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STILLS THAT MOVE: PHOTOFILM AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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Film/Photo: Remarks on an Intrinsic Kinship

Received wisdom seems to suggest that film and photo stand in a relationship of opposites to each other: movement here, stillness there; on the one hand, the succession of sequences, even when they are single shots in filmic montage, on the other hand, the singular composition of the individual image.

Of course, such binary opposites only artificially uphold and reify a boundary between film and photography which, upon closer inspection, does not even remotely do justice to the histories and practices of either field. Historically, photography precedes film and cinema, but experiments to put images into sequential form and "animate" them are similarly ancient, if not older. While photos often consist of a singular image representing a moment of arrested movement or life, they are also sequential (and contextual) in the nature of their displays, in that they are preceded and followed, and indeed are surrounded, by other photos. Leaving aside, for a moment, the digital storage and usage of photos, sequential context is most clearly evident in our practical use of photos in books and journals or magazines, when we flick through them establishing an intended or unintended order, or sequence. This is actually true both when we flick forward or backward, a movement which is sequential but preserves the individual integrity of each photo, and as such is structurally different to a "rewind" operation in analog film or video which disrupts, and in fact reverts the order of movement. Such intrinsic sequentiality (and to some degree contemporaneity of photos as singular frames) becomes also apparent from their narrative use and arrangement when we talk about photos—in anthropological fieldwork, for example, with our research subjects. For instance, among a family of returned emigrants in a Sicilian village I interviewed in 2011, the family photographs were laid out on the table (Figure 2. 1).[1] I then re-photographed them individually, partly guided by the narrative of my interview

partners. It was clear that these images were not just isolated shots of arrested movement, but were animated through, and perceived in, sequences through the stories connected to them (not always linear, and not necessarily laid out on the table as such). The intrinsic sequential nature of photographic displays, and the fact that photos have to be animated by narrative, and more mechanically—but linked to this—by movement, is exploited by sequential devices such as the photographic flip book, but also revealed through the sequential order in private photo albums, or slide shows (whether analog or digital), where, in the words of Marcus Banks, "… single images become the repository of sequential but self-contained verbal narratives."[2] In turn, the film or video camera might also be used as a stills camera; as Banks highlights, "[a]mateur videographers, especially infrequent users on holiday, may actually produce material to be read in this way by treating their video camera as a stills camera, to take "shots" of the scenes and places they visit, which are then presumably viewed much as a slide show be viewed."[3]

If movement, and not only arrested movement or life, is inherent in photos (in the plural!), then their physical animation is not only a logical possibility, but rather a consequence, and indeed next practical step. Whereas, analog film is a sequence of images on rolling stock, of 24 frames per second (where, during projection, the

Figure 2.1 Family photographs of Gino Nicastro and Gina Mantione, Sutera, Sicily, 2011 (Photo: Arnd Schneider).

single frame remains imperceptible to the eye),[4] classical animation, on the other hand, is the sequence of deliberately individually composed images filmed as single shots (sometimes they are just double frames, 12 per second) with a rostrum camera, or in camera-less animation drawn directly onto single celluloid frames. In connection to anthropology, we might think of the films of Len Lye here, mixing abstraction and indigenous influences from Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and later Africa; and of course, more recently, the seminal work of Robert Ascher featured in Kathryn Ramey's contribution to this book.[5] In both cases, filmed and camera-less animation, the single shot or frame, then, is hypothetically equivalent to a single still photo—but *not* so in photofilm.

Photofilm

To "animate," that is to bestow life, and to give movement which is already inherent in the sequential nature of photographs, is the underlying principle of photofilm, a minor genre and a somewhat arcane visual practice, at the crossroads between film and photography, and which reveals shared principles of, and roots in, animation writ large. The animistic core of photos then is extricated, laid bare, and curiously reanimated through photofilm (defined as the filming in sequence of singular still shots, or photographs). The single frame in film, of course, is not equivalent to a single shot in photofilm: even if the basis for it is indeed a single photograph, as the exposure/duration necessarily is longer than the 1/24th of a second frame in film and can include camera movements of all kinds. In this procedure the photos experience a curious effect of dilation, in that their arrested time, that which made them stills originally, gets extended, almost over-determined in time, an effect which gets further enhanced by filmic effects *sui generis* used in photofilm, such as panning, wiping, and zooming. Film scholar Barbara Filser suggested that such filmic effects in photofilm besiege or harass the photographic essence without completely deleting it.[6] The photos used in photofilm are also doubly exposed (but *not* "double-exposed"), opened onto animated inspection once more after their life as photographic prints (obviously, I am referencing analog vs. digital practices here). The time-medium specific qualities of film–photofilm–photo become also clear when we think about a classic prerequisite to film production, the storyboard which, based on the script, is itself an annotated and preconceived sequence of singular key shots (often hand-drawn) standing in for (and thus representing a fragment of) longer camera takes, or entire scenes which eventually get transposed and made into the final film (through shooting and editing). By contrast, shot-analysis (also called shot breakdown and analysis, or shot-by-shot analysis), a device from film studies, in its printed form reconverts a finished film, for the purposes of analysis and interpretation, into frame-like film stills which again represent longer shots or scenes, this time from the finished film; and so does, curiously, slow-motion both as a creative device and as an analytic tool for the dissection of movement, as explored, for example, in the work of Caterina Pasqualino's film *Bastian et Lorie*.

Notes sur le chant et la danse flamencos (2009).[7] One also can think here of the early experiments with chronophotgraphy, for instance, by Eadweard Muybridge, Étienne-Jules Marey, and Felix-Louis Regnault.

