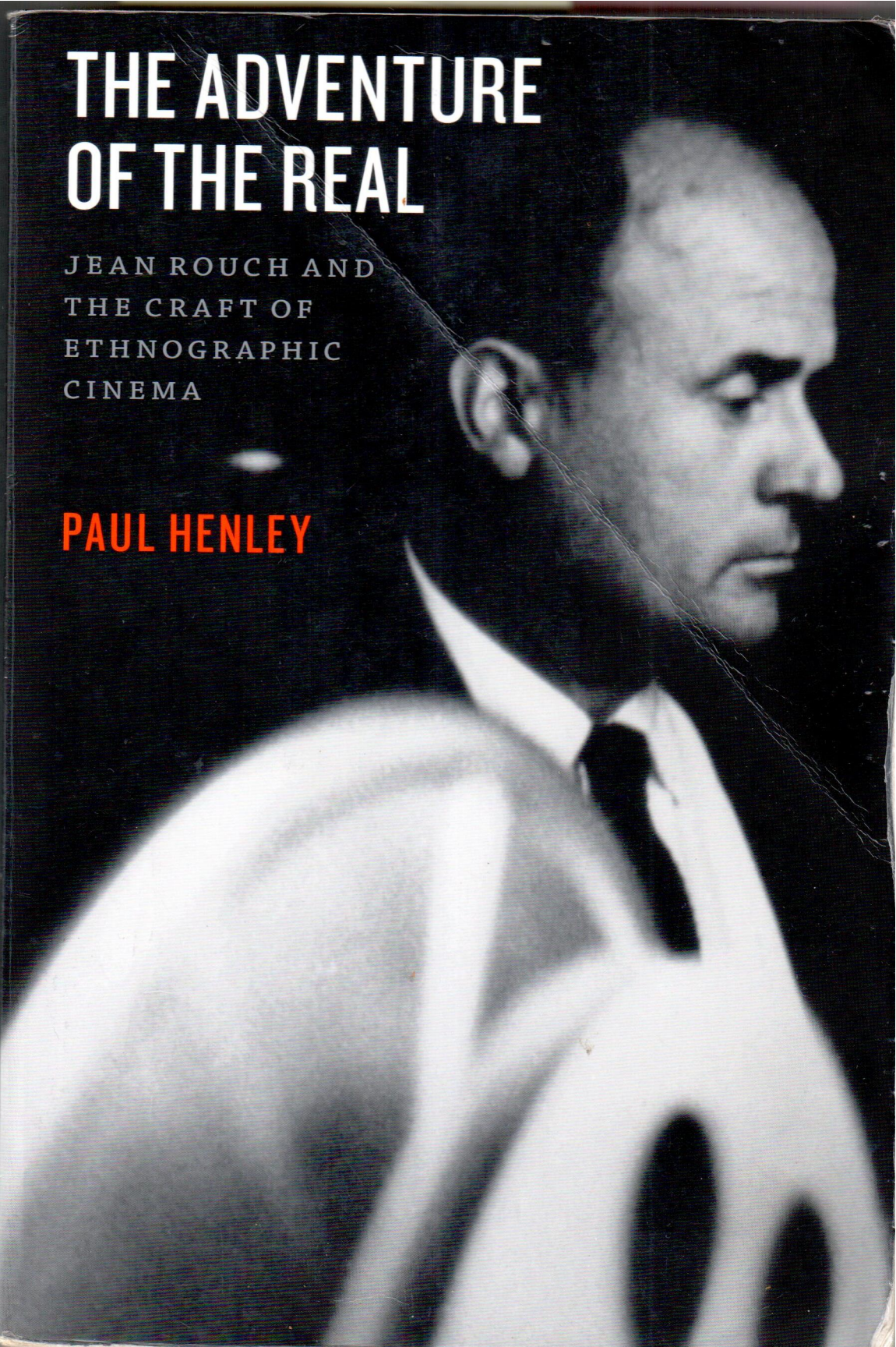


THE ADVENTURE OF THE REAL

JEAN ROUCH AND
THE CRAFT OF
ETHNOGRAPHIC
CINEMA

PAUL HENLEY



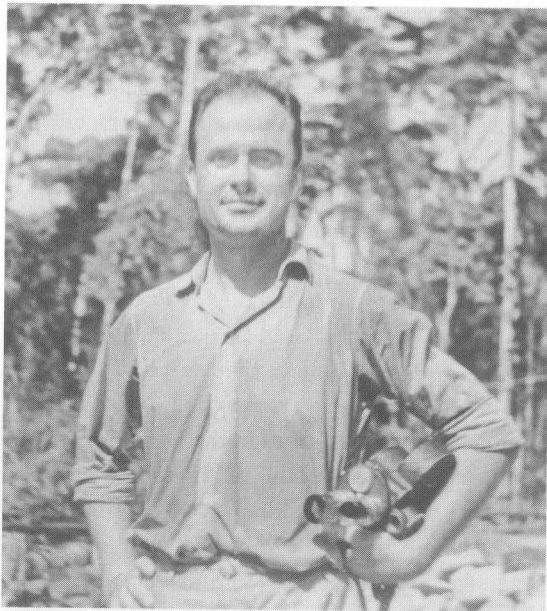


FIGURE 5.2. Jean Rouch in Saremboi forest, Western Region, Gold Coast, 1954, as ever carrying his Bell & Howell. © Fondation Jean Rouch.

the exception of *The Lion Hunters*, which is one of Rouch's major works and a highly estimable film that we shall return to in chapter 10, none of these is as significant in the development of his praxis as the films that he made based on his migration research.

Migration as Adventure

The two films that Rouch produced about migrants to the Gold Coast, *Les Maîtres fous* and *Jaguar*, were made at a time of considerable political turmoil in the British colony. This was the period when Kwame Nkrumah's Convention People's Party (CPP) was vying with a number of other political groupings to take power following independence from Britain, which finally came in 1957. Although Rouch generally eschewed political topics in his films, there are some brief references to this ferment of political activity in *Jaguar*.⁶

