaf Prufer, Herman Blibetroy and Marguerite Robinson; Olaf Prufer had been digging in Patiala (India) as the archaeologist to the Prince of Patiala; when Peabody Library closed at 5pm we graduate students would meet as the 'Hunters and Gatherers', among whom was George Appell; (George was always driven; he and Laura Nader are now the most morally driven anthropologists I know; George and his wife Laura were driving forces in the Borneo community; he did the first book on ethics in anthropology taking the Harvard Business School case study method); we discussed things we were reading like Julian Stewart on cultural evolution; I was still very oriented towards archaeology at that time

23:35:05 Hooten died in Spring of 1954 and they hired Bill Kelly who directed me to the Fort McDowell Yavapai Reservation near Phoenix, Arizona; spent a summer there on an undergraduate research grant; wrote an honours thesis on acculturation; had intended to go straight on to graduate school but invited to direct a production of 'The Mikado' and after was interviewed for a Sheldon travelling scholarship and opted to go to Japan; spent next year slowly travelling across Asia; did not, ironically, get to Indonesia where I spent the rest of my career; did some archaeology in Thailand; got an Austrian Government fellowship while in India and went to the Institute of Ethnology in Vienna where Heine-Geldern and Koppers were both there; Heine-Geldern came out of retirement to teach on South East Asia; very generous with his time and when he went to give lectures in Japan gave me access to his library; had an amazing memory; one of the reasons I have been working in Minangkabau in West Sumatra for two decades was his fascination with the Asian multiple roofs which one also found in Norway

32:44:18 There was not any interest in film or photography in the institute; Koppers was pretty old and would give a lecture and

leave; there were a couple of other Americans around, one I had know in High School in Kansas, who was then called David Horr but now changed to David Agee; Austria in a pretty grim state at that time so Austrian students had to work and study part-time; the Institute was above the Spanish stables; exciting as my first experience of becoming fluent in a foreign language and I immersed myself in theatre, opera and music; still intended to be an archaeologist; I had discovered a bronze age site in Thailand but that summer dug in the Dordogne with Hallam Movius; relations with him became difficult and he would not support me to go back to Thailand; got on to the Pennsylvania University dig at the Tikal (Mayan) site in Guatemala instead

38:46:21 At that time smoked heavily and met Robert Gardner, who also smoked, on the steps of the Peabody; had done a lot of still photography on trip across Asia and one of the places I was most interested in were Angkor Wat ruins; suggested to Gardner that it would be great to film the carved friezes; this came to nothing but Gardner suggested I make a film of the Tikal site; he had helped Marshall edit 'The Hunters'; he and Marshall were both poets and by the time the film was finished their relationship had deteriorated to the point that Marshall did not put Gardner in the credits; Gardner was director of the Film Study Center in the basement of the Peabody which had been funded initially by the Marshall family; Gardner really wanted to do his own film; in 1960 a Dutch New Guinea official, Victor DeBruyn, head of the Bureau of Native Affairs came on a tour of the US to try to drum up interest in anthropology; Gardner jumped at this and put together the Harvard-Peabody expedition; turned out that Pennsylvania had a 16mm movie camera and Gardner showed me how to use it; came back at the end of the summer with good footage which I was editing under the title 'Tikal' when he asked me if I would like to go to New Guinea; Gardner had done the coursework for a PhD but discontinued when he became director of the Film Study Center; he had been a graduate student in history at the University of Washington and had made two or three films on the Kwakiutl myths; he intended to be behind the camera and I was willing to do my doctoral thesis there; went out in the Spring of 1961 and stayed almost three years; subsequently have published on the Dani and made a couple of films on them myself - 'Dani Sweet Potatoes' and

'Dani Houses'; acted as second camera on 'Dead Birds', the film Gardner made there; he can be difficult to work with but I get on well with him

47:46:14 Think there are four great ethnographic film makers - Jean Rouch, John Marshall, Bob Gardner and Tim Asch - none of them ever took a course in cinematography; still don't know where Gardner learnt to use a camera; according to Jean Rouch he just bought a camera and took it to West Africa; John Marshall bought a camera in Harvard and was shown how to use it in the shop; Tim Asch studied still photography with Minor White; Gardner now 82, had extraordinary energy, very curious; when among the Dani he was always out either shooting or doing ethnography; he is about to publish another book on the making of 'Dead Birds'; he filmed in 16mm without sync sound; Michael Rockefeller was recording wild sound which was post-synced; had great trouble with 16mm film in the humidity of New Guinea

53:16:00 Because of the four field approach, although nominally an archaeologist, could function as a cultural anthropologist/ethnographer; came back from New Guinea and wrote my dissertation on the material culture of the Dani; one of the rare occasions when an anthropologist saw tribal warfare going on and although I was interested in it not prepared to think deeply on it; also published a monograph on the Dugum Dani which has just been reprinted as a classic in anthropology; spent another year at Harvard as an instructor and then went to Brown as a cultural anthropologist and have never taught archaeology but am interested in artefacts; finished PhD in 1965 and spent five years at Brown from 1966; at that time quite involved in anti-Vietnam activity but Brown did not have the student unrest of other places; the award of an honorary degree to Bob Hope, a hawk, prompted student action and led to students being part of the selection panel for such degrees after that

59:35:04 Started corresponding with Jim Siegel who had also been in Cora du Bois's class but two years later; he worked in Sumatra and I asked for suggestion of where was an interesting group to study; he suggested the Batak but appalled by the difficulty of many languages; thought again of the Minangkabau as a subject for study;

had found the Dani practised a four to six year post-partum abstinence; psychologists and family did not believe this could be right; made me want to return to get more information to prove or disprove it; National Science Foundation anthropology panel had no interest in this but the Foundations fund for research in psychiatry gave me money; by that time I was married to the experimental cognitive psychologist Eleanor Rosch; we went together to New Guinea and found my earlier information was correct; published article in MAN called 'Dani Sexuality. A Low Energy System' to much media interest; however, most anthropologists still do not accept this

1:05:58:50 Married Eleanor Rosch who was a graduate student in psychology at Harvard; we stopped off in Berkeley on our way to New Guinea and stayed in Elizabeth Colson's house; met up with Paul Ekman who was working on facial expressions of emotion; he suggested we replicate his experiments with mainly American subjects with the Dani; we found the Dani replicated the pan-cultural findings of Ekman and his colleagues with one exception; showing them the pan-cultural anger face they would see it as the same as a disgust face; I had noted in my monograph that Dani do not confront in anger situations but withdraw; upshot was that I got more involved with emotions and have spent the last thirty years on the subject; moved from New Guinea to West Sumatra as I'd always wanted to work in an old high culture; Minangkabau is very close to national language of Indonesia and Malaysia; marriage didn't last; stayed in the Bay area for four years in different posts and at that time wrote a book on ethnographic film

1:11:42:08 Had earlier had tenure at Brown but left to go to California with Eleanor who could not get a job at Brown; after four years in limbo as it was a difficult time for jobs got a job at University of South Carolina as chair of a new department of anthropology and have been there ever since (for 33 years); then started the work in Minangkabau on emotion; met Malie, my now wife, almost immediately after arriving in South Carolina; took three children aged from one to five to Sumatra for the first time and spent a year there; returned then spent a second year and did the basic work on emotions which was published in 1991 as 'Landscapes of Emotion'; spent evenings watching Indonesian

movies on video to improve my language; was teaching anthropology at the provincial university at the time; had previously spent a year at Cornell on the intensive Indonesian course; realized that these were not bad American movies but good Indonesian movies based on principles that I was getting from my emotion research; ended by doing a study on Indonesian cinema which also came out in 1991, taking Indonesian films as cultural texts; this was important in supporting the detailed ethnographic work on emotion behaviour and they really complemented each other; on the whole American anthropology has not been interested in looking at cinema; one brilliant book 'Movies' by Wolfenstein and Leites published 1950; Wolfenstein was an anthropologist who had worked with Mead and Bateson during the second world war; looking at British, French and American movies and relating them to the basic principles of the three cultures; thinking of that and Bateson and Mead's work on Bali which I increasingly found methodologically sloppy