The other reference for photofilm is painting, in its finished form itself a kind of arrested and accreted process (read: life or movement) visible eventually in a single "frame," or canvas. Indeed painting, as a subject, is at the core of what are conventionally regarded as the first fully developed photofilms, *Van Gogh* (1948), and *Guernica* (1950) by Alain Resnais. Both works already contain as hallmarks the formal, stylistic devices of later photofilms, such as zooming, wiping, and panning over photos, as well as fading in and out. Certainly, there had been previous usage of still sequences within moving pictures (film), or experimenting both with setting into motion of stills and the freezing of motion, to paraphrase film scholar Thomas Tode, who mentions Sergei Eistenstein's *Strike* (1925), and Dziga Vertov's *Man with a Movie Camera* (1928/9) as examples.[8]

Remarking on another famous film from this period, Susan Sontag captures well the life–death, animate–inanimate, moving–still tensions which power the two, only seemingly separate genres of film and photography, that lie at the heart of these and later experiments:

> Some working-class Berliners in Robert Siodmak's film *Menschen am Sonntag* (1929) are having their pictures taken at the end of a Sunday outing. One by one they step before the itinerant photographer's black box—grin, look anxious, clown, stare. The movie camera lingers in close-up to let us savor the mobility of each face; then we see the face frozen in the last of its expressions, embalmed in a still. The photographs shock, in the flow of the movie—transmuting, in an instant, present into past, life into death. And one of the most disquieting films ever made, Chris Marker's *La Jetée* (1963), is the tale of a man who forsees his own death—narrated entirely with still photographs.[9]

Except, we should add, for one scene in the middle, where a girl's eyes open in the morning, which was shot with a movie camera. *La Jetée* is rightly seen as a seminal achievement in this genre, and perhaps can count as its example par excellence. Chris Marker, of course, had been a collaborator in Alain Resnais's early photofilms (and so had another film-maker, Agnès Varda), and thus he was familiar with the technique. He calls his film a *photo-roman*, or "photo-novel," and the experiments with time and disruption of linear narrative from literature come to mind here (such as in the *noveau roman*, or in Julio Cortázar's *Rayuela* [*Hopscotch*], published first in 1963). Thomas Tode writes: "[the] reference system [for *La Jetée*] is precisely not linearity, chronology, and movement, but ambiguous parallel worlds, the frenzy of different layers of time[s], and the painfully extended duration [of the film] with a contemporaneous formal lack of movement."[10] For Chris Marker, then, time conceived of as the duration of the film, and not movement, is the principal concern.

Photofilm, in sum, does not create or pretend the illusion of movement, but incites temporal and mental movement for the viewer.

Because of their consecutive lining up of still images, photofilms, even when they *narrate* through image order and voice, always question (and push up against) the illusionary time-creating character of mainstream narrative film. In this, they are implicitly close to the preoccupations of experimental film-makers, interested in making visible and perceptible the conditions of the film-making process itself (for instance, by focusing on the apparatus, i.e. the camera, projector, and film, as material).[11] Exploring the potentials and limits of "pure perception" as offered by photography has also been attributed to the work of writer Hubert Fichte[12] and his partner, the photographer Leonore Mau. Their genre transcending collaborations included literature, photography, photo (film), and radioplay. Fichte was an important writer in Germany from the mid–1960s till his death in 1986, although with an outsider status because of his homosexuality, experimental writing style, and subjects, often anthropological, such as his extensive writings on Afro-American religions, challenging genres of both the scientific study and the novel. Fichte's work has often been described as ethnopoetry, but it really defies genre categorizations.[13] Leonore Mau, a photographer 19 years his senior, had left her married life and family in 1961 to live with Fichte. Both published work in their own right, with Fichte the much better known, public figure on the German literary scene, and Mau experiencing a further reappraisal of her work since his death. Together, Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte are mainly known for the large-format photo-books resulting from their joint travels in the Americas and Africa.[14] However, preceding their transatlantic explorations into Afro-American religions, Fichte and Mau had already travelled extensively in Europe, and also visited North Africa in the 1960s.

The ethnographic sensibility characteristic for their later transatlantic work is, in fact, already present in a number of photofilms which were commissioned from Mau and Fichte by German television stations,[15] sympathetic to formal experimentation in the latter part of the 1960s. The first of these describes the "day of a casual dock worker" (from the title, i.e. *Der Tag eines unständigen Hafenarbeiters*, 1966) in the Hamburg harbor. We first see close-ups of the unnamed dockworker engaging in a variety of activities, such as washing himself, eating, blowing his nose, and smoking. This is followed by a sequence of photos, which almost have the character of index cards, and point to an absent subject (recounted in Fichte's spoken narrative) who for the most part is visualized through objects assuming an anonymous third-person status and in this is similar to other people, later in the film, such as his work mates, and also foremen and the boss who hired them. These objects—which are shown in close detail—are the personal belongings of the dockworker, the utensils in his humble flat, as well as the special working tools needed in the docks (before the container age) to unload coal, coffee, bananas, sunflower and peanut expeller. Through this procedure the dockworker (though briefly introduced through the

close-up at the start of the film) is effectively de-personified, with things standing in for him, and pointing to the alienating nature of the work in the docks (cf. Figure 2.2). In terms of visual effect, this sequence anticipates Sophie Calle's artwork *The Hotel* (1981), resulting from her work as a chambermaid, when she intruded into the private sphere of unknown hotel guests photographing their rooms and personal belongings. Later in the photofilm, however, the flow of still images is interrupted three times by movie sequences: first, a TV clip of a soccer match showing the Hamburg soccer club, HSV, with German national soccer star Uwe Seeler (soccer games being one of the obvious distraction for the dockers), then a short TV clip from an advert showing a joyous and playful middle class couple enjoying beer whilst playing Ping-Pong—a world far removed from the cramped conditions in the dockworker's flat. After that, the film returns to still sequences focusing on the precariousness of work, with working conditions meticulously described, as are the places of cheap entertainment after work, such as the pubs and bars in Hamburg's port and nearby Reeperbahn district, including the famous Star Club (to which another short moving sequence is dedicated). The film ends by showing Heidi, the dockworker's wife, breast-feeding their baby.