Les Maîtres fous is a short film documenting the activities of the *hauka* spirit possession cult to which many Nigerien migrants on the Gold Coast belonged (fig. 5.3). The subject of the film is the annual gathering of cult members that took place near Nsawam, a small town about twenty-five miles north of Accra on August 15, 1954.⁷ Whereas most ethnographic films of the day sought to record the traditional and the customary in rural areas, *Les Maîtres fous* celebrates what Rouch refers to in the opening commentary as "the great adventure of African cities." As such, it represented a new departure not only within Rouch's own work but also

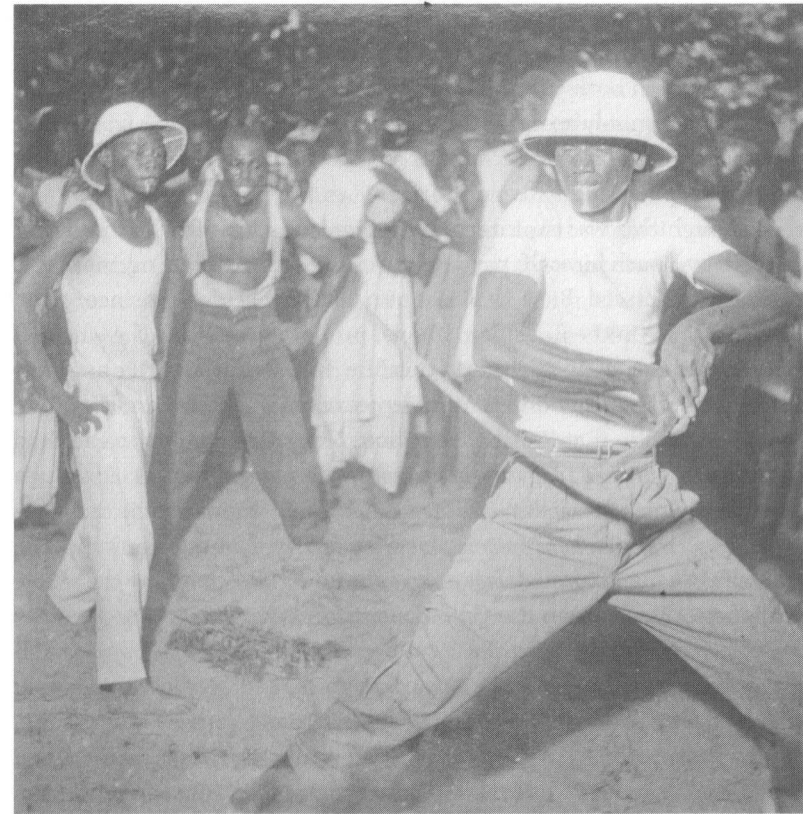


FIGURE 5.3. A *hauka* medium in Accra, possessed by the Spirit of the Wicked Major Mugu, cracks a whip fashioned from a truck fan belt. © Fondation Jean Rouch.