1:17:26:10 Thought highly of both of them and dedicated my book on ethnographic film to them both; on the Mead-Freeman controversy supported Mead; had written an article 'The Rashomon Effect: When Ethnographers Disagree' about the baggage people bring to the field; had given a copy to George Appell who revealed what Derek Freeman thought of Mead but couldn't publish during her lifetime: no problem in understanding why Mead should have one version and Freeman another given the obvious differences between them and the informants they chose to use and the time difference; did my own study over two years on Minangkabau based on the Bateson Mead work on Bali but tightening up the methodology; the data was comparable but also used video as a research tool; in the end I couldn't use it; I retire in a year and will spend the following year writing; couldn't use the data because it is too personal and revealing and can't be published for that reason

1:24:02:11 I am interested in ethnographic film but we know how to do that; what I am interested in is how we can use video to enhance ethnographic research; I have some partially finished papers that I want to get out to show what visual anthropology can be as tools to add to our methodology; would still love to do an

ethnographic film on the Minangkabau and another round of
emotion research but need to get this out of the way first

Liang Bibo



28 July 2008

<http://downloads.sms.cam.ac.uk/1124519/1124530.m4v>

INTERVIEW SUMMARY

Interviewed in Chengdu, China by Alan Macfarlane 28th July 2008

0:09:07 Born 1963 in Sichuan Province, China; father is an engineer and was working on an irrigation system and mother, a teacher, both now retired; I was very much influenced by them; father was a very dedicated worker so most of his time was spent at work; mother was very open and children came to my house every day; as a little boy I had many friends, both my classmates and my mother's students; first went to primary school in 1970s in my home town; after middle school I went to an agricultural college in Mianyang city near my home town; graduated from high school in 1980s during which time it was difficult to be a college student so I was fortunate to be able to study; at school I was good at soccer though I no longer play as I am too busy; I did not really want to study agriculture but my results were not high enough to go to any other sort of college; after graduating I went to Sichuan Academy of Agricultural Sciences for nine years; there I was researching rice cultivation with a view to increasing production; however, I felt that my educational standard was not good and that I should change my career

5:43:19 In 1995 I started to be a documentary film maker; I had never done any filming before that; the film of a nun's life was my first film; I had watched a lot of film and had been a news reporter for three years before I made it; in 1992 I became a member of Chengdu Television Station and in the first three years I worked in the news department; every day I would take a camera and go around the city; that gave me the opportunity to learn to use a camera, how to edit and to do montaging; there were a lot of film-makers whom I admired; in the beginning it was my boss who suggested that I should make documentaries as he thought I had talent; he really forced me; at that time I didn't really know what it was; I tried to find someone to help me and Wang Hai-Bin became my mentor; he was working for Sichuan Television Station and he taught me a lot; at the same time I watched a lot of other people's documentaries and learnt from them

8:36:04 The first of the skills needed to make documentaries is the ability to get along with a lot of people, that is very important; the skill of how to use a camera or to edit is not very important, but the most important skill is how to talk with people and make friends so that they trust you and tell you things; secondly you must have the skill to use a camera, to edit, and to use all the equipment; thirdly, you have to know the film grammar and understand such things as close-up and wide shots and how to link them; these are the very important three points; I learnt the film grammar by myself, also from books; during the day I would shoot film and at night I would check what I had done by reading books, trying to make better film; I had a very useful experience, in 2001 I was invited by the Asian Cultural Council, a non-profit organization in America, to go to Manhattan; I lived there for six months; for the first two months I was sent to MOMA (Museum of the Moving Image) and every afternoon I watched a film; at that time I watched almost every important documentary; Joris Ivens films on China and Spain made a big impression

11:29:21 Began within this TV station to make documentaries in 1995; the first film was about the nuns of Emei mountain; that year there was a world women's conference, an international meeting, in Beijing; people were talking about women's lives so I thought that a nun's life would be a good subject; I went to Emei mountain to talk with them; it was difficult to get permission to film there; first of all I got permission from the government; I took this and showed them, and talked with the most senior nun; she agreed, but the nuns were not happy; when I tried to film they turned their backs to us; we tried to talk with them and convince them; after three days they allowed us TO film; so far there are few films about nuns because of this difficulty; we filmed for two weeks there; I would have liked to have stayed for longer but thought they might distrust me if I stayed longer; the film's length is half an hour but I have forgotten how long it took me to edit it; my next film was also about a woman's life, Er Niang, who had to support her husband and three children who were incapacitated; she was a Han; I heard about her from my friends; as a news reporter I had many friends who would alert me about special stories; the film did help her as after it was shown many people donated money to her which was very helpful for her family; she was happy to talk; this film took two

months to make; I did all the filming myself which is the usual way for documentary film makers in China; this is due to constraints on budgets but I would prefer to be able to use another cameraman; at that time a film budget was about \$20,000

17:25:06 Right now I am making two films; one is on the earthquake where I am following some survivors; the title is 'Beichuan High School'; my second film is about a museum on material concerning the behaviour of the Japanese towards the Chinese people during the Second World War; on the Beichaun film, this disaster happened on May 12th and we started filming on May 14th; we went to the area and found some children who had survived and followed them from one place to another documenting how they could find a place to sleep, find a house, and get food; we also recorded how the Government helped the survivors; I think they did very well; they sent many soldiers to the ruins to try to dig out people who were still alive; then they set up many camps so that people had somewhere to stay; they then sent in much equipment and food, everything that was necessary; also the Government organised all of China to give the support necessary; I think my Government was great at this time

20:05:15 After making the film about Er Niang, my next film was 'Pony Express' which was shot near Lugu Lake in the minority area; at that time they did not have a highway so letters were delivered on horse back; at the time the highway was under construction and opened the following year; knowing that the old method of delivery would soon disappear I went and talked with the post office worker and followed him; I made another film at Lugu Lake 'San Jie Cao' or 'Home-coming granddaughter'; it is a story about a Han lady's life; she had married the headman of Lugu Lake about fifty years before; she had witnessed the changes in Chinese society over that time, with the rise of a socialist society two years after her marriage; this film was commissioned by China Central Television (CCTV) in 1997 when everybody was aware that the century was ending and were looking at it as history; CCTV chose the top ten film makers each to make a film with an unlimited budget; I chose the life of this lady to symbolise the changes in society over one hundred years; I phoned a lot of people and after a month I heard about this lady; I took my equipment and an assistant and we went to

Lugu Lake; she had lived in Chengdu as a child; after a week of talking with her I understood her life and could see the film I wanted to make; I stayed in her home for two months and filmed her and editing also took two months; I was very lucky to be selected to make the film after only two years as a documentary film maker

25:36:20 After that film I made 'Marriage'; most of Chinese people are Han, including me, and they have an old tradition of marriage with six or seven steps; right now society is changing so quickly that this tradition has almost disappeared; one finds it only in mountain and rural areas now; I tried to find families who still followed the old tradition; in 1996 I was in France at Biarritz for FIPA (Festival International de Programmes Audiovisuel); I met a French girl who asked me if I had had an arranged marriage; I realized that I should make a film to show just how the old marriage system in China worked to show to foreigners; I found two men who were beginning to arrange a marriage; it was a real situation and not set up for the camera; before I made this film I remembered another fiction film on how young people worked hard to build the socialist countryside; I tried to follow this film but when I went to the village I found that everything was different from this fiction film; I had assumed that marriage would result from people falling in love, but when I first started filming the two men they were arguing about how much each would give the other; I was surprised and unhappy when I saw that; another film I have made is 'Winter', a short film about a village of only twelve families; it is shot over three winter months in a typical village; in history many Chinese people have come from the north to the south and this was a village on the route to Chengdu; the location is very important as is their life; we might think their life is not interesting at present, but in ten or twenty years it will be a special record

29:51:18 Within Chengdu, I have made a film about Sichuan food and its history; Chinese food has four styles, Cantonese, Beijing, Shanghai and the fourth is Sichuan; for me, Sichuan style is number one; it is hot but the chillies are from South America and arrived about three hundred years ago; the Sichuan area is one where almost everybody has come from somewhere else; many times the local people died because of war or natural disaster and

then the land filled up again; with them they carried their culture and food tastes so it is a blending from everywhere; being a documentary film maker has given me the opportunity to meet people, here and abroad; I have the chance to research lives and makes me happy; have never studied anthropology [though films, given their subjects, should be of interest to anthropologists]

APPENDIX ONE

The two appendices are based on:

Alan Macfarlane 'Early Ethnographic Film in Britain: A Reflection on the Work of Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf', *Visual Anthropology*: published in cooperation with the Commission on Visual Anthropology, 23:5, 375-397(2010)

Early Ethnographic Filming in Britain.¹

Alan Macfarlane

The first moving film camera was invented by the Lumière brothers in 1895. The first fieldwork film was taken soon thereafter by A.C.Haddon on the Second Torres Straits expedition in 1898. We might have expected that anthropologists would be eager to use a new device which made possible the capture of vivid materials 'from the field'.

