

Gérald Gaillard: JACQUES LOMBARD (1926-2017)

OBITUARY

JACQUES LOMBARD (1926–2017): French Africanism of the Third Generation

Gérald Gaillard¹

Jacques Lombard, born in Paris in 1926, was a member of that generation of Africanists,² who had been educated by a selective public school system of the pre-war period. Students wore a blouse and the image of the French Empire adorned the walls of the classroom.³ A generation that had hardly known the leftist Popular Front and for whom neither jazz or surrealism, nor Proust or Gide had been major events unlike for the previous one. They grew up with the series of *Thibault*, finished by Roger Martin du Gard (1940), *Pasquier* by Georges Duhamel (1945), and *Hommes de bonne volonté* by Jules Romains (1946). Malraux, Céline and Cendrars had been installed in the literary Pantheon, Sartre and Camus not yet. This generation saw very French films in cinemas⁴ that from 1960 on would be swept away by other very French films of the Nouvelle vague.

Coming from the experience of the Occupation, this generation was just a little too young to have shared the battles of the Second World War but had sang *Maréchal nous voilà*,⁵ in colleges, high schools or as

- 1 I am grateful to Jean Copans, Bruno Duriez and Dietmar Loch for their comments and suggestions. A French version of this text will be published in the *Cahiers d'études africaines*.
- 2 Here I will use the term generation in the view of Joan Vincent as “a group of men and women with shared life experience” (Joan Vincent, *Anthropology and Politics: Visions, Traditions, and Trends*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990, p. 9).
- 3 See Cavanna (no first name), *Sur les murs de la classe*. Paris: Hoëbeke, 2003. A 139-page album reproducing the images presented on class walls and used for tuition in geography, history, etc.
- 4 The films of Duvivier, Bernard, Pagnol, Carne, Renoir, Richebe, Turner, Decoin, Feyder, Gremillon, Christian-Jaque, Allegre, Guitry, Delannoy and some others. Coming soon, the cinema of Nazi refugees (passing to France on their way to the United States) by Robert Siodmark, Alexander Esway, Fritz Lang and others.
- 5 A song celebrating Pétain, the new head of state. Gérard Miller, *Les pousse-au-jour du maréchal Pétain*, Paris : Seuil, 1975. Henri Amouroux, the author of a masterful History of the Occupation (*Histoire de l'Occupation*) in ten volumes, speaks of 40 millions pétainistes.

scouts, and shared a posteriori the shame of anti-Semitic laws on the status of Jews as well as the return of refugees from Nazi Germany.⁶

With the exception of Jean Suret-Canale (1921–2007), the uprisings of Setif (Algeria), Indochina and Madagascar in 1945–47 seemed to be of little concern to them. This generation would also escape the draft during the Algerian war in which it did not interfere.⁷

With 20 to 25 researchers from the human sciences, this generation produced an Africanism that fits between the one at the university and CNRS (the National Centre for Scientific Research) under the leadership of Marcel Griaule between 1931 and 1955, and the Africanism of independence mainly inaugurated by Georges Balandier in 1956–58.

Active in the field between 1945 and 1960, this generation brought together young graduates from the National School of Overseas France⁸ (an old colonial school from 1888, so called since 1934) and

6 The government, designated as Vichy government, or the government of Pétain, was proclaimed in Bordeaux on 16 June 1940. The law on denaturalisation dated from 22 July 1940. French naturalisations were massive under the Popular Front: let us remember for anthropology only the names of Déborah Lifchitz, Boris Vildé and Anatole Lewitzk. These last two, engaged in the French army from the beginning of the conflict, then founded what is seen as having been the first network of Resistance in France. The “First statute of the Jews,” excluding them from public service (including Marcel Mauss and Marcel Cohen) was set up on 3 October 1940 and it is established that this statute was issued prior to the requirements of the German occupation. The Second statute, which required the registration of all Jewish companies and excluded Jews from any commercial or industrial profession, was passed on 2 June 1941. The armistice, signed at Rethondes on 22 June 1940, included the surrender of anti-Nazi refugees to the German authorities.