within the genre of ethnographic documentary while at the same time linking up with important new developments going on in Africanist anthropology more generally.⁸

But from the moment of its first release in 1955, *Les Maîtres fous* became the subject of intense controversy. For, in the course of the film, as the adepts of the cult become possessed by the *hauka* spirits, they mimic the manners and dress of certain colonial authorities and, in this condition, they prance about in the most bizarre manner, foaming at the mouth, and burning themselves with flaming torches. At the culminating moment, they sacrifice a dog, throwing themselves forward to drink its blood. The film was immediately banned by the Gold Coast colonial authorities on the grounds that it portrayed cruelty to animals and lack of respect for the colonial regime. The film was also denounced by leading intellectuals in Paris, both European and African, including even Rouch's own supervisor, Marcel Griaule, because it showed Africans behaving in

over the intervening years, *Les Maîtres fous* has been progressively rehabilitated and in both the anthropological and screen studies literature, the most commonly accepted view today is that this film, far from being racist, provides a unique account of a powerful counter-hegemonic parody of European colonialism in Africa.

Although this was an interpretation encouraged, if not actually espoused, by Rouch himself, particularly in his later years, in my view, it is seriously misplaced. But I shall not pursue this matter here since, given its importance in the Rouchian canon, I propose to dedicate the whole of chapter 7 to a detailed analysis of this film. In the course of this analysis, I shall present a rather different interpretation of the *houka* cult.

The other film that Rouch made about Nigerien migrants to the Gold Coast in this period, *Jaguar*, could hardly be more different. Although there are some establishing shots of Accra and Kumasi that are common to both films, *Les Maîtres fous* was mostly shot over a single day, whereas the main body of *Jaguar* was shot over the course of the whole year that Rouch was on the Gold Coast from February 1954 to January 1955, with the final version of the voice-over commentary not being completed until 1960.⁹ While *Les Maîtres fous* is a short film of less than thirty minutes' duration, which was edited and released relatively quickly, *Jaguar* is a feature-length film of eighty-eight minutes in its final form and Rouch was not able to assemble the budget for its postproduction until the late 1960s, long after the colonial world it depicted had been brought to an end. But perhaps the greatest difference between the two films is in their general tone. Whereas *Les Maîtres fous* is a serious, realist documentary that often shocks its viewers, *Jaguar* is a light-hearted, fictionalized road movie that mostly provokes reactions of delight.

The principal protagonists of *Jaguar* are three young men, played by Damouré, Lam, and Illo, who leave the market town of Ayorou on the middle Niger and take off for what the Songhay call the "*kourmi*." This is a reference to the luxuriant tropical forest of the Guinea Coast that contrasts so markedly with the arid semidesert in which the Songhay themselves live.¹⁰ Here, the three protagonists have all kinds of adventures as casual laborers and market traders in Kumasi and Accra, before eventually returning, many months later, to their home villages. The following day, they gain great personal prestige by distributing all the merchandise that they have brought back with them and then, without further ado, they return to their traditional subsistence activities.

The film opens with Rouch's voice saying to an interlocutor by the name of Adamou, "We are going to tell you a story," and the three protagonists are then introduced, one by one.¹¹ Apart from this reference

to storytelling, there is no direct clue in the film itself that it is fictionalized. There are certain scenes that any filmmaker would immediately recognize as enactments, but an uninformed general spectator could readily be forgiven for assuming that he or she is looking at a "straight" documentary, particularly given the conventions of the time. In fact, although the protagonists are shown as if walking for more than a month to reach the Gold Coast, in reality they traveled throughout the journey in Rouch's Land Rover. Similarly, although they are shown working in various casual laboring jobs in Kumasi and Accra, they never received payment for doing these jobs, which in any case they only performed briefly for the purposes of the filming. Instead, Damouré was receiving a salary from his post as a minor civil servant back in Niger, while his companions were paid by Rouch out of the film budget.¹²