The period between 1900 and 1960 saw an intersection of the last relatively untouched surviving hunter-gatherer, tribal and other societies with the period of functionalist and structural-functionalist anthropology. This gave us many detailed ethnographies, based on the new method of intensive long-term participant-observer fieldwork. We may wonder how many anthropologists took a film camera and how much film they took.

I will restrict myself to just one centre of social anthropology, Britain. This is the field I know best, having met most of the major figures trained after 1930, and conducted full interviews with many

¹ I would like to thank Paul Henley and Mark Turin very much for their thoughtful comments on an earlier draft of this article. I have also worked extensively with Anita Herle and Sarah Harrison on the Haimendorf materials and had great help from Haimendorf's son, Nicholas Haimendorf. My thanks to all of them.

of them.² British social anthropology was at its height in the period 1900-1960. We may wonder where the films of W.H.Rivers, Bronislaw Malinowski, A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, Raymond Firth, Isaac Schapera, Audrey Richards, Lucy Mair, E.E.Evans-Pritchard, Daryll Forde, Godfrey Lienhardt, Meyer Fortes, Edmund Leach, Max Gluckman, John Barnes, Jack Goody and other distinguished British anthropologists are to be found.

I have seen a few minutes of film on divination by Meyer Fortes, but cannot recall any film by any of the others named above. A preliminary check of the Royal Anthropological Institute film archive and the advice of those who have worked on anthropological film history suggests that there are no leading anthropologists who have also been serious film-makers in the period up to 1960.

There are no original early films in Cambridge or Manchester, though there are some films in the Royal Anthropological Institute, the British Film Archive and at Oxford. Yet, unless there is still film in private hands, it would appear that sixty years of intensive fieldwork was not accompanied by much filming, at least in Britain.

*

In our age of small and light video cameras, with synchronous sound, excellent lenses, incredibly cheap film lasting for an hour per film, and film that is easy to edit and ready to be viewed straight away, it is difficult to remember the difficulty facing a usually single anthropologist who was at all inclined to make his own films before the age of video. To equip him or herself and to learn to use a complex and unwieldy device such as the early cameras were not to be contemplated seriously by most.

In June 2005 I conducted an interview with one of the few professional British anthropologists who have made a film, James Woodburn.³ In answer to a question about filmmaking, Woodburn

² See the interviews on www.alanmacfarlane.com

³ The film can be seen at:

<http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/ancestors/Haimendorf.html>

replied that he thought that the most important role of film is for the people who are filmed, to preserve an archive of their way of life. Film is also valuable in teaching. He pointed out that in the past there was a conflict between doing field research and filming because of the difficulties of using 16mm equipment. At that time it was better to do research first and then to go back to make a film later, applying knowledge learnt earlier. He pointed out that even at the end of the twentieth century there is little knowledge about making ethnographic film and the many techniques that have been developed. He felt that film should be based on deep ethnographic knowledge of the people concerned, and the absence of this explains why much that is produced for television is highly unsatisfactory.

The cost of a 16mm camera in the 1930's was quite considerable. The film itself was also expensive. Even in 1969, when I bought one of the new, much cheaper, 8mm film cameras, I remember that I found the cost of film a daunting extra expense during my fieldwork. I rationed myself very carefully, counting up to 10 or 15 seconds per shot before stopping.

There were other obstacles. The cameras often broke in the field. The film had to be carefully preserved in hot and humid climates and the tins of 16mm film were heavy to carry around. Until the 1960's, there was no synchronous sound recorded on the type of camera an anthropologist might be able to afford, so one needed to take a tape recorder which was also in, the early days, very bulky and fragile.

Even if one had gone through all of this and taken film during one's fieldwork, which had competed with one's time, money and concentration during the collecting phase of fieldwork, what could one do with it when one returned? It was very expensive to print from an original, but if one avoided this stage (as Bateson and Mead did with almost all of their Bali film), by buying "reversal positive" film which produces a direct positive image when developed, then one has to cut up the master copy, as they did (and I did with my 8mm film), thus losing the order of shooting.

If one were going to edit 16mm film oneself one had to try to find one of the rare editing machines (Steenbeck) and embark on the long and laborious job of cutting up strips of film and trying to marry this to the separately recorded sound. Even in the 1970's, when devices had improved and I was dealing with only a few hours of 8mm film, I found both the cutting up of film and the synchronizing of the sound difficult. It was something to put off even the most intrepid.

If one overcame all this, what could one use the expensive and laboriously prepared films for? If one was a fully employed teacher of anthropology one might use a little in talks or lectures. Yet, as I have found, combining a lecture with more than a minute or two of film is not usually successful and setting up a 16mm projector is not the most fail-safe activity. Often all one could do was to show the film at the occasional film festival or anthropology club.

I know the difficulty of making use of film from my own experience from a generation later when things were easier. Of the several hours of 8mm film which I took in 1969 among the Gurungs and laboriously made up into films on 'Ritual', 'Agriculture' etc., I do not recall that I ever used any of the films in a professional setting - a student or graduate lecture, anthropology club or elsewhere - in the following forty years. Only my family and perhaps the occasional student going to Nepal have ever seen it. Its only use was to refresh my memories of my fieldwork as I wrote my thesis.

*

Some of the practical difficulties are recognized in the various editions of *Notes and Queries in Anthropology*. The fourth edition, published in 1912 contains an appendix on photography by A.C.Haddon, which cross-refers to the use of the 'cinematograph' for the recording of dancing. '*Records of Dances* may be made either by a written notation or by means of the *cinematograph*.... The Cinematograph should be used, if possible, with the same general precautions as the phonograph; but full explanatory notes should be taken while the cinematograph is in operation, and native names should be recorded as above, and all

accompaniment of music, song, or rhythmical noise must be recorded either by written notation or by the phonograph... When the phonograph and cinematograph records are being reproduced together, care must be taken that the musical record is adjusted to keep time with the steps and figures...'⁴

There is nothing more to help the student; no discussion of the expense, how to film or edit, what use the film might be. It appears that even Haddon, who possibly wrote this section, only saw that film, expensive and cumbersome at that time, might be worth contemplating for the recording of dance.

By the time of the fifth edition of 1929, though 16mm had been invented, it was still hardly widespread, so the advice given was probably in the context of the older, much larger and more expensive cameras. Under "Kinematography", we have the following:

'The kinematograph, invaluable as it is for giving a record of the life of native peoples, involves difficulties which make its use not very practicable in most scientific expeditions.' The difficulties are listed: it requires a whole person's attention; it requires special training; it requires extra time; it is very expensive; the cameras are heavy; the film is too small to use for enlargements for lecture slides; and films need to be sent home very soon after being taken.

Yet despite all these difficulties the advice continues:

'Where funds and labour, however, are available the kinema forms an invaluable addition to the scientific study of native races...Pictures should not be limited to ceremonies or to technological subjects, but should include characteristic attitudes and movements of the people, which are extremely important but difficult to record by other methods. Facial expression is also usefully noted by moving pictures.'⁵

The sixth edition of *Notes and Queries* was published in 1951 and was the one which I took with me when I went to Nepal in 1968.

⁴ *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 4th edition (1912) pp.225-6

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, (6th edition, 1951), p.381

Among the small special sub-committee for the publication of this edition were the William Wyse Professor at Cambridge, J.H.Hutton and the Professor at London, Daryll Forde, neither of whom, as far as I know, took any film.