The research for the film and photo shoots was done by Leonore Mau over several weeks, whilst Fichte was at home bed-stricken with hepatitis. A curious working relationship developed between the two, where the writer/ethnopoet/ethnographer was confined to bed, and his photographer-companion doubled as ethnographer. In an interview with Gerd Roscher in 2005, Mau mentioned that Fichte had told her: "You need 500 photos for 20 minutes of film. Now you can go out every day [and shoot], and when you come back, you'll cook mashed potatoes for me."[16] Mau immersed herself in the milieu of the dockworkers, and took stills of them every morning when they went to the "auction," to be hired. She could not photograph the auction itself. Only after she had gained the trust of the boss in the hiring office, who accompanied her, was she able to get personal contact with one family—that of the dockworker shown in the film. She continued:

> I also had to go on a ship. As I arrived with a small launch, I had to go up the ship on a rusty ladder; one camera was dangling in front the other in the back. … And I had vertigo, but suddenly I was on the ship, in between sacks of sugar, and I don't know what. Then I really was at work, and I enjoyed that. I don't know how many hours I was on the ship. And I had to come back down again. But I managed without falling into the [river] Elbe.[17]

However, in a way, we might say, Fichte did not need to be there with her; he intimately knew the world of the Hamburg harbor, and especially the places of after-work amusement, such as the Reeperbahn, Hamburg's red light district. He also had very clear ideas about how to make a film, and animation directors of photography at German TV stations were surprised at, and appreciated, the precision of the instructions in his storyboards (cf. Figure 2.2). Fichte's writing
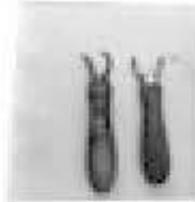
Figure 2.2 Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, *Der Tag eines unständigen Hafenarbeiters* (storyboard), 1966. By kind permission and courtesy of Stiftung F. C. Gundlach and S. Fischer Stiftung.

styles have been likened to filmic montage and he acknowledged being influenced by John Dos Passos's narrative mode of "Newsreels," that is the collages of newspaper cuttings and song lyrics, in the *U.S.A. Trilogy* (1938) (another narrative mode for Dos Passos was called the "Camera Eye").[18] Importantly, for the photo-films Mau shot stills different than in her previous photographic work, and also appreciated Fichte's obvious talent at the genre:

> It's completely different when one takes photos one by one as singular images, or when one makes photos for a film. There are photos I would never make, if it wasn't for a film. For instance, the woman in the dockworkers film who stands in a very humble kitchen and makes sandwiches for her husband. (…) One thinks more in sequences, and considers things important, which I wouldn't include in an ordinary photo. Hubert [Fichte] then adjusted the texts to the time of the duration of the film. He wrote on the back of each photo how long it should appear in the film, for example, five seconds. I don't know where he had this knowledge from. People were enthusiastic. In the animation studio of Norddeutscher Rundfunk [cf. note 15] a camera was suspended from above [i.e. an animation camera], and below were the photos, and they released the shutter, so and so many seconds. And that then resulted in the film.[19]

Their next photofilm, *Der Fischmarkt und die Fische* (*The Fish Market and the Fish*, 1968), made two years later, retained Hubert Fichte's strong authorial voice, expressing robust social criticism of living conditions in a Portuguese fishing town. But whereas in the dockworker film Fichte had used almost exclusively the third person to speak about his subject (and only later switched to the second person "you"), he now addressed his subject, a fisherman in the Portuguese fishing town of Sesimbra (Cezimbra), with the seemingly dialogical "you." The film opens with an overhead establishing shot of the fish market, and then describes the living and working conditions of the fishermen. Image and commentary are deliberately out of joint, and create a tension between what is seen (shown) and what is heard (spoken). As the film proceeds, the narrator (i.e. Fichte) becomes more personal and even asks the (fictional) fisherman a question: "Why are you telling me this?" In this latter part of the film, the narrator, a writer of fiction after all, also creates several possibilities or scenarios for his protagonist when commenting on the fisherman's future prospects, in respect of marriage, migration, work, and army draft. The final part of the film is a challenging collage of spoken descriptions on the intricacies of political life, abuse, torture, and being drafted for the colonial war Salazar's regime was then waging in Angola, and close-ups of a large number of fish, superficially showing their great variety and strangeness as animals to the North European viewer, but on a deeper level metaphorically suggesting the bestiality of humans in an authoritarian society (Figure 2.3).

Zwei mal 45 Bilder/Sätze aus Agadir (*Two times 45 images/Sentences from Agadir*) from 1971 is conceptual in the title and also in the structural make-up. Its raw material stems from a visit Mau and Fichte made to the Moroccan seaside town in

Figure 2.3 Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, *Der Fischmarkt und die Fische* (source still), 1968. By kind permission and courtesy of Stiftung F. C. Gundlach and S. Fischer Stiftung.