7 Michel Leiris (born in 1901), and Jean Pouillon (born in 1916), both close to Sartre of previous generations, did sign the manifesto of 121 against the Algerian war. We also find on this list the names of Hélène Balfet (1922–2001), a technologist and assistant of André Leroi-Gourhan, and Gilbert Rouget (born in 1916) and his assistant, Simone Dreyfus (Simone Dreyfus-Gamelon, born in 1925), all three employed at the Musée de l’Homme. Let us also add George Condominas (1921–2011), a native of Indochina, and Paul Levy (1909–1998), from the Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient, also born in Indochina, and married to a Vietnamese woman. With the exception of Robert Jaulin (1928–1996), none of the post-war generation of Africanists figured on this list (at that time Jaulin was an Africanist). The Africanists were not members of networks supporting independence, and generally, remained little politicised until 1960. Balandier born in 1920, thus at the upper limit of this generation, was a small exception when staying in Guinea.

8 Robert Cornevin (1919–1988), Pierre Alexandre (1922–1994), Pierre-Francis Lacroix (1924–1977), Yves Person (1925–1982).

other institutions with a more diverse course.⁹ At an average of 24 years its members left for Africa where, unlike the researchers of today, they resided “at home” for years. Almost all of them contributed to the periodical *Notes africaines*, published by the Institut français d’Afrique noire (French Institute of Black Africa) wishing to address a broad audience with this magazine.¹⁰ Their work was placed under the yardstick of an old program. While France committed itself much more than before 1945 to the construction of roads, hospitals, schools, ports, etc,¹¹ the Empire still recorded its possessions. It drew up ethnic maps (ethno-demographic maps of West Africa, published between 1952 and 1962),¹² and finished the inventory of the continent (soil, flora, fauna) and especially that of human beings and societies within the genre of ethnic monographs.

The paternal grandfather of Jacques Lombard was a Savoyard wine merchant from Pralognan-la-Vanoise where the family house was already a century old. His father, a sales representative, went to Paris where the *Halle aux vins* (wine market) was located; his mother was a housewife. Born in the 12th arrondissement, Jacques Lombard attended high school in his district. After his baccalaureate, the two years of preparation for the entrance examination of the “Colonial School” that comprises the Henri IV Lyceum (the best French high school with special classes to prepare for the examination giving access to the state’s official high schools), he enrolled in the faculty of law, a subject that had been included in the curriculum.

Failing the examination, Jacques Lombard never became a colonial administrator, but still dreamt of distant lands. One element to

9 Georges Balandier (1920–2016), Paul Péliissier (1921–2010), André Hauser (1922–1994), Gérard Brasseur (1923–1998), Guy le Moal (1924–2010) as well as Edmond Bernus (1929–2004), Toupet, Nicolas, Hiernaux, Houis.

10 *Notes Africaines* was an organ of the Association of Friends of IFAN, an association soon chaired by the anthropologist Louis-Vincent Thomas.

11 Repeating an expression already used earlier but absolutely correct, Vincent Leblan speaks of the “transition from a resource-based economy before and during the war, to a post-war valorisation strategy” (Vincent Leblan, *Aux frontières du singe. Relations entre hommes et chimpanzés au Kakandé, Guinée (XIXe-XXIe siècles)*. Paris: EHESS, 2017, quotation p. 87).

12 These maps built on that of the anthropological mission of Dr. Léon Pales, of the Direction générale de la santé publique de l’Afrique Occidentale Française (Directorate of Public Health of French West Africa) from 1949, which was, to my knowledge, the first to cover all West African ethnic populations.

complete the picture is central. As the family was traditionally Catholic, the young man, on his part, was animated by a deep, almost mystical faith. He regularly attended the student home of the chaplainry and, for some time, went to mass every day. While completing a law degree, he followed courses taught at the Institute of Ethnology, in particular by Marcel Griaule, whose lyricism marked him. But timetables of the courses of law and ethnology sometimes overlapped and thus Lombard routinely left the course of public international law in the middle of a session. This optional subject having only about twenty registrants, the young man was noticed, among others by the one who would become his wife. In 1949 he got his license and military service caught up with him. In 1950 he served as a cadet at the military school in Nîmes and in Provins (Seine-et-Marne). The following year he attended the Ethnological Research Training Centre (Centre de formation aux recherches ethnologiques, or CFRE, founded by Leroi-Gourhan in 1945). This was a happy but short period, in which the two years of study at the CFRE were considered as an internship automatically opening up to a recruitment by the Overseas Scientific and Technical Research Office (ORSTOM: Office de la recherche scientifique et technique d'outre-mer, now IRD: Institut de recherche et de développement) which detached its graduates to Africa (in the case of Georges Balandier and Paul Mercier), Asia (in that of Georges Condominas), Oceania (in the case of Jean Guiart) or Madagascar (in that of Jean Poirier).