Despite the reservations of Jane, who felt that he should stick to reportage, Rouch decided to shoot this film as a fiction because he felt that it would be impossible to show the full range of the migrants' experience within the limitations of a conventional documentary.¹³ Although the making of a fiction film was an entirely new departure for Rouch, there had been a clear hint of a movement in that direction in the making of *Bataille sur le grand fleuve* in 1951, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Even in *Cimetières dans la falaise*, shot the year before that, the throwing of the baobab flower into the stream in order to reinforce the symbolic significance of the final shot already indicated an interest on Rouch's part in going beyond impassive scientific description. However, if *Jaguar* is a fiction, it is a fiction without a screenplay: for, drawing on his Surrealist background, Rouch resolved that it should be based on improvisation and chance instead. The general idea was concocted in discussion with the three principal protagonists. Rouch later reported that when they actually began filming, all that they had decided upon was that the trip would begin and end at Ayorou, and that the migrants would immediately give away everything that they had brought back with them. All the other incidents in the film were then made up as they went along, with Damouré, Lam, and Illo improvising their performances in each situation, following a preliminary discussion with Rouch himself.¹⁴

But as was so often the case with Rouch's improvisations, the ground was very well laid beforehand. Although only Illo had previously made the journey to the Gold Coast as a genuine migrant, Rouch had taken all three of the principal protagonists on a reconnaissance trip to the Gold Coast in the course of his 1950–1951 expedition with Roger Rosfelder. From a series of popular articles that Rouch wrote about that journey, as well as from Damouré's travel diary, it is clear that they visited many of the same places, or at least places that were similar, to those that they

ways that they believed would pander to European racist prejudices. But over the intervening years, *Les Maîtres fous* has been progressively rehabilitated and in both the anthropological and screen studies literature, the most commonly accepted view today is that this film, far from being racist, provides a unique account of a powerful counter-hegemonic parody of European colonialism in Africa.

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would later use as locations for *Jaguar*. On the way south, they visited the Somba, the ethnic group of northern Dahomey celebrated for wearing very little other than penis sheaths – “buttocks in the air,” as Damouré describes them—who would later feature in *Jaguar*. They then continued their journey and entered the Gold Coast, via Lomé on the Togolese coast, and made fun of the border guards, just as they do in the film. Once in Accra, they met Moukaila, one of the priests who would later feature in *Les Maîtres fous*, and attended a *hauka* ceremony: Illo even became possessed. They visited a gold mine at Prestea in the Western Region of the Gold Coast and discovered Zerma migrants working as miners there; later, in *Jaguar*, Lam would play the role of a migrant gold miner, not in fact in Prestea, but in Obuasi, a similar mining complex in the western Gold Coast. True to Rouch’s background as a road engineer, they inspected various bridges, as they also do in the film. Indeed, there is a certain ambiguity about Damouré’s diary entries, such that one possible reading of them is that Rouch even filmed certain scenes of *Jaguar* during the course of this reconnaissance trip (fig. 5.4).¹⁵

Narratively, the film is structured by the chronology of the journey and held together, in the absence of any synchronous sound, by a remarkable commentary that Damouré and Lam improvised in response to a silent projection of a workprint of the film. This they did on two separate occasions, once in a sound studio in Accra in 1957, and then again in 1960. A combination of the two performances was used in the preparation of the sound track of the hundred-minute version of the film that Rouch produced for the Venice Film Festival in 1967. Despite the time lag between the two recordings, Damouré and Lam were able to switch back into their film personae without any difficulty, so notwithstanding the differences in the quality of the recordings—partly due to changes in their voices and partly due to differences in the sound-recording technology—Rouch was able to mix the two tracks, along with some asynchronous “wild tracks” recorded during the production, some music and some studio sound effects, to produce an highly effective sound track.¹⁶

Heroes of the Modern World

The improvisational techniques used in *Jaguar* became the model for all Rouch’s subsequent fiction films, even though it was actually released after a number of these later works because Rouch had to wait many years before he could assemble the budget necessary for the postproduction of the film. Rouch referred initially to these fictional works as his “ciné-fictions” or more playfully as “science fictions,” since they were