1968, which had been devastated by a disastrous earthquake in 1960. Their main focus in this photofilm is the reconstructed "modern" city on the one hand, and the continuing precarious living conditions and bleak opportunities of the inhabitants on the other. Commentary is by the narrator's first person, who assumes the position of an inhabitant of Agadir (using material from interviews and conversations), and is spoken exactly over the images of the areas reconstructed in modernist architecture, providing an intended and stark contrast to the images of Agadir residents, over which texts from glossy brochures and propaganda of the public administration
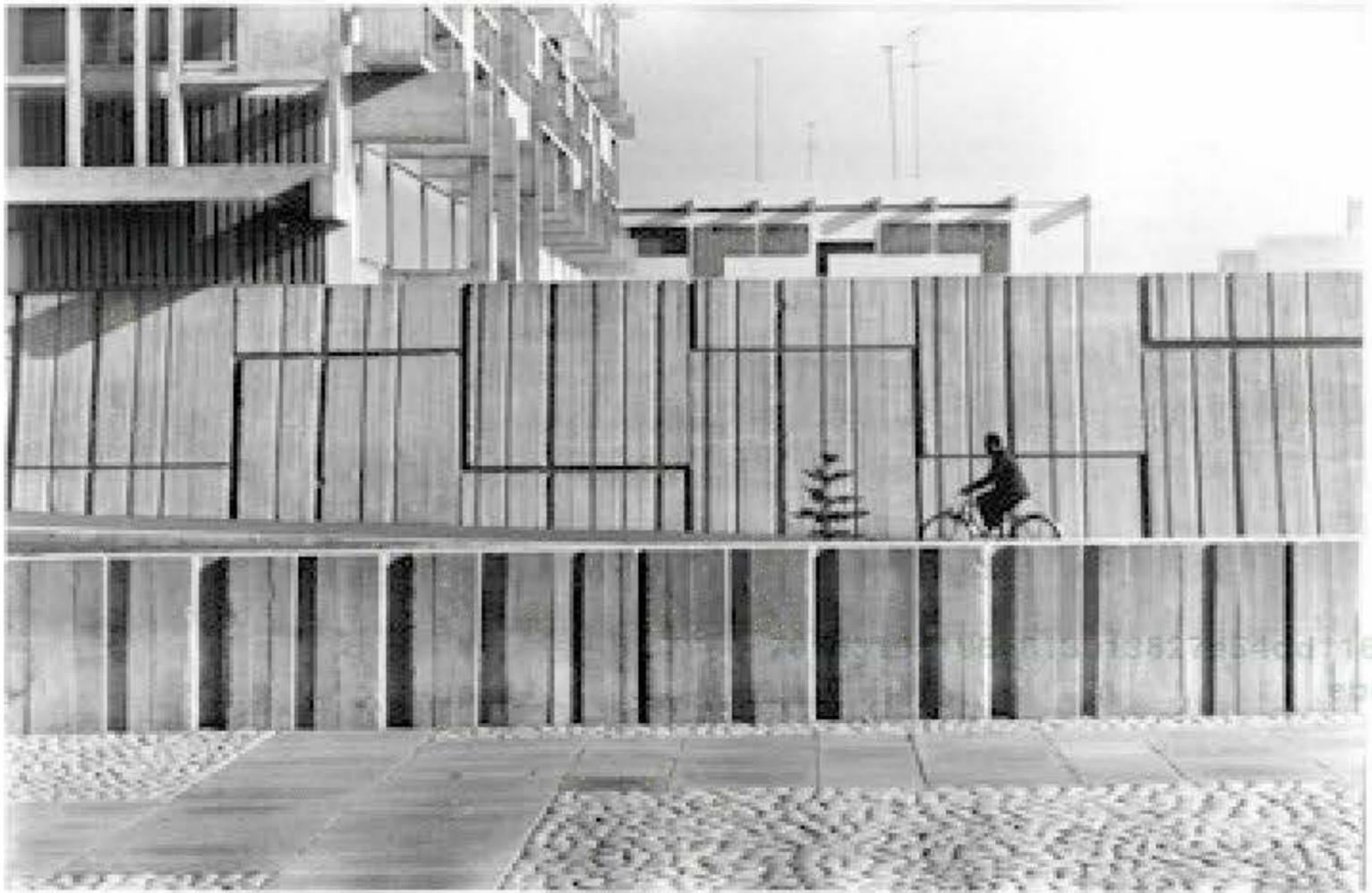
Figure 2.4 Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, *Zwei mal 45 Bilder/Sätze aus Agadir* (source still), 1971. By kind permission and courtesy of Stiftung F. C. Gundlach and S. Fischer Stiftung.

glorifying the reconstruction are spoken by a second narrator (Figure 2.4 and Figure 2.5). This simple, but effective device achieves a very contrastive black-and-white effect of image and text, and is, of course, familiar from 1920s and 1930s political montage, in both film and the graphic arts.[20] While the photofilms by Fichte and Mau retain a strong authorial voice, this is not to be confused with the off-screen, "voice of God." The sequences of the images in their films are both set in rhythmic counterpoint to themselves and to the spoken text, propel the films forward, and continuously unsettle a unified authorial voice and photographer's gaze.