As the contract that bound Leroi-Gourhan's CFRE to the ministry and to ORSTOM nevertheless ceased that year, Théodore Monod, who directed the French Institute of Black Africa, personally recruited the young Lombard. Monod needed someone to succeed Paul Mercier (1922–1976). A high school friend of Georges Balandier, Mercier had founded the CentrIFAN of Dahomey (since 1975, Benin), a local branch of the French Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN), based in Dakar. Together with Jacqueline, whom he married in May 1951, Lombard arrived in Dahomey in November that year. The plane trip lasted 24 hours with a stopover in Algiers and Niamey before reaching Cotonou. Paul Mercier came to pick them up by car and they went to Abomey where the CentrIFAN was located. Called back to Dakar to investigate the city, Mercier dragged on for personal reasons. In the meantime, the Lombards settled in a camp and Jacques discovered on a bicycle the surroundings (and Africa), while animating a small

museum that breathed life in the palace of the Abomey King Behanzin. He corrected the *Petit Guide du Musée d'Abomey* (published by Mercier and Lombard at IFAN in 1951, with a second edition of 40 pages in 1959). When Mercier finally left, Lombard took over the direction of the CentrIFAN.

The conditions were tough. Arriving in Guinea in 1947, Balandier had been installed behind the leprosarium, which he had to cross to reach a tiny villa with a camp bed.¹³ In Abomey Paul Mercier had had a well dug 41 meters deep for water;¹⁴ the generator only worked for two hours a day and there was neither a telephone nor a radio. However, these researchers were not on a mission for two or six months, but settled permanently. The European population of Abomey was mostly made up of single men: young military doctors, who went from Indochina to Africa (and who had never performed a childbirth), a few business managers on whom the companies imposed two years of presence before authorising them to bring their wives, and a few couples: for instance, a judge, his assistant, a teacher and his wife who directed the school for girls with a single class of 45 pupils. Jacqueline Lombard would replace her during a year.

Mercier left Dahomey because the government of the French Union¹⁵ was making inquiries about nascent African cities and he was invited to take charge of the sociology of Dakar. In the same context, Lombard wrote a book of 208 pages, *Cotonou, ville africaine* (1953, including two maps, drawn by him) based on a survey of 58 interviews and on questionnaires (158 questions) conducted from April 1952 on with the help of an interpreter. This was the first urban study of French Africa as the book preceded the publication of both *the Dakar agglomeration* edited by Mercier (1954) and *Les Brazzavilles noires* written by Balandier (1955). The subject was topical but one has to realise that Lombard was one of the last, if not the last, anthropologist who grew up with a positive image of the French Empire. His father may have even taken him to visit the Colonial Exposition of 1931. This

13 Conversation between Georges Balandier and the present author.

14 The prisoners were in charge of supplying water to the Europeans and African nobles, transporting cans in wheelbarrows.

15 He was not the only one, recall the enthusiastic work of André Leroi-Gourhan and Jean Poirier, *Ethnologie de l'Union française*. vol. I: Afrique, vol. II: Asie, Océanie, Amérique. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1953. Preface by Charles André Julien. And here the Dogons were still dolichocephalic.

exhibition drew eight million visitors for thirty-three million tickets sold on a population of just over forty-one million French. All members of the previous generation of ethnologists (including Michel Leiris, Jacques Fauble, André Schaeffner, Denise Paulme and her father, and of course Paul Rivet and Marcel Mauss), contributed to this exhibition. Several years Lombard thus believed in the possibility of this French Union, resulting from the Fourth Republic (1946) and the Brazzaville speech held on 30 January 1944 by General de Gaulle as president of the French Committee of National Liberation, which had promised a new era for French Africa.