It starts by stating under 'Cinematography' that 'Although a most useful, and in some circumstances essential, adjunct to anthropological field work, the cine-camera should not be looked upon as a substitute for the ordinary camera.... Both can advantageously be used in conjunction in many cases, but if there must be a choice, it is probably better to concentrate on a good ordinary camera for most kinds of field work.'⁶

It continues that 'Full size (35mm) apparatus is too expensive, too heavy and too bulky for most workers, unless cinematograph records are to be made a special feature of the expedition in charge of a whole-time photographer. For most purposes apparatus using 16mm. film is adequate. The 8 mm. size should not be used as the pictures cannot easily be enlarged sufficiently to be satisfactory for lecture purposes, though good enough in a small room. Coloured cinematography should be attempted only if the film can be sent for development within a short time of being exposed.'

Anthropologists are urged to consult an expert before going to shoot a trial film. They are advised that there is no point in filming scenery and architecture which does not move, though there should be some general shots. Long sequences of a process should be captured in a number of brief shots, and the distance should be varied, and the audience filmed. There is other advice on close ups, ending after the action has ended, the avoidance of repetition. Notes should be taken of what has been filmed.

It is assumed that the main purpose of filming is to show the film in lectures. The other possible uses, as a fuller record of vanishing worlds, to help the anthropologist to write his books, are not mentioned. As with the 1912 edition, special mention is made of the fact that 'Records of dances are best made by the kinematograph...'⁷

⁶ *Notes and Queries*, p.359

⁷ *Notes and Queries*, p.331

It is perhaps indicative that twice as much space is given to the methods for recording string figures as for filming.

*

Yet even in the more recent past, few professional anthropologists, whether students or teachers, have tended to make films even though the technology makes it relatively cheap and easy. This suggests that there is something more than a practical difficulty behind the absence of filming.

There seem to be several social and theoretical difficulties which are closely inter-related. This is in the area of esteem, career orientation and linked to deeper questions of the purpose of anthropology. Haddon and the early anthropologists had a vision of anthropology which saw the collection of 'objects', including physical objects for Museums, but also intangible objects such as representations in recordings, photographs and films – as an important part of anthropology. This altered after the rise of functionalism from the 1920's.

The change in the attitude towards filming is symbolized for me by a story told me by my supervisor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf. When he mentioned to Malinowski in 1935 that he intended to photograph in the field, the great man dismissed this as 'Thomas Cook-ism', in other words tourist activity, below the dignity of an anthropologist and of only decorative use. Haimendorf put this more tactfully, but also widened the range of those who held such a view, in his *Autobiography* written many years later. 'Apart from his brilliance Malinowski had surprising prejudices. Thus he and his followers looked down on anthropological photography and considered any visual documentation unnecessary and not worthy of serious academics.'⁸

The situation does not seem to have really changed a generation later. In Cambridge in around 1966 Stephen Hugh-Jones had just been to watch one of the early anthropological films, possibly one of

⁸ Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Life Among Indian Tribes; the Autobiography of an Anthropologist* (OUP, India, 1990), p. 9

the Hadza films by James Woodburn or those of 'The Hunters' by John Marshall. He was with the Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge, Meyer Fortes, and as they left, Hugh-Jones asked Fortes what he thought of this medium. Meyer replied that 'There was no future for film in anthropology' or words to that effect.

When I asked Stephen Hugh-Jones to confirm this memory and for his permission to use the anecdote, he commented on why he thought this shift in attitude had occurred. I have expanded his comments a little, but this is the substance of what he wrote to me.

'There are various factors that coincide to make anthropology, and especially Structural Functionalist Anthropology hostile to film/photography. One is the idea of a 'natural science of society' (Radcliffe-Brown) and the notion that visual materials are, at best, mere illustration (rather than analysis) and at worst art as opposed to science.

Another is that social anthropology is (or was) about generic social relations (that cannot be seen but only deduced from the visual observation). Thus fieldwork is visual ('participant observation') whilst analysis is verbal ('writing up'). Another is that the visual lies on the side of material culture, and is related to cultural anthropology (American anthropology). Films go with objects and hence are related to museums of artefacts. This sets up an opposition to verbal social structure (and British Social Anthropology).

Finally there is a hierarchy of status and value linked with difficulty. Analysis, and especially kinship analysis, is difficult and technical. Of all the visual arts photography and film is thought to be one of the easiest and 'mechanical'. Even a child can take a photograph or make a film.'

For these reasons suggested by Hugh-Jones, and no doubt others as well, it is still the case that in terms of career, filmmaking counts for a good deal less than writing in most universities. Over the years I have tended to list my films in my annual reports, but I do not recall a single formal occasion when in any discussion of what I was contributing to the Department in Cambridge (including the

important Research Assessment Exercises), film-making was considered a significant part of my intellectual output. I suspect that the over 400 hours of film I have now made around the world are worth less in terms of academic prestige than the shortest of my articles. This is ironic, since this the part of one's work which is most important for the community with whom one has worked. Yet, if this is the case now, it is not difficult to see how it might have been in the period up to 1960. The fact that only now are people starting to catalogue the Mead/Bateson in America collection, and that so much precious footage shot for television series is thrown away, are other indications of the lack of interest.

Ethnographic filming of a serious kind, with a few exceptions, did not really start until the 1960s, no doubt made more rewarding by the rapid improvement in equipment and in particular the spread of synchronous sound recorded on the film itself from the later 1950's. This transformed the possibilities and heralded the age of the later Marshall project on the! Kung, Asen Balikci on the Netsilik Eskimos, Timothy Asch and Napoleon Chagnon's Yanomamo films, David MacDougall's filming in Africa, Australia and India, as well as the work of Gary Kildea, Colin Turnbull and others.

Yet even in the 1970's and 1980's most of those going to the field as anthropologists did not take film cameras. Despite the fact that I was lecturing on film and visual anthropology, running a video project in the Department, and filming extensively myself, during the years when I supervised about 40 Ph.D. students who worked in many parts of the world, only five or six of them took a film camera with them, and only two of these ever made the films up into edited versions.

All this might lead us to conclude that the combination of practical difficulty, expense and the paradigm shift in anthropology, combined with the career structure in the discipline, presented insurmountable obstacles. The precious century after the birth of anthropology and particularly the thirty years between 1930 and 1960 when 16mm became available, seems to have been a period when, in Britain and, I suspect, much of the world, professional anthropologists hardly took any films.

APPENDIX TWO

The ethnographic films of Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf

Alan Macfarlane

The lost opportunity, because very few anthropologists in Britain undertook fieldwork filming, is outlined in an article by Haimendorf on 'A Challenge to Anthropologists' in the *Bulletin of the International Committee on Urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research* for 1965. Haimendorf wrote:

'The shortness of the time left for the study of societies and cultures still unaffected by the impact of the international civilization of the atomic age presents an all the greater challenge to anthropologists, as we are the first generation in human history which has all the technical means to record and preserve for posterity a true image of any population we choose to study. The film-camera and the tape-recorder enable the modern anthropologist to document all the external aspects of a culture with an objectivity and accuracy unrivalled by mere literate descriptions.'

Yet he also notes that 'It appears almost as an irony of fate, that these technical aids to anthropological fieldwork were developed only at a time when the greater part of human societies had already lost many of their characteristic features, and when in whole countries, such as the United States of America, autochthonous cultures had already been swept away before the irresistible tide of a more powerful civilization... we should realize the urgency of the need to utilize all the novel opportunities for the study and documentation of archaic small-scale societies and cultural patterns that persist even today in their traditional form.'

Furthermore, he wonders how many people will be able to overcome the obstacles. 'We have now the technical equipment for such salvage operations, but how numerous are the anthropologists who have the incentive, the technical skill and - last but not least -

the financial means to undertake such a documentation of vanishing cultures?’