Photofilm as Narrated Evidence: John Haviland's Australian Research Films

Whilst stills and moving images are at the center of the discipline of visual anthropology, the hybrid practice of photofilm hardly has received attention, and few have explored the genre practically or theoretically so far.[21] An exception—and there might be more—is *Making Gambarr* (2009) by John Haviland, a distinguished linguistic anthropologist at the University of California at San Diego, which is based on his black-and-white photos from fieldwork in Australia in 1977 and interviews recorded later, in 1983. In contrast to the films by Fichte and Mau, in *Making Gambarr* the voice of his research subjects in conversation with Haviland is used to guide us through the images and their particular subject, that is the fabrication of
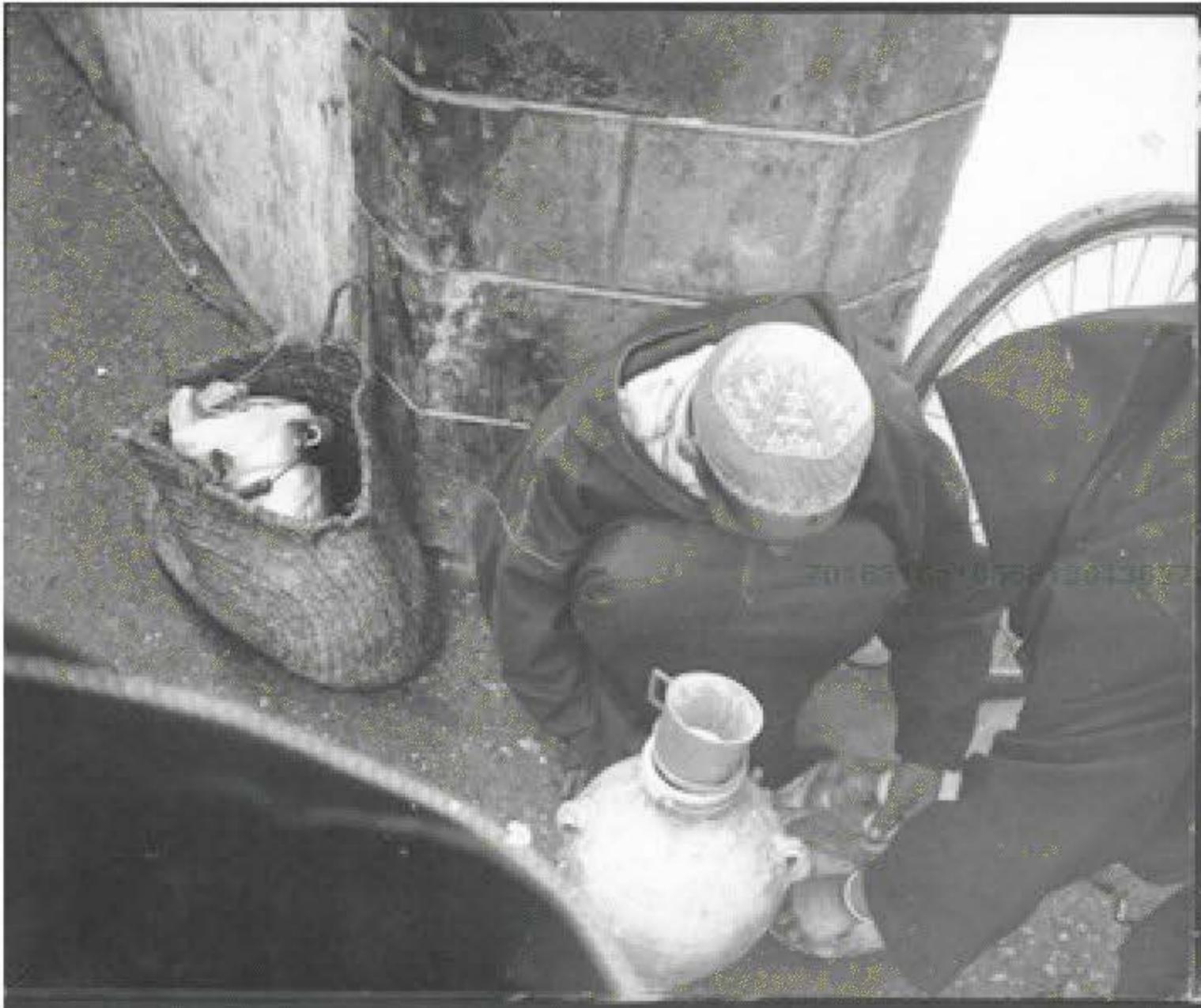
Figure 2.5 Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, *Zwei mal 45 Bilder/Sätze aus Agadir* (source still), 1971. By kind permission of Stiftung F. C. Gundlach and S. Fischer Stiftung. Image courtesy of Katja Pratschke.

gambarr (a particular tar made from ironbark roots, used as a kind of glue to make spears called *womeras*). This detailed conversation also brings "alive" the persons in the photos (they having passed away by the time of the recording in 1983) and in the recordings (their brothers, having passed away by the time the photofilm was made in 2009).

Haviland explains the process in some detail:

> In about 1977, at their request, I accompanied a couple of old men (one my fictive "father" in the community) to make the "traditional" tar (from the root of the ironbark tree) used as a kind of glue to make spears, wommeras, etc. The old men were among the last still to go out into the bush to make it, and whatever quantities they made were quickly snapped up by younger men who wanted the spears for hunting and fishing. I shot several rolls of film with my old Nikon and promptly put them away and forgot about them. By 1983 or so, both of those old men had died, and one day I printed out some of the photos and sat down with two of their surviving brothers to look at them and talk about them (a process we continued

for several weeks). We had the vague idea that we would make a little booklet for the school, and we recorded several hours of conversation about that idea, as we looked at the pictures. (The conversation was in the peculiar mixture of Guugu Ylmithirr and somewhat archaic and elegant English that men who grew up at the mission in the teens and 1920s used.) In the end, both of those men also died before I could proceed and sometime in the mid 1980s—in fact at Tim Asch's [22] urging, when we were colleagues at ANU, and he wanted to mount some of our ethnographic photos on the walls of the anthropology department—I put together a photo sequence of the gambarr-making process with a text, extracted from the tape recorded conversations, all in (a somewhat artificial) "pure" Guugu Yimithirr for an event in the Anthropology Dept. That, at the time, was that.

In 2009 (...) I traveled to Hopevale with a large amount of old audio visual material which I intended to "repatriate." I had digitized all of my surviving old photographs, and quite a bit of audio and video (originally old sound film) material, too. I decided in preparation for the trip to try combining my old photos of the Gambarr-making process with an edited audiotape drawn from the recorded conversations with the two brothers of the deceased tar makers. The idea was to encourage people—especially my fictive kinsmen whose ancestors the people in both pictures and audio were—to think about the past, about the way old people used to talk, about sharing knowledge (and images), and new ways to do it. I also wanted to try my hand in putting this stuff together in a filmic form. I edited the audio, then edited it together with the photos using Adobe Premiere. At Hopevale I showed the result to my kinsmen, with somewhat mixed and politically ambivalent results. During the three weeks we spent in the community I also decided to try taking old recordings of the tales I had published decades before— but this time in the original Guugu Yimithirr and not in English—and subtitling them over panned photos of the original paintings from that early book.

(Haviland, personal communication, February 29, 2012)

Haviland's extensive testimony is instructive not only about the meticulous ethnographic methods employed, but also about the transfer from analog source material (the original stills photographs) to a digital photofilm format. While photo elicitation, the discussion of photographs with research subjects (which Haviland used in the conversation recorded in 1983), is a standard research method (with many variations) in the social sciences, including specialized sub-disciplines of visual sociology and visual anthropology, photofilms, on the other hand, have hardly been explored as a research tool in the way de Haviland does—although this might change in the future because of the now wide availability of specific software (e.g. Adobe Photoshop), and also the ubiquity of and familiarity with sequential image presentation in digital formats (e.g. PowerPoint).