Placed under the patronage of the governor of Dahomey and of Théodore Monod, the journal *Études dahoméennes* continued to be formally directed from Dakar by Mercier, but the manuscripts were sent to Lombard who dealt with the corrections and layout. *Cotonou, ville africaine*,¹⁶ referred to the French pioneers of urban sociology (Albert Demangeon and Raoul Blanchard) but also to the Americans Robert and Helen Lynd (*Middleton*, 1929) and James West (*Plainville*, 1945) and especially to the work of members of the Laboratoire de Sociologie of CNRS founded by Georges Gurvitch (1894–1965), who published in the *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*: Charles Delasnerie (“L’économie et la sociologie à l’étude d’une ville,” *Cahiers internationaux de sociologie*, no. 10), Charles Bettelheim (Auxerre, in 1950) and the ex-africanist, Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe (1913–1998), who directed a large investigation on the Paris agglomeration. Lombard also referred to the texts of S. F. Nadel (*A Black Byzantium*:

16 Between the arrival of Lombard and his *Cotonou, ville africaine*, the numbers of *Études dahoméennes* included the “Dictionnaire français-gourma” from the Reverend Father Chazal (1951) and “le Mariage au Dahomey” (1951: 27–107 and 1952: 5–80) of Serpos Tidjani. A former student of the Ecole Normale William Ponty, Serpos Tidjani was employed by the Centrifan of Abomey as a librarian-archivist but his orders seem to have been much more important (one of his sons: Nouréini Tidjani Serpos, became the director of the Africa Department of UNESCO). It should be noted that IFAN was often an important step in the social promotion of a few native Africans (among them Hampaté Ba, clerk, see box Jean Rouch, 10 DVD unpublished November 2017, Editions Montparnasse, where Ba tells this himself). The journal also comprised: Robert Cornevin wrote about the Canton of Akébou whose population had risen in 1933 (“Le Canton de l’Akébou, histoire, peuplement, économie, mission”, *Études dahoméennes*, VI, 1952, 81–132). This future permanent secretary of the Academy of Sciences of Overseas began his career as a deputy administrator. Pierre Verger published his long investigation of the voodoo (“Les Culte des vodoun d’Abomey aurait-il été apporté à Saint-Louis de Maranhon par la mère du roi Ghézo”) in *Études dahoméennes*, VI, 1952, pp. 19–24.

The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria, 1942), Jean Comhaire on Lagos and Leopoldville,¹⁷ and Daryll Forde on Freetown.¹⁸

His text covers all themes: geography, demography and history of the city, habitat and hygiene, administrative life, family life, religious life and economic life. It also includes a chapter dedicated to social life and leisure (chapter 14). In fact, the work was constructed as a sort of census with commentaries, and Lombard did a great deal of social morphology.¹⁹

The Lombard couple housed many French and English-speaking researchers passing through. “A whole world of people who were broke,” in the words of Jacqueline Lombard,²⁰ because Africanism would become temporarily rich only after independence. Some came from Senegal as examiners of the French baccalaureate. This is how Jacques Lombard became friends with Louis Vincent Thomas (1922–1994). Appointed professor of philosophy at the Lycée Van Vollenhoven in Dakar (renamed Lycée Lamine Guèye) in 1948,²¹ Thomas was introduced to the Diola of Casamance by Paul Pélissier (1921–2010)²² in 1951 and, being a collaborator of the *Bulletin of IFAN*, he collected materials for a formidable thesis on the Diola, written from a cultural perspective.²³ These visitors “spoke only about work

17 Jean Comhaire, “Note sur les musulmans de Léopoldville”, *Zaire*, 1948, “La vie religieuse à Lagos”, *Zaire*, 1949, which prepared *Some aspects of urban administration in tropical and southern Africa* (Cape Town, 1953). The work on urban sociology, especially about women, by his wife Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain (1898–1975), came a little later.