He continues that ‘It is a sobering thought, indeed, that in the whole history of the world there are at the most fifty years when the existence of primitive populations more or less unchanged by contacts with our mechanical civilization coincides with the availability of apparatus capable of recording the activities and the speech of such archaic men with absolute accuracy and preserving these visual and acoustic records of a vanishing style of life in the form of permanent documents. Until a few years ago explorers and anthropologists lacked the apparatus suitable for such a purpose, and within a few decades, when the machine age will have penetrated to the last corners of the world, the objects of such documentation will be lacking, and no exertions on the part of future anthropologists will be able to make up for lost opportunities.’⁹

Extrapolating from this, and from my own experience of working in a Himalayan community in Nepal. I think we could say that the period of the intersection of portable (16mm) film technology and relatively ‘traditional’ societies, was roughly the fifty years between 1930 and 1980. The first three-fifths of this were largely lost, with few anthropologists taking in-depth films alongside their anthropological investigations.

*

Haimendorf’s remarks might have given us a clue that perhaps he was one British anthropologist who had been able to do some filming. It was a clue which was not to be found in his ten fieldwork monographs and half dozen more general books. Looking through all the books where I later discovered that he had also been filming, the Chenchus, Apa Tanis, Sherpas and others, he does not appear to cross-refer to films at all. In his *Autobiography*, apart from the reference to Malinowski quoted above, there is nothing else on his filming.

⁹ *Bulletin*, pp.11-12

My sudden and largely accidental realization that Haimendorf might turn out to be the only major British social anthropologist who was also filmed in a serious way was quite accidental. It also had a very considerable effect on my later life. It not only led directly into the series of over 150 filmed interviews of leading thinkers, and the more than 150 hours of film I have taken since then in the highlands of Nepal, but also the Naga project to make a videodisc in which the single most important set of materials were the diaries, photographs and films of Haimendorf.¹⁰

Given the importance of Haimendorf's collections I have assembled a fairly detailed account of how I came across the films and the various attempts I made to begin to make use of them.¹¹ In brief, Haimendorf and Betty urged us to take the more than 100 rolls of 16mm film (comprising fifty or sixty hours of film shot between 1940 and 1973) which were in their home and in SOAS back to Cambridge and to make what use we could of them. We made several journeys to fetch the materials.

I suspect that the Haimendorfs had never themselves looked at more than a tenth of this material, for it was often on small reels, there were duplicates, only about one twentieth at the most had been used in the BBC films made up from this. In fact, it appears that some of the film made up by the BBC was not returned, so possibly they cut up the print and just returned the off-cuts.

Fortunately, however, it seemed to be in good condition and over the years I have had it roughly catalogued, first by a friend of Haimendorf's, Dr Patricia Bidinger, and then later by Dr Mark Turin. Then about 35 hours of the best material was professionally copied by the BUFVC under a JISC grant. It is available on the web to those who have an EMOL/EDINA subscription – water-marked and in a small version.¹²

¹⁰ The interviews, the Naga database and some of the films on Nepal can all be found on www.alanmacfarlane.com

¹¹ This is on my website, as above.

¹² The films can be seen by those with an Edina account at <http://edina.ac.uk/>

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How then, against all the odds, was this film recorded and saved? Haimendorf's first fieldwork was amongst the Nagas of Assam in 1936-7 and though he took over a thousand black and white photographs, he did not use a film camera. Just a year or so later, the young Ursula Graham Bower did take a camera and filmed amongst the Nagas, so it would have been possible, but Haimendorf did not do so.

Haimendorf intended to return to the Nagas, and having married Betty Barnardo in April 1938, the couple travelled out to India in August 1939. I have discovered a small roll of 16mm film which has written on the container in Haimendorf's hand - 'On the boat 1939'. This is evidence that this time Haimendorf took a 16mm camera with him.

When war broke out both Haimendorf and Betty were detained and briefly interned as enemy aliens by the British. Through various contacts and the active support of the Nizam of Hyderabad, they were soon released and told that they could remain free as long as they stayed within the state of Hyderabad- an area roughly the size of France and filled with a variety of tribal groups. There Haimendorf seems to have devised the plan of doing anthropology as a free-lance worker; he states that he had no official position and no regular pay. I am told by Patricia Bidinger who knew him well in his later years, that the Nizam had allowed the Haimendorfs to travel around the Deccan but had asked them to stay in more remote areas. This provides a clue to the extended periods of intensive fieldwork they were to undertake in the next three years.

The first expedition of the Haimendorfs was to the Chenchus, a hunter-gatherer group with whom Haimendorf and Betty stayed for some nine months on the first trip. It was, according to the account given by Haimendorf to Pat Bidinger, the Nizam who supplied the film stock for his filming during the war in Hyderabad. Given the cost of film and the difficulties of obtaining it, this was very important. There is nearly an hour of surviving film of this extraordinarily important fieldwork to accompany the long and detailed monograph on *The Chenchus*, which was published

by Macmillan in 1943 under the Nizam's auspices and with a forward by the ethnographer and administrator W.V.Grigson.

Then, during the period 1941-43 he did further fieldwork in the area amongst the Raj Gonds of Adilabad, the Gadabas and Bondos, the Reddis and other hill tribes of the Deccan, filming along the way. The later BBC film 'Hill Tribes of the Deccan' gives a useful overview of this work. He published two further detailed ethnographic monographs on this work at the time, one on *The Reddis of the Bison Hills*, again published by Macmillan in 1945, this time with a foreword by J.P.Mills, an ethnographer and District Commissioner amongst the Nagas and later Reader in Anthropology at SOAS. The other was on *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad: Myth and Ritual*, published by Macmillan in 1948, this time with a foreword by K. de B.Codrington, Professor of Indian Archaeology at the University of London. Haimendorf completed the series with *The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh*, written in collaboration with Betty Haimendorf and published in 1979. These four volumes alone comprise more than 1700 pages of detailed ethnography, accompanied by numerous maps, charts, diagrams and photographs. Few anthropologists have equalled this written record.

Alongside these monographs there was constant photography and filming. There survive, as well as the roughly one hour of film on the Chenchus, approximately over two hours of other film taken in this period and some in the later 1940's, in the Deccan. If we consider the period - the 1940's, and think what was being done elsewhere in the world at that time - it is very unusual to have such film, much of it of excellent quality in terms of filming and reasonably preserved despite the adverse weather conditions of heat and monsoons. If there had only been this film, Haimendorf would deserve to be ranked amongst the important early ethnographic filmmakers.

This was just the beginning, for most extraordinarily, largely through the influence of J.P.Mills, Haimendorf was appointed in 1944 as Special Officer and Associate Political Officer on the Northeast Frontier. This was a particularly remote, but sensitive, area, and he worked with Betty amongst the hitherto largely

unexplored tribes of Arunchal Pradesh. This is a particularly important ethnographic region, lying at the intersection of Tibetan, Assamese, Chinese and Burmese cultures, a mix of traditions, religions and cultures with groups such as the Apa Tanis, the Miris, the Daflas and the Abors. It had seldom been visited by western travellers, and never been described by an anthropologist intent on learning the language and prepared to spend over a year living in such a remote area.

Haimendorf realized that he was in virgin territory and gives a detailed account of the fieldwork in the form of a diary in his *Exploration in the Eastern Himalayas: Diaries of Travel in the Subansiri Area 1944 and 1945* published in Shillong in 1947. The anthropological analysis of the Apa Tanis is contained in his three books *Himalayan Barbary* (1955), *The Apa Tanis* (1962) and after a later return visit in 1978 when he did more filming, in *A Himalayan Tribe; from Cattle to Cash* (1980). So we have the ethnographic details, and there are numerous photographs and field diaries.

There are twenty separate films on the Apa Tani, comprising some five hours of film (excluding the 25 minute film shown on the BBC assembled from this footage). Most of it was taken on his 1944-5 footage, though about one hour of colour film of his later visit in the 1970's. It is some of the very best of Haimendorf's filming in terms of both the quality of the footage and the intimacy and interest of the materials. Together with Haimendorf's diaries, books and photographs, this is a unique resource. If there were only this film and ethnography of an unexplored area in 1944-5, Haimendorf would still be considered among the more important ethnographic filmmakers.

After the assignment in Arunchal, Haimendorf went back to Hyderabad with an official appointment as 'Advisor for Tribes and Backward Classes, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government' and Professor at Osmania University in Hyderabad. Now he had a further three years officially paid and sponsored, and made further films.