Movement in this photofilm here is *within* and *without* the photographs, through the precise recording of arrested action, and the formal-stylistic devices Haviland uses to focus on the materials and working processes he and his research subjects are interested in (Figure 2.6). Haviland uses to subtle effect zooming and panning across, or down, the photographs to emphasize details of material or of the particular person(s), addressed or speaking at that moment in the narrative

(soundtrack). The so-called "Ken Burns effect", which is actually named after the renowned American documentarian, who made the technique famous in his grand depictions of American history, e.g. *The Civil War* (1990), or of iconic practices, such as *Baseball* (1994), can now easily be achieved with computer programs. Burns, as he himself admitted, was not the first to use the technique now largely associated with his name (he mentions photographer and film-maker Jerome Liebling as his influence)[23], and we have of course seen earlier in this essay how Alain Resnais already had used it in his films on painters, and presumably it has been around as long as stills and freeze frames were used in film, sometimes for entire sequences.

We could perhaps at this point ask what the possible benefits of photofilm are for anthropological research; or, put otherwise, what can such a (photo) film achieve beyond moving film images in visual anthropology film and video production, and where lies the advantage of stills used in moving sequences? More discussion, not least among practitioners, on this is needed, but one advantage is certainly that the eye can rest longer on individual scenes and explore details (similar in this to slow motion) than would have been the case with incessantly moving images.

Figure 2.6 Still image from *Making Gambarr*, John Haviland, USA, 2009. Courtesy of John Haviland.

My third example is *A Polish Easter in Chicago* (2011) by Dick Blau, an acclaimed stills photographer, and professor of film at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, as well as a collaborator in a number of books with anthropologist Steven Feld.[24] The stills for *A Polish Easter in Chicago* were taken during a three-day Easter Service among the Polish community in Chicago in 2005. Narrative voiceover, interview, or recorded conversation, on the other hand, are entirely dispensed with, and instead we have a collage of sounds from the Good Friday service in 2005, and the Easter Sunday service in 2011.

We could say that by using photofilm as his genre, rather than film, Blau halts the ceremony for the eye through the stills, only newly to be woven together through the choice of position in sequence, and the soundtrack recorded at the liturgy, recorded at different times, as well as several times overlaid atmospheric or "presence tracks", to convey a "… living breathing coughing world filled with people, bodies, and echoes."[25] Furthermore, his strategy of letting individual photos speak to us, concurrent with movement as sound, allows us to focus more precisely on individuals, their faces, expressions, gestures, the things they wear, than would have been the case with a continuously moving picture (Figure 2.7). Of course, sound here is not an "objective," reified underlying sound (for example, in the form of prerecorded religious music), but the sonic source is the "real" sound recorded at the event, which then gets worked through in a collage of actual liturgy, and atmospheric sound both inside and outside the church (including birdsong, which Blau uses several times). We have to remind ourselves here that sound both creates space and is placed in space, in other words, it creates spatial imagination. In no way thus is the sound recording just an objective, or perhaps not even representative sonic depiction of this mass, but only one possibility, among many (indeed of the many participating members of the congregation), telling us as much about the placement or location of sound recordist and equipment, as about the auditory experience of the religious ceremony. Although sound is concurrent to the flow of photos, we can also say with film scholar Gunnar Iversen that it "emerges" from the photo.[26] Blau uses close-ups, frequent quick fading between pictures, and blurred photographs achieved through longer exposure times. In this photofilm the photos, part of a temporally structured, and forward moving ceremony, themselves instill motion, rather than being threatened by motion,[27] or moving pictures being needed to achieve the impression of movement.

Dick Blau writes on the background:

> The subject itself comes from two sources. After we finished *Polka Happiness*,[28] I did some sporadic shooting in Chicago, something I called Three Polonias, which looked at the performance of identity and culture/class desire in three different parts of the community. That developed for me into an idea for a book that would be called Polonia USA, a study of Polish Chicago. (…) [The project] comes for me out of an interest in theater as much as in ethnography. I grew up in a theater and (…)

I have always been interested in exploring its roots in demotic performance. The idea to make this series as both a set of stills and also as a film was there from the beginning. I've always loved optical printing in 16mm film—see *Tintinnabula*[29]—because it opens up a world (and a time) between the still and the moving image that I find fascinating to explore. In this case, I thought it was a perfect way to both tell and ponder the story—not to speak of creating a new picture between the two that were dissolving—and yet still keep moving the story forward. As for the sound, I loved Steve Feld's sound pieces for *Bright Balkan Morning and Skyros Carnival*, so it just seemed natural to bring someone to record when I went down to Chicago to shoot. I shot using two cameras. For one set I used a 4 megapixel canon with a silent shutter and what I realize now was the world's most discrete focus beam; for the other I used a Canon 20d. The first thing I did was to have a friend photoshop the pictures, then we imported them and the sound into Final Cut Pro.

(Dick Blau, personal communication, February 26, 2012)

Figure 2.7 Still image from *A Polish Easter in Chicago*, Dick Blau, USA, 2011. Courtesy of Dick Blau.

Blau's photofilm is a way of describing, analysing, and understanding religious ritual, not through the continuous filming of action in movement, nor in the segmentation through single photographic shots, but through the reassembly of single frames into subjective, and sound-built and guided sequences. In this, by focusing on the experiential and subjective character of ritual, Blau's approach resonates with some experimental writing on religious festivals; for instance, by

Richard Swiderski, whose superb treatment of the festival of the patron saint of Italo-Americans in Gloucester, Massachusetts, sets the observer into a dialogic relation to the different participants of the festival, switching viewpoints continuously, and contemplating different scenarios of participation and observation and, ultimately, refusing a unitary interpretive voice.[30] It is this kind of dialogical principle which is evolved through Blau's rendering of the Easter Services, in that each image is opened up to inspection, taken out of the flow of movement of both ceremonial sequence (and implicit filmic representation), only to attain a new movement of its own.