18 Although Lombard already in 1953 referred to the urban surveys of Daryll Forde, the latter first published on this theme only in 1955 (“The social impact of industrialization and urban conditions in Africa south of the Sahara,” *International Social Science Bulletin*, vol. 7 (1), 1955).

19 Georges Maligna was the only one to review the book in the journal *Population* (1956, vol.11 (1): 172–173) whereas it was only listed in the *Annales de Géographie* and the *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*.

20 Interview with Jacqueline Lombard by the present author on 2 November 2017.

21 Although noted in 1950 as a student diligent at the seminar of Lévi-Strauss of the Fifth section (the list of diligent students is easily available in the *Répertoire de l’Ethnologie française 1950–1970* de Gérald Gaillard readable on the web (the author is content on this point to copy the lists of the Directories of the 5th section).

22 Paul Pélissier then collected the materials for his thesis in the region: *Les paysans du Sénégal. Les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance*. Saint-Yrieix (Haute-Vienne) : Impr. Fabrègue, 1966, 944 pp.

23 Louis Vincent Thomas, *Les Diola. Essai d’analyse fonctionnelle sur une population de Basse-Casamance*. Dakar: IFAN, 1958 and 1959, 2 vols., 343 pp. + 809 pp. tables, fig.

with my husband,” specifies Jacqueline Lombard.²⁴ This was essential. Indeed, the conversations of these Africanists, no doubt passionate (as they were young researchers constructing a new field of knowledge), took the place of seminars.

In 1960 Dahomey became independent. With the end of the state structure called the French Community (1958–1960), IFAN broke away and fell back on Senegal. Appointed to the Saint-Louis Centre IFAN of Senegal in 1961, Lombard wrote *Géographie humaine du Sénégal. Populations et genres de vie* (1963, 183 pp.), another book on urban sociology. He also set up the first film club in the country and especially worked on his theses on the basis of the materials he had collected in northern Dahomey during a decade. These theses were submitted in 1965, with a secondary thesis titled *Autorités traditionnelles et pouvoirs européens en Afrique Noire. Le déclin d’une aristocratie sous le régime colonial* (413 typed pages, printed in 1967), the first text to deal with this subject, and his main thesis titled *Structures de type “féodal” en Afrique Noire. Étude des dynamismes internes et des relations sociales chez les Bariba du Dahomey* (Imprimerie Nationale, 1965, 545 pp.).²⁵

This last book was preceded by the article “La vie politique dans une ancienne société de type féodal: les Bariba du Dahomey” published in the *Cahiers d’études africaines* (1960).

Between 1953 and 1960 Lombard investigated northeastern Benin and a part of western Nigeria. This survey was linked to a programme dating from 1937 and to an inaugural conference on scientific knowledge of Africa that would notably lead to the birth of the Office of Colonial Research (renamed ORSTOM). It was decided that the research would cover the ethnic groups of each of the territories. This work was led on the one hand by the International African Institute, with *The Ethnographic Survey of Africa* placed under the direction of

24 Interview with Gérard Gaillard on 2 November 2017.

25 Balandier’s *Political Anthropology* did not mention Lombard’s book. Dominique Zahan, on the other hand, reviewed both theses with a close but extremely critical reading in the *l’Année sociologique* (1966, troisième série, vol. 17, pp. 345–350). Yves Person presented a laudatory account in the *Revue d’Histoire d’Outre-Mer* (1965, 52, 188: 457–458), while reproaching the lack of an index. Other commendable reviews were written by Claude Ardit in *l’Homme et la Société* (1967, 6: 196–197), P. C. Lloyd in *Africa* (1966, vol.36 (4): 453–454) and Mohamed Chérif in *Présence Africaine* (1965, n.s., no. 56: 156–158). Dr. H. Jones published a critical review in *Journal of African History* (1966, vol. 7: 155–157).