In 1949 he returned to a lectureship at the School of Oriental Studies in London, but his and Betty's love of India took him back and in 1953 he went with Betty to southern India, including Kerala, where he did some more filming. On this trip, he heard that Nepal had opened its frontiers to foreigners for the first time and the Haimendorfs immediately went to Kathmandu. Very little was known about Nepal at that time so, as the first western anthropologist, Haimendorf was in a unique position.

Thus began the first of many fieldwork visits to Nepal. There are at least six trips when he took a camera, in 1953, 1957, 1962, 1966 (particularly rich in filming), 1971 and 1976. He filmed extensively in a number of regions, including Kathmandu, the Sherpa region, the middle hills around Gorkha and Kaski, Muktinath, Mustang, and Dolpo, Dang in the southwest and Humla and Jumla in the extreme north west of Nepal.

He filmed in black and white and also in colour, and probably half of the surviving film which we have had digitized – about fifteen to twenty hours – is of Nepal between 1953-1976. This is a highly significant early film record of Nepal as it opened up to the West. It is accompanied by two monographs (*The Sherpas, Himalayan Traders*) and several important articles, as well as a magnificent collection of photographs, colour slides, and detailed diaries.

The Nepal films are as important, in a different way, as those of the Deccan and of Arunchal Pradesh. Although they are a little later, Nepal was almost unrecorded in the twenty or so years when Haimendorf was travelling and filming. His films, photographs and field notes record a world that has changed almost beyond recognition. They are very different to, yet overlap with my own filming in one particular group, the Gurungs, from 1968 to the present.

Haimendorf had now made three sets of ethnographic films in three entirely different cultures. As he explains in his *Tribal Populations and Cultures of the Indian Subcontinent* (1985), they cover hunter-gatherers, shifting cultivators, settled agriculturalists, pastoralists and traders – a conspectus of all the types of non-

industrial civilization. He captured in words, still photographs and films, many of these societies in the twenty or so years before they were greatly changed by the onrush of outside technologies, politics and economies.

Yet even this is not all for he filmed quite extensively outside India and Nepal. He filmed in the Philippines in 1968 (and wrote several articles comparing the Ifugao and groups with the Nagas), in New Guinea, in Ceylon, and in Egypt in the 1960's. The filming in Mexico, when he was a visiting Professor in 1964, is particularly dramatic and extensive, with over three hours of notable film. There is also some excellent film of dancing and rituals in Ceylon.

There is also film of the Wanchu Nagas in 1962 and a return visit to the Konyak and other Nagas with colour film in 1970, which was used (with some strange inversions) alongside some of the Apa Tani film in the BBC film 'The Men Who Hunted Heads'.

In itself this is a notable collection, running between about 1964 and 1970. It is only in comparison to his Deccan, North East Frontier and Nepal films that it assumes a secondary significance. The later filming outside India and Nepal was in areas where he was a visiting anthropologist who did not learn the language or do intensive fieldwork and they are also usually places where others were working and perhaps filming.

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There are some further things to be said about Haimendorf's films. It is clear that with his early anthropological training in both Vienna and the LSE, as well as his broad and comparative experience, Haimendorf was unusual. He was in Hyderabad for over seven years on his first period (with about three years of fieldwork among the Gonds alone), and made a number of return visits, making perhaps ten years in all.

Haimendorf spent 13 months amongst the Nagas and with other later visits there perhaps 18 month in all. He spent a similar length of time in Arunchal. He spent perhaps three or more years

in total in Nepal. Putting on one side other visits, this makes a total some 15 years or so in three entirely different cultural regions, studying several different societies in each area. I do not know of any British (or other) anthropologist in the history of the discipline who can match this. With something like twenty field trips, normally using a still camera, tape recorder and film camera, learning a number of languages (belonging to entirely different language groups), he filmed with an anthropologist's eye.

Haimendorf knew what he wanted to capture. He understood something about the people he was working with and was conducting intensive fieldwork (census, fieldnotes, diary, diagrams) alongside the filming

As for the technical level, there is, of course, a good deal of humdrum recording. But there is also a lot of really excellent filming. Having watched a reasonable amount of the footage shot by the professional film-making generation which started to work in the 1960's - Robert Gardner, Timothy Asch, Gary Kildea and David MacDougall - it does not seem that the quality of his film work was below their level. The difference is that he is filming a generation earlier than these major figures and that he is a trained and professional anthropologist who is mainly doing fieldwork research and producing academic monographs.

Haimendorf was also a superb photographer. I am not aware that any other filmmaker of the later twentieth has shown such mastery. His twenty thousand black and white photographs, starting with the stunning thousand of the Nagas which I have worked on, are now being catalogued and made accessible through the JISC project.¹³

Haimendorf clearly had an excellent visual eye. Most shots are well composed and interest the viewer. Haimendorf applies the skills developed in his early photography to his filming. He frames the subject well. He establishes the wider scene and makes good use of shots from different distances. He allows the action to be completed; he uses different and unusual angles. He makes good

¹³ This is at <http://www.soas.ac.uk/furer-haimendorf/>

use of the zoom lens. On the whole, the subjects of his filming seem to act naturally. In many cases he was a familiar figure through a relatively long stay. It appears that the film reflects a good relationship between Haimendorf and his subjects developed over a period

The fact that the BBC and Bavarian Television were able to use his film (until unionization made this impossible) for more than half a dozen television documentaries suggests that the filming was of a reasonably high quality. That Haimendorf knew from the later 1950's (his first television film seems to have been 'Land of the Gurkhas' broadcast in 1957) that he was filming with the possibility of the footage being shown to a wide audience and attracting further funding for his expeditions, no doubt sharpened his approach. Haimendorf was also aware that he was compiling an important record of those areas of life which are difficult or impossible to capture in writing.

So there is an unusual archive of film, to be investigated and savoured by future generations. When, in the years to come, the films are integrated with the photos and the diaries and fieldnotes, as I have done in a pilot study of just one small part of Haimendorf's collection - in relation to the Nagas - Haimendorf will be seen to have captured vanished worlds in a remarkable way.

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Having given a brief glimpse of Haimendorf's achievements, it is worth returning to the question of what made for this exception to the largely empty film record of anthropologists in the vital fifty years up to 1960. There seem to have been a number of factors, all of which were necessary, though none of them was sufficient to account for his exceptional legacy.

There is the background of an aristocratic upbringing with an appreciation for the arts of painting, music, film and photography. There is the Austrian anthropological training with its emphasis on material culture and collecting for Museums as part of a diffusionist anthropology. Haimendorf made some notable collections of

objects, particularly on his first Naga expedition, and was careful to document the collecting in photographs.

Haimendorf's early training stayed with him and gave him a somewhat marginal position in the new world of British functionalism and then structural-functionalism. I suspect that his contemporaries sensed that he seemed to belong to a pre-Malinowskian world. Though he was extremely distinguished and founded the largest department of anthropology in Britain, he was never really fully part of the establishment. While he was President of the Royal Anthropological Institute and received many honours, he never became a Fellow of the British Academy.

The alternative training and interests gave him a way of looking at things which was closer to Haddon and Rivers and thus spurred him towards the photography and filming which had seemed an obvious tool in the first great generation. It is an approach closer to that of cultural anthropologists such as Mead and Bateson in the States.

Then there was the accident of arriving in India as a potential enemy alien in 1939 and effectively being forced to stay there for nearly ten years. A similar semi-incarceration happened to Bronislaw Malinowski during the First World War in the Trobriands. Out of this, so the legend goes, long and intensive participant-observation fieldwork was born, just as out of Haimendorf's enforced fieldwork in the Second World War, some of the most remarkable ethnographic film in the discipline was inaugurated.

Most anthropologists have a career path whereby they do an initial year or a little longer in the field for their Ph.D. and then become heavily involved in teaching. They seldom have time for a second sustained fieldwork for some years, if at all. Few go beyond the initial fieldwork area in which they have so much invested. They may, as with the case of E.E.Evans-Pritchard or Edmund Leach, work in two or three societies, perhaps in two cultural areas. Haimendorf was able to do more.