Conclusions

Anthropologists make both moving images and still photos—in the digital age often within the same device. Our review of a number of experiments with photofilm has demonstrated the potentials for anthropology, in both practical and theoretical terms, of the still image beyond its singular significance as an index of arrested movements. Through their "renanimation" in photofilm, both visual and sonic, stills attain the status of twice-lived material objects.

This emerges clearly from the ethnopoetic photofilms of Mau and Fichte, but also, and perhaps unexpectedly, from Haviland's research films which provide a detail of inspection for the specific techniques pertaining to the manufacture of an indigenous implement, in a way a "movie" might not have been able, or at least only in different ways, to provide—enhanced also by the detailed recorded conversation. In rather different ways it also applies in terms of poetic evocation to Blau's photofilm of the Polish American Easter services. Moreover, the examples discussed also underscore the great variety of stylistic, methodic, and theoretical potential available to photofilm. For Mau and Fichte photofilms were carefully planned and had to convey a strong political message through an original and poetic combination of text/commentary and image sequences. Haviland's photofilm was made digitally from analog stills initially not intended for this purpose, but which post hoc turned out to be very congenial to this genre, and in fact in this way reveal more than as single images. Blau's photofilm, finally, arrests the seamless unfolding of a religious ceremony, to allow the viewer to come "in-between" and "within" an otherwise unremitting ritual. Concurrently, all these photofilms, as does photofilm in general, arguably point to the common roots of animation—if not animism[31]—for both film and photography: they lay bare the now lifeless "souls" of photographs, and reanimate them through the sound and movement of film.

Filmography

A Polish Easter in Chicago, dir. Dick Blau, USA, 2011, 10 mins.

Baseball (TV series), dir. Ken Burns, USA, 1994, 1140 mins.

Bastian et Lorie. Notes sur le chant et la danse flamencos, dir. Caterina Pasqualino, Paris: CNRS, 2009, 20 mins.

Der Fischmarkt und die Fische, dirs. Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, Germany, 1968, 9 mins.

Der Tag eines unständigen Hafenarbeiters, dirs. Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, Germany, 1966, 13 mins.

Guernica, dirs. Alain Resnais and Robert Hessens, France, 1950, 13 mins.

La Jetée, dir. Chris Marker, France, 1962, 28 mins.

Making Gambarr, dir. John Haviland, USA, 2009, 13 mins.

Menschen am Sonntag, dirs. Robert Siodmak and Edgar G. Ulmer, Germany, 1930, 74 mins.

Strike, Sergei Eistenstein, Soviet Union, 1925, 82 mins.

The Civil War (TV series), dir. Ken Burns, USA, 1990, 690 mins.

The Man with the Movie Camera, dir. Dziga Vertov, Soviet Union, 1929, 68 mins.

Tintinnabula, dirs. Dick Blau and Dawn Wiedemann, 1986, USA, 8 mins.

Van Gogh, dir. Alain Resnais, France, 1948, 19 mins.

Zwei Mal 45 Bilder/Sätze aus Agadir, dirs. Leonore Mau and Hubert Fichte, Germany, 1971, 13 mins.

Notes

1. I did fieldwork in Sicily in the mid-1980s, and have kept in touch with a number of families since, see my *Emigration und Rückwanderung von "Gastarbeitern" in einem sizilianischen Dorf* [Migration and Return Migration of "Guest Workers" in a Sicilian Village] (Frankfurt, Berne, and New York: Peter Lang Verlag, 1990).

2. Marcus Banks, *Visual Methods in Social Research* (London: Sage, 2001), 23.

3. *Ibid.*

4. 24 fps is the standard frame rate, other frame rates, of course, also exist(ed).

5. For example in his hand-painted film *Tusalava* (1929); see also Roger Harrocks, *Len Lye: A Biography* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2002) and *Art that Moves: The Work of Len Lye* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2009).

6. Filser was commenting specifically on Chris Marker's *La Jetée*, 1962, on which more further on; see Barbara Filser, *Chris Marker und die Ungewissheit der Bilder* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2010), 184.

7. See also her "In Praise of Slow Motion," in Arnd Schneider and Christopher Wright (eds), *Anthropology and Art Practice* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

8. Thomas Tode, "Kurze Geschichte des Stillbildes im Film," in Gusztáv Hámos, Katja Pratschke, and Thomas Tode (eds), *Viva Fotofilm: Bewegt/unbewegt* (Marburg: Schüren, 2010), 17.

9. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Penguin, 2008 [1971]), 70–1. Another famous reference to the still sequences in *Menschen am Sonntag* is in Rudolf Arnheim's *Film as Art* (1959 [1932]), section on the use of stills.

10. Tode, Thomas, "Filme aus Fotografien: Plädoyer für eine Bastardisierung," *Viva Fotofilm: Bewegt/unbewegt*, in Gusztáv Hámos, Katja Pratschke, and Thomas Tode (eds) (Marburg: Schüren, 2010), 31; all translations from German in this and subsequent quotes are mine.

11. A. L. Rees, *A History of Experimental Film and Video* (2nd edn), (London: BFI and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Malcolm Le Grice, *Experimental Cinema in the Digital Age* (London: BFI Publications, 2006); Nicky Hamlyn, *Film Art Phenomena* (London: BFI, 2003); in relation to anthropology, Arnd Schneider, "Expanded Visions: Rethinking Anthropological Research and Representation through Experimental Film," in Tim Ingold (ed.), *Redrawing Anthropology: Materials, Movements, Lines* (Aldgate: Ashgate, 2011).