Daryll Forde,²⁶ which financed the research teams and under its aegis published the ethnic monographs at the Presses Universitaires de France (PUF); on the other by ORSTOM and IFAN having permanent staff. For Dahomey, Paul Mercier contributed “The Fon of Dahomey” to the volume *African Worlds*, edited by Daryll Forde (Oxford, 1954), while he had already begun to make surveys among the Somba, a generic term for a group of populations of northwestern Dahomey united by a typical style of habitat.²⁷

A pupil of Griaule, Montserrat Palau Marti, took over work on the Fon,²⁸ after delivering the Dogon volume to the African Survey,²⁹ and being more interested in the Dàsà-Zoumé populations. With Mercier working on the northwest of Dahomey, Jacques Lombard was logically entrusted with the northeast, and the country of Bariba (350,000 inhabitants). Organised according to Gurvitch’s sociology, his text proposed a political anthropology that broke away from the homogenising functionalism of British anthropology prior to Max Gluckman, while refusing a structuralist approach that the author would always reject. As the Bariba were well organised in a kingdom, Lombard informs us of a society and a state “in such a condition of decay that it is difficult to be speaking of a state” (“dans un tel état de déliquescence qu’il est difficile de parler encore d’Etat,” 1965: 35). He nevertheless retained the term “feudal” because it corresponded to the attribution of a fief, to land relations, and to a hierarchical society in which each element stood in a relationship of vassalage to a superior chief or a sovereign who in fact had no great powers (with the exception, as he noted, of the Fon sovereigns).

Being already deputy director of IFAN, Lombard was recruited in 1965 as an associate professor of sociology by the University of Dakar (renamed Université Cheikh Anta Diop of Dakar in 1987). As the number of Senegalese students continued to grow, Léopold

26 Daryll Forde presented his famous “Africa surveyed” review of the work done by the International Institute of African Languages and Civilizations in *The Geographical Journal* of 1939 (vol. 95, no. 5, pp. 430–436).

27 It was not until 1968 that Mercier published his book on the Somba (*Tradition, changement, histoire: les ‘Somba’ du Dahomey septentrional*. Paris: Anthropos, 1968, 538 pp.).

28 The investigations of Montserrat Palau Marti led to *Le Roi-Dieu au Bénin* (Foreword by Hubert Deschamps), Paris: Berger Levrault, 1964.

29 Montserrat Palau Marti, *Les Dogons*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957.

Sédar Senghor wished to create a university. A propaedeutic course was opened for the academic year 1956–57 with three high school teachers: Pierre Fougeyrollas (1922–2008), Alain Robert³⁰ and Louis-Vincent Thomas. Between 1959 and 1961, an Institute of university studies was created comprising faculties of law, medicine, science, pharmacy, literature and the humanities. Fougeyrollas held a position in psychology, Robert in history, Thomas in sociology. Pelissier joined them for geography. In the American campus style, soon magnificent buildings rose near the sea that separated large green spaces. The only inconvenience was that landings and take-offs disrupted the lectures of the teachers as the building were located near an airfield. Administratively the University of Dakar became a “full university” in 1962 and specific arrangements left it in the care of the French Ministry of National Education. Supported financially by this ministry, the university was a French administrative enclave in Senegal and would continue to be ruled by French rectors until 1968. Thomas became dean, was appointed full professor without the ministry taking away his position as director of a study course. He then called Jacques Lombard to his side. Thomas gave the course in general sociology, Lombard that in political sociology. Jean Girard, a pupil of Roger Bastide, joined them in 1966 after presenting a postgraduate thesis titled “Dynamique de la société Ouabé, lois des masques et coutumes” (1965).

In the wake of hopes raised by the independence, the years from 1960 to 1964 were exhilarating according to Lombard.³¹ But, according to him, the situation deteriorated immediately. As the most fortunate Senegalese sent their elder sons to study in the United States or in France, where they prepared for the examination of the Grandes Ecoles, the entire student body of the university was almost exclusively made up by the offspring of small and medium functionaries. The first ones returning to Senegal automatically obtained the jobs that the second ones aspired. Therefore, well before having finished their studies these last ones became a group of discontented ones. In order to obtain an increase in their scholarship they regularly went on strike throughout the year 1966. The French Ministry of Education, however,

30 Pierre Fougeyrollas was a philosopher who came to cooperate after having participated in the first issues of the journal *Argument*; Alain Robert was a historian who would soon investigate the ancient Saharan cities.