Haimendorf had already done two major pieces of work by the time he went to India in 1939, one on library sources for his Ph.D. on the Nagas, and one with intensive fieldwork among the same people. The accident of war and good connections meant that he spent another seven or eight years on fieldwork. By the time he returned to a Lectureship in London he not only had enough material for four or five major fieldwork monographs, but a confirmed love of working in remote regions and collecting ethnographic information.

Although Haimendorf was born seven years after E.E.Evans-Pritchard, three years after Meyer Fortes and was one year older than Edmund Leach, his manner and his written work seems to be a generation behind them in the British context. This 'out of time' aspect was reinforced by his deep immersion in Indian anthropology. The people he inter-acted with most closely in India were often colonial officers who were also practicing the older style anthropology - J.H.Hutton and J.P.Mills, W.G.Archer and T.C.Hodson in the Naga Hills, W.V.Grigson in Hyderabad, Verrier Elwin in NEFA.

This older generation of anthropologists supported and encouraged him and his style of collection and they shielded him against some of the latest fashionable trends in anthropology. In a way, he can be looked at as of that generation - the pre-Fortesian generation of the first two William Wyse Professors in Cambridge (Hodson and Hutton). So that while he was still in charge at SOAS in 1970, I noticed that many around me felt that he was different. Certainly when I joined the Cambridge Department in 1975, the world of Fortes, Leach, Goody and others felt different from my inter-actions with Haimendorf.

I remember in his later years Haimendorf would point to piles of unwritten-up field notes from recent expeditions and bewail the fact that they might never be processed. When I asked why he did not write them up now (and he did more than many, at least ten field monographs on different societies), he would say that he loved the process of collecting information, the data gathering, so much that he just wanted to go back and do more.

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Another accident which gave impetus both to Haimendorf's love of visual recording and made him less inclined to spend time on delving into the new theories of structuralism and Marxism in the 1950's and 1960's, was the sudden opening up of Nepal. As the first western anthropologist allowed to travel through this ethnographic mosaic, Haimendorf was very excited.

I have a copy of a letter written from Kathmandu on 3rd September 1953 to J.P.Mills in London. In part of it he writes:

'The permit for Nepal came so late that we have only just arrived in this beautiful country and we are leaving on a long trek to the Sherpa country the day after tomorrow. We shall first go to Namche Bazar (16 marches from Kathmandu), stay about a month among the Sherpas, then go south into the Raid country, and gradually make our way back to Kathmandu. From November until the ends of December I intend to work among Newars, who are the real carriers of Nepal civilization and perhaps something like highly cultured Apa Tanis.

Four months is, of course, a ridiculously short time for Nepal, but I hope to make at least a beginning which could be followed up by several departments of the School. The study of Newar language, of instance, is long overdue and could be combined most usefully with an anthropological study of this interesting people.'

It is not surprising that he should go back again and again - as I have myself - to this fascinating and diverse country. He must have felt, as in Keats's famous ode, like someone looking out on a new ocean 'silent upon a peak in Darien'.

For the next twenty years, he spent time photographing and filming in Nepal. That he had the money and time to do this needs explaining. He was early promoted, becoming a lecturer in 1949 and a Reader within months of his appointment and receiving his Professorship in Asian Anthropology two years later.

A Professorial salary, travel grants and project grants from various organizations, combined with some private wealth from his

Austrian family (his older brother was the Baron and inherited the main property, but Haimendorf's expensive house in Holland Park in London was not bought on a Professor's salary) meant that he had the money for his many expeditions.

As for the difficulty which I faced in Cambridge despite generous sabbaticals, of getting time to do fieldwork away from teaching and administration, Haimendorf was Professor in a University which at that time seems to have flexible about absences. As he put it in the interview of 1983, 'The School of Oriental and African Studies has the great advantage that they were very research oriented and that meant that it was not necessary to wait for a sabbatical, one could quite often go to the field. So I was able, very soon after I has established this Department, not only to encourage my students and members of the staff etc., to spend a good deal of time in fieldwork, but also myself to go.'

So Haimendorf had the job security, the flexible appointment, the money and good contacts to continue the more than ten years of fieldwork he had done before he obtained his first job in England. Furthermore, he had already published a substantial body of material by 1955, including five fieldwork monographs on the Nagas, Chenchus, Reddis, Gonds and Apa Tanis. He could do what he felt was best.

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In the interview with Haimendorf in June 1983 I asked him about his filming and in his answer he gives the fullest account I have yet found of why he thought it important to film and also the other key to his ability to do so, his collaborative partnership with his wife Betty.

Alan: You mentioned the hard and strong and durable notebooks, and also that you took a lot of photographs. Did you use any other recording devices, like tape recorders or movie cameras?

Christoph: Yes. Movie cameras I used very early, already in 1940. I didn't have a movie camera among the Nagas when I was there in 1936, then I could have, they were not so

light and easy to handle, but I could but I didn't. But then I had a movie camera in 1940 and did quite a lot of films, and I think this is after all a very useful way of documenting because whatever you see and write, it's quite different from when you see people moving. Also if there is some complicated ritual, if you can, if you can actually take a film of it you can actually see what is happening, what the sequence is. And in that respect, for instance, I found the help of my wife very useful because I was taking the film and she was meanwhile doing, I mean describing, I mean taking notes and so on. For one person this is rather difficult. So, then of course there is the question of tape recording. Tape recorders came in much later than film cameras, tape recorders I didn't have in all my early work and that was a great handicap for instance when I was recording the mythology and epics and so on of the Gonds because it took endless to transcribe it all by longhand, to, in their language which is difficult enough, to listen to it and write and you would have to interrupt the narrator all the time. While with a tape recorder you can it down and you can play it to your informant and get the translation of the individual sentences. So that, I found also tape recorders also very useful to record a conversation with somebody who is quite voluble and who talks, who tells you a lot, but you can't always take it down, so that you can...[cut]

The role of Betty is worth elaborating. As is clear from her diaries and my conversations with Betty, she shared his passion for fieldwork and was extremely observant and analytical. She was an excellent organizer. As I know from my own experience, when considering whether to make long and often quite costly foreign expeditions, if one's partner is encouraging, and indeed as keen or keener than oneself, it makes all the difference.

In every way - organizing the treks, working on a bibliography of Himalayan studies, doing some of the filming, Betty's role was, as with Sarah my wife, as large as his own. The enticing film glimpses of them in the field together show this deep companionship in action, and Pat Bidinger has told me that it was

obvious that they adored each other.¹⁴ After she died, Haimendorf never really recovered. There were also her connections – a solid British upper middle class family, who provided him with access to the centre of British power in India, particularly through the fact that Betty's father was the physician to Lord Linlithgow, the Governor General and Vice Roy of India between 1936 and 1943. This helped Haimendorf in his first fieldwork among the Nagas and must have helped in the release of the couple from internment, and in making the work with Betty in Arunchal Pradesh in 1944 possible.

In the interview of 1983, Haimendorf describes their partnership. 'As soon as my wife and I went to India, we were always together in the field and so she naturally took a very considerable interest in it. Indeed I mean there was nothing else, if you are married to an anthropologist and you are sitting among, in a little village, you obviously, either you go mad or you have to take an interest in the people you are living with. So, it is very difficult to say what the one or the other contributes. I mean I did the more sort of professional part of it, but she always was, made perhaps partly the public relations work, I mean she always treated anybody, people who were sick, had any problem, and distributed medicine and so on. So I think it was quite an important co-operation in the field and I think it is, I have the feeling that it is probably easier for two people who are not exactly doing the same. I think that couples who are both professional anthropologists, it is more difficult to work together in among the same people. If one is an anthropologist and the other looks at the people from a different, purely human sort of point of view, I think that works very well. Later on my wife of course, as you may know, went into anthropological bibliography, all those bibliographical works on the bibliography of South Asian anthropology.' He devotes the last chapter of his *Autobiography* to 'Betty'.

¹⁴ A charming insight into their relationship and work is to be found in the film made by Dr Mark Turin in 1995, 'A Tribute to the Haimendorfs' which may be seen on the web at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1EE0qy6y2E4>.

Another factor was Haimendorf's facility with writing. He wrote simply, to the point, and at speed. His fieldwork diaries which I have studied in relation to the Nagas and Nepal, show an elegant and economic style and he does not seem to have found it difficult to write. So he could produce his fieldwork monographs and a stream of articles quite rapidly. Patricia Bidingger confirms that in his last twenty years she would see him writing with ease and speed in his winter home in Hyderabad.