12. See Denise Fragner, *Links davon das Morgenrot Sehen, Subjekt und Sinnlichkeit im Werk des Ethnologen und Schriftstellers Hubert Fichte*, Mag.Phil. thesis, University of Vienna, 2010, from http://othes.univie.ac.at/10142/ (accessed May 13, 2013).

13. Certainly, Fichte was well read in anthropology, publishing, among other things, a very critical appraisal of Claude Lévi-Strauss's *Triste Tropique*, and a critique of anthropology more generally, see, for example, Hubert Fichte, "Das Land des Lächelns: Polemische Anmerkungen zu 'Tristes Tropiques' von Claude Lévi-Strauss," *Literaturmagazin*, 13 (1980), 87–166; and "Heretical Remarks Concerning a New Science of Man" (English version of a lecture first held at the Frobenius Institute, Frankfurt, January 12, 1977), in *Object Atlas: Fieldwork in the Museum*, ed. Clémentine Deliss (Frankfurt am Main: Weltkulturen Museum, 2012). He also maintained loose contact with a number of German anthropology departments, but his work was generally shunned and not considered by a conservative anthropology establishment in the 1970s, despite the fact that Fichte published a few articles in a small-circulation journal of medical anthropology, *Ethnomedizin*.

14. *Xango: Die Afroamerikanischen Religionen. Bahia. Tahiti. Trinidad* (1976), followed by *Petersilie: Die afroamerikanischen Religionen III. Santo Domingo Venezuela Miami Grenada* (1980). *Psyche*, the last photo-book, based on travels in West Africa and research into mental illness and psychiatric institutions, was published only in 2005, Fichtes's text had appeared already in 1990. From the travels Fichte also published separate work in a hybrid style of novel, research report, and travel journal. These publications were integrated into his *opus magnum Die Geschichte der Empfindlichkeit* [The History of Sensibility], a cycle of 19 planned novels (17 published altogether, many of them posthumously). Fichte has had a certain attention in queer literary studies, but, overall, little of his work has been translated into English, and most critical work remains in German. His anthropological work still awaits a full appraisal in any language.

15. Mau and Fichte gained commissions from Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR), and Westdeutscher Rundfunk (WDR).

16. Gerd Roscher, "Fotofilm—man denkt in Abfolgen: Ein Gespräch mit Leonore Mau," in Gusztáv Hámos, Katja Pratschke, and Thomas Tode (eds) *Viva Fotofilm: Bewegt/unbewegt* (Marburg: Schüren, 2010), 293.

17. Roscher, "Fotofilm," 292–3.

18. See Denise Fragner, *Links davon das Morgenrot Sehen, Subjekt und Sinnlichkeit im Werk des Ethnologen und Schriftstellers Hubert Fichte*, Mag.Phil. thesis, University of Vienna, 2010, 54, see http://othes.univie.ac.at/10142/ (accessed May 13, 2013).

19. Roscher, Fotofilm, 294.

20. Mau's and Fichte's radical deconstruction of the modernizing impetus motivating the post-earthquake reconstruction of Agadir invites comparison with, and reference to, critical anthropological work on French modernist town planning and architecture in Morocco, see Paul Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), especially ch. 9, "Techno-Cosmopolitanism: Governing Morocco," 277–319.

21. Of course, a number of visual anthropologists, Peter Biella foremost (but also Jay Ruby, Roderick Coover, and others), have experimented with interactive hypertext, of embedding and linking up

still images, film/video clips and text in hypertext environments for educational purposes. For an example, see P. Biella, N. A. Chagnon, and G. Seaman, *Yanomamo Interactive: The Ax Fight* (Watertown, MA: Eastgate, 1999). For a comparative study of the hypertext projects, see Rulon Matley Wood, *Hypertext and Ethnographic Representation*, Ph.D., University of Utah, Department of Communication, 2011.

22. The reference is to Timothy Asch (1932–94), the famous ethnographic film-maker.

23. See Wikipedia entry "Ken Burns Effect," from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ken_Burns_effect (accessed May 17, 2013).

24. See Charles Keil, Angeliki V. Keil, and Dick Blau, *Polka Happiness* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1992); Jane Gallopp (photography by Dick Blau), *Living with his Camera* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Dick Blau, Charles Keil, Angeliki Vellou Keil, and Steven Feld, *Bright Balkan Mornings: Romani Lives and the Power of Music in Greek Macedonia* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002); Dick Blau, Agapi Amanatidis, Panayotis Panopoulos, and Steven Feld, *Skyros Carnival* (Santa Fe, NM: VoxLox, 2010).

25. Dick Blau, personal communication, March 24, 2013.

26. Gunnar Iversen, "Added Value: The Role of Sound in Documentary Film Theory," in Gunnar Iversen and Jan Ketil Simonsen (eds), *Beyond the Visual: Sound and Image in Ethnographic and Documentary Film* (Højbjerg, Denmark: Intervention Press, 2010). More generally, on the significance of sound in film, see Michel Chion, *Audio Vision—Sound on Screen* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), and also the chapter by Kevin T. Allen and Jennifer Heuson in this volume.

27. See Filser's observation, mentioned earlier in this chapter (p. 27), on the harassing or besieging effect of motion on stills in the genre of photofilm (see also note 6).

28. Cf. note 24.

29. *Tintinnabula*, Dick Blau and Dawn Wiedemann, 8 mins, 16mm, color/sound, USA, 1986.

30. See Richard M. Swiderski, *Voices: An Anthropologist's Dialogue with an Italian-American Festival* (London, Ontario/Bowling Green, OH: Centre for Humanistic Studies/University of Western Ontario/Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1986), especially ch. 9, "Consummation."

31. Animism, as belief, practice, and indeed analytic device, has recently had a renaissance both in anthropology (the theories of Philippe Descola, for instance), and in the contemporary arts—for example, an exhibition curated by Anselm Franke. Cf. Philippe Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2013); *Animism*, Vol. 1, (ed. Anselm Franke). (Berlin and New York: Sternberg Press, 2010).

STILLS THAT MOVE