31 Private conversation.

granted the creation of a master's degree in sociology, as already planned. In fact, the students went on strike again during most of the year 1967. Then came the student protests of May 1968, which had an immediate effect on Senegal. That spring, Dakar experienced social and political unrest. The university was closed and students, especially those of the sociology department, occupied the campus. The army intervened with overriding violence, as the almost illiterate soldiers were not prepared for this kind of event. Unlike the student protests in Paris, deaths had to be mourned in Dakar. Lombard, who had travelled to France for his annual leave, found the doors of the department of human sciences closed upon his return in September. Various pleas were unable to change the Senegalese government's decision to close an institution that was "more revolutionary than utilitarian" in the following academic year. It proposed to "freeze" the positions occupied by French teachers. In France, the ministry that ensured the salaries had promised to create many positions in French universities and took the opportunity to repatriate those posted in Dakar. The event was undoubtedly unique: French academics returning from Dakar to the metropole, with their posts under their arms. It was up to them to find a host university to which they could be assigned. Pierre Fougeyrollas remained, however, choosing to accept the direction of the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (the institute that had succeeded the French Institute of Black Africa in 1960 and was integrated into the university). With a thesis presented in 1970, Jean Girard (who married a cousin of President Senghor) returned from the Ivory Coast to take up the direction of the Ethnographic Museum of Dakar before later being appointed professor at the University of Lyon.

Returning to France, Louis-Vincent Thomas joined the Sorbonne, Paul Pélissier the University of Nanterre, and Jacques Lombard consulted his wife. She was born in Paris but her family hailed from the north of France. As the A1 motorway had just put Paris within reach of Lille, why not Lille? The University of Lille 1 inaugurated a chair in ethnology at an Institute of Sociology created by Jean-René Tréanton³²

32 Jean-René Tréanton was a pupil of Georges Friedmann, the creator of the sociology of work in France with whom Tréanton wrote the chapter on this subject for the two-volume *Traité de sociologie*, edited in two volumes by Gurvitch for the Presses Universitaires de France (1958).

and Pierre Bourdieu,³³ who were joined by Gabriel Gosselin³⁴ and Michel Simon.³⁵ This was a delicate moment because in November 1970, the University of Lille was divided into three universities: Lille 1, Lille 2 and Lille 3. In theory, the Institute of Sociology could have joined the University of Letters and Human Sciences Lille 3, but it chose the formula of a Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences of the University of Science and Technology of Lille 1.³⁶ The events in Senegal stirred Lombard, who had joined a leftist union. Soon the mathematician Michel Parreau, first president of the new university, called him to his side as vice-president. In 1972, when Parreau fell ill, Lombard was elected to succeed him as president by 51 out of 66 voters until 1977. Both in the department and within the university, the convictions of Lombard attracted many enmities. It must be said that he did not hesitate in the 1990s to declare in his classes that a rigorous comparison of unemployment rates in France and Germany should include the fact that women were little employed in the latter country, and he went on to stress that our young people were now left to their own devices “because the state and the school had no means to deal with them” (one can sense the reactions).

He contributed to the first *Histoire générale de l'Afrique noire* (General History of Black Africa), edited by Hubert Deschamp (1970, 4 vols.).³⁷

Between 1973 and 1982 Lombard chaired the Technical Committee of Sociology of the Office of Scientific and Technical Research Overseas (ORSTOM). In this position he succeeded Georges Balandier, who was preceded by Hubert Deschamps. An outstanding director and

33 Bourdieu had previously been an assistant to Raymond Aron at the Sorbonne.

34 Gabriel Gosselin was a graduate of the Institute of Political Sciences, whom Balandier drew into African studies and who was also a pillar of the Socialist Party.

35 Michel Simon had been a professor of philosophy at a high school in Lille, after having studied at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, but he was also a member of the editorial board of *la Nouvelle critique* from its creation (1962) and a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party between 1964 and 1973.

36 In November 1970, when the new universities were created, the Institute of Sociology, which until then had been part of the Faculty of Arts, opted to associate with economists from the Faculty of Law to form the EBU in Economics and Social Sciences at the new Lille 1 University of Science and Technology (USTL), which was established in 1971 on the campus of Villeneuve d'Ascq providing training to nearly 18,000 students from the agglomeration Lille-Roubaix-Tourcoing and further from Dunkirk and Pas-de-Calais including small towns in Flanders and even Belgium.