Haimendorf's temperament and character were ideal for the explorer-anthropologist role. He was intensely curious about everything, as his diaries show, always asking questions, patient, charming with people, with immense physical and mental energy (as his late-night diaries amongst the Nagas, for example, show). He knew he was on the edge of the British Empire, opening up new worlds.

He does not seem to have been filled with troubling doubt about the downside of imperialism yet nevertheless tempered his easy urbane style of mixing with the colonial elite with a passionate love of the tribal peoples he visited. A number of his books and writings were about the perennial question of how pre-market, oral, cultures could be protected from the ravages of exploitative capitalism and the penetration of money and external values. He fought for the rights of tribal peoples and could justify his quest to gather information about them on the grounds that if the outside world knew how wonderful, intricate and anciently wise their ways were, there would be more respect. His early experience as an advisor to the Nizam of Hyderabad had given him an interest in the questions of tribal integration and he wrote a book, *The tribes of India: struggle for survival* (1982) on these themes.

There is not a touch of racism, caste or patronizing arrogance in his writing, but a genuine humility and sense of equality with those whom he was trying to understand. In this he contrasts markedly with the overtly arrogant, racist and patronising Malinowski as revealed in his diaries.¹⁵ The total absence of arrogance is a

¹⁵ Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (New York, 1967), ed. Raymond Firth.

characteristic which I observed through direct contact with Haimendorf over nearly thirty years, as well as through working on his papers, reading most of his books and, in particular, the translated and very private German notebooks of his Naga fieldwork in 1936-7. There is absolutely no evidence that he felt that tribal peoples, or non-European peoples were in any way inferior.

It may seem ironic that this upper class Austrian aristocrat, fondly known to some of his contemporaries as ‘the Baron’ (he was in fact a Baronet), should come across as more ‘modern’ in his egalitarian and cosmopolitan disinterest in racial superiority and inferiority than many of his younger and more *avant-garde* contemporaries. In this way he reminds me of his close friend Verrier Elwin, the Oxford-trained son of a Bishop, who became deeply involved in the welfare of ordinary Indian tribal peoples. Haimendorf mentions that it was an interest in Gandhi which had first attracted him to anthropology, an admiration he shared with his close friend Verrier Elwin who took Indian citizenship and married in succession two tribal women.¹⁶

I have discussed this with Patricia Biding, who has worked for many years amongst the poor and the tribal peoples in Hyderabad and who spent much time with Haimendorf in his last twenty years where he went for the winters. She confirms that he was deeply loved by many ordinary people, and equally by his upper class Indian friends. She never noticed any sense of superiority, let alone racism. And when Dr Biding’s son chose as an early girl friend the Konyak Naga granddaughter of Haimendorf’s friend and fieldwork assistant Shankok, Haimendorf was absolutely delighted.

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Returning to the financial and practical side, there is the role of the BBC and Bavarian television. It is clear from the labels on the tins and comments which Haimendorf made, that at some point in the later 1950’s the BBC started to supply him with some 16mm film, though he retained the copyright in the material himself. This

¹⁶ See Ramchandra Guha, *Savaging the Civilized* (Chicago, 1990)

not only allowed him to film more extensively, and later use more expensive colour film, but was also an encouragement in a different way. There seems little point in filming if the film is never going to be seen by anyone except oneself. If one wants to write ethnographic monographs then fieldnotes and some photos are enough to trigger the memories.

To have a possible outlet for his filming, to meet and talk to David Attenborough and others, to be interviewed, and then to have the satisfaction of knowing that several million people may have watched one's films, all these are incentives. So from perhaps about 1955 - after his first visit to Nepal - for about ten or more years, the advent of television was a considerable boost.

In the early 1970's this period ended when television became professionalized and unionized. No longer was it possible for a single anthropologist to shoot their own film, which would be handed over for editing to a television company. One had to take a professional film crew - sound, cameraman, producer - to accompany the anthropologist. This was the format for the 'Disappearing World' series of Granada from the 1970's. Now the anthropologist became just an advisor, often on a two or three week 'expedition'. Haimendorf may have done a little of this, but it was not what he wanted to do and so from the early 1970's, when he was approaching retirement, his filming had less purpose. It became something which he went on with filming, but only to accompany visits to interesting places outside India.

This decline in the perceived value of filming for Haimendorf helps to explain why, by the time I met him film seemed hardly to figure at all in our conversations. The fact that I was supervised by him for four years and continued in touch after that, yet was scarcely aware of his extensive film-making and certainly did not know of the wealth of film he had made, is an indication of this side-lining of film.

Yet even though I felt a sense of shock and hurried home to look at the films the Haimendorfs had given to me, I was in the same position as Haimendorf. What could I do with all the film to make it viewable? I did make attempts, through the videodisc

project on the Nagas in particular. But the difficulty of making the footage available to others has really remained unchanged until the last five years.

It was the same situation I faced with the long interview I made of Haimendorf in 1983 and which I had not been able to show to others until about twenty years later. It was not until about 2004, some ten years after Haimendorf's death, with the development of large online storage archives, high bandwidth broadband, large external hard discs and advanced editing programs, that it has become possible to make some of Haimendorf's material available and make his reputation more widely known.

So, in the end, after all the effort of lugging cameras across the Himalayas, the expense, the worry, the diverted attention, Betty and Haimendorf opened that cupboard and pointed to the dead weight of accumulated films as a burden and waste of space. Little recognition had come his way because of the films and no one ever wrote in the histories of documentary film about his achievements.

So the film sat, a wonderful time capsule of early worlds, awaiting the time when it could be seen for what it is - a unique record, important for the societies concerned and important for all of us who have witnessed the three quarters of human history embedded in these hunter-gatherer and tribal societies, disappearing so rapidly in the last hundred years, and particularly in the very period when Haimendorf was working.

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Astronomy and cosmology: Antony Hewish, Martin Rees, Neil Turok, Owen Gingrich, Edwin Salpeter

Physics and mathematics: Richard Friend, Dan McKenzie, Brian Pippard, John Polkinghorne, Herbert Huppert, Julian Hunt, Professor John Coates, Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer, Jeremy Sanders, Haroon Ahmed, John Simpson [2 volumes]

Computing and technology: Andy Hopper, Ken Moody, Jean Bacon, Hermann Hauser, Keith van Rijsbergen, Ben Shneiderman, Maurice Wilkes

Arts and humanities

Anthropology: currently there are 84 people whose interviews and/or lectures are up on the web. [probably about 10 volumes]

History: 19 historians on the web [probably about 4 volumes]

Sociology: Michael Banton, John Barnes, Andre Beteille, Ronald Dore, Ronald Frankenberg, Stuart Hall, Geoffrey Hawthorn, Michael Mann, David McLellan, Garry Runciman, Richard Sennett, M.N. Srinivas, Peter Worsley. [2 volumes]

Economists: Partha Dasgupta, Wynne Godley, Geoff Harcourt, James Mirrlees, Robert Rowthorn, Richard Smethurst

Literature: Peter Avery, Gillian Beer, Frank Kermode, Christopher Ricks, George Steiner, Toshi Takamiya

Explorers: Ursula Graham Bower, Owen Lattimore, David Snellgrove, John Cross

Musicians and artists: Stephen Cleobury, John Rutter, Antony Gormley, David Willcocks
Demographers: Luigi Cavalli-Sforza, Akira Hayami, James Lee, Osamu Saito, Richard Smith, Tony Wrigley
Theologians and philosophers: Don Cupitt, Simon Blackburn
Law and politics: Tom Bingham, John Machin, Nicholas Phillips, Rosemary Polack, William Waldegrave, Richard Wilson
Ethnographic film-makers: Karl Heider, Paul Hockings, Gary Kildea, Liang Bibo, David Macdougall
Others: Charles Chadwycke-Healey (publisher), Martin Jacques (journalist), Laurence Picken (ethno-musicologist), Colin Renfrew (archaeologist), Don Cupitt (theologian), Simon Blackburn (philosopher), Allan Brigham (road sweeper and Cambridge guide)
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