37 The Cambridge University Press started the publication of the *Cambridge History of Africa* in 1977 (by volume 5) and UNESCO published its own in 1998.

a hard worker, he was a benevolent president who defended some members of the institution who, after a dozen years, had still not completed their thesis but who would eventually deliver indispensable work (like Georges Dupré, *Les Nzabi. Un ordre et sa destruction*. Paris: Orstom, Mémoires no. 93, 1982, 446 pp.) or leftists (such as Pierre-Philippe Rey) whose Marxist and revolutionary preoccupations he never shared.

With the same benevolence he devoted himself to direct the Institute of Sociology of the University of Lille 1 for ten years, twice occupying this function between 1978 and 1983 and from 1988 to his retirement in 1992. During part of this period, he was assisted by the Africanist Michel Adam, who served as deputy-director. Due to the latter Lombard climbed the Kilimanjaro. Being sportive, mountaineering not only in the Savoy where he had his family home, but throughout the world, Lombard was a good swimmer (swimming five kilometres when he was 70) and an excellent tennis player.

Teaching until his retirement both first year classes (which he found essential) and a doctoral seminar, Lombard drew from his lectures an *Introduction à l'ethnologie* (1994) which, presenting itself as a story, saw four editions and several translations. Two decades earlier, his *L'anthropologie britannique contemporaine* (1972) was a small sensation being the first comprehensive study of British anthropology not only in France but also abroad.

Within the Institute of Sociology Lombard spent a great deal of his time supervising PhD students. In this period France still granted many thesis scholarships to African students who arrived in large numbers at the Lille department to study development. Usually Gabriel Gosselin or Jacques Lombard supervised them. The Institute of Sociology at the Lille University of Sciences, together with the economists, must have been one of the foremost training centres for development in those days. It should be noted that while welcoming and supervising young doctoral students, Lombard regretted that Africa trained so many young people in the human sciences, in economics and in law ("the unemployed of the future," he would say), when, in his view, Africa needed technicians and engineers as a matter of priority. With the same degree of responsibility he did not wish to develop anthropology within the Institute of Sociology, which became a joint Institute of

Sociology and Anthropology only after his retirement. He explained this in an interview with Rita Cordonnier,³⁸ stressing a necessary link between training and existing professional opportunities. According to him: “The only possibility of reforming the university system in an efficient way” would be a training that is as versatile as possible with “a system of non-specialisation (...) in the manner of university colleges such as existed in the United States.” To train sociologists or anthropologists was to condemn most students, whose social situation was already precarious, to unemployment. As a minimum, a socio-economic education was needed (pp. 31–33).

Disappointed by the aftermath of the independence he had experienced with such enthusiasm, Lombard did not desire to return to Africa: too many malpractices, too many state coups, too much indiscriminate violence. In his latest texts, he returned to the anthropology of law, contributing to *La violence et l'état: formes et évolution d'un monopole* (1993) and writing chapters for the volumes of the *Histoire des moeurs*, edited by Jean Poirier (1991).

Always involved in community life, his retirement allowed him to devote more fully to voluntary work within the French Consumer Union (UFC-Que Choisir) where he dealt more specifically and with infinite patience with over-indebtedness but also, and still on a voluntary basis, as a representative of users of the Regional University Hospital of Roubaix where he held a weekly office for years. He travelled a lot and according to his wife visited 45 countries. Affected by Parkinson's disease, Jacques Lombard passed away on 5 September 2017 after spending the last two years of his life at the retirement home Saint Jean de Lille.

Finally, let us recall one of the many facts indicating the distance separating us from his generation: Jacques Lombard never knew how to type. Madame Flora Petit, secretary of the Centre for African Studies, typed the texts of Georges Balandier (born in 1920), and just like the philosopher, Gilles Deleuze (born in 1925), whose wife Fanny took over this kind of work from Michel Tournier, it was Jacqueline Lombard who typed the texts of her husband.

38 Rita Cordonnier, Interview with Jacques Lombard, *Bulletin of the French Association of Anthropologists*, 1987, 28(1): 31–42.

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