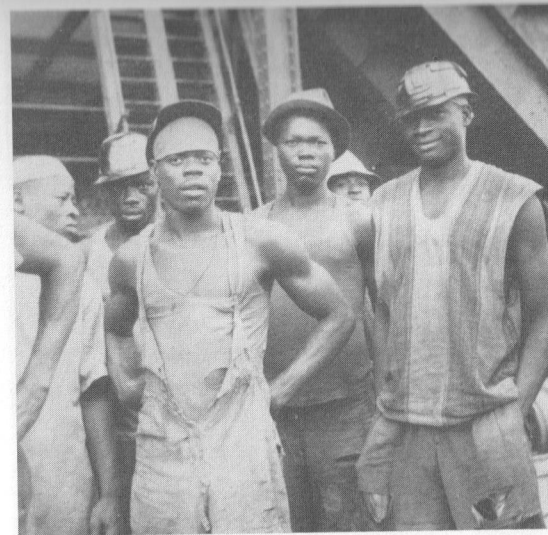


FIGURE 5.4. *Top*, Zerma migrants as gold miners at Prestea, which Rouch visited on the research trip to the Gold Coast in 1951. *Bottom*, Lam playing the role of gold miner for *Jaguar*, shot in 1954. © Fondation Jean Rouch.

based, at least in some cases, on ethnographic, statistical, or historical research. Subsequently however, Rouch’s way of working in a fictional mode has come to be referred to in the literature by the somewhat ambiguous term “ethnofiction.”¹⁷

Jaguar is also sometimes cited as an example of “reverse anthropology,” a mirror in which the Other of the European imaginary meets its own Other. But if this is true, it is so only in a qualified way. For the Others whom the three adventurers meet in *Jaguar* do not actually include any Europeans. First among these others are the Somba, whose



FIGURE 5.5. "The great adventure of African cities": the Red Spots high-life dance band. © Fondation Jean Rouch.

nakedness and fetishistic religion impress the travelers greatly. However, as good Muslims, they reason that this is how Allah must have wished the Somba to be, and therefore there can be nothing wrong with these strange customs. Later, in the cities, they meet Hausa, Yoruba, Ashanti, and Ga, as well as migrants from all over West Africa, including many of their fellow Songhay. They swim in the sea for the first time, marvel at the vast size of Kumasi market, enjoy the bars with exotic names and suggestive images of stylish women, marvel at the propensity of local people to dance not just at political meetings, but even at funerals and generally enjoy "the great adventure" of an African city (fig. 5.5).

Finally, they set up a trinket stall in the Kumasi market, giving it the charming name, *Petit à petit, l'oiseau fait son bonnet*, literally, "Little by little, the bird makes its bonnet." This seems like it might be a reference to some traditional French saying, but in fact, it was a name made up by Damouré who thought of the bird's bonnet as being a metaphor for the



FIGURE 5.6. The Petit à Petit trinket stall, Kumasi market, 1954. From left to right, Damouré, Lam, and Douma Besso. Their names and that of Illo appear on the board above, along with the name of the stall itself, devised by Damouré. © Fondation Jean Rouch.

turban that a successful man would wear (fig. 5.6). As Rouch discovered during his migration research, many Songhay made a living from such *nyama-nyama* stalls, as they were known. It was a *métier* much appreciated by the francophone migrants because it required very little capital to get started, though to be successful, one had to be something of showman, as Damouré demonstrates in the film. Once he and his partners have sold off their stock, they make the long journey home, running the gauntlet of the many customs posts on the way that threaten to fleece them of everything that they have earned.¹⁸

Yet despite the fact that most of the film is set in a colonial city, among the hundreds, possibly thousands of people who appear in the film, not a single one is evidently European. It is true that in the scene in the Obuasi gold mine, Lam meets a miner who also comes from Niger, played by another of Rouch's associates, Douma Besso, and they discuss how the British mine owners are robbing the Africans of their gold. However, this skepticism toward wealth and power is also manifest in the disrespectful commentary over a scene in which the Kwame Nkrumah and his leading political associates are shown preparing for a photo call on the steps of the parliament building during the Legislative Assembly meet-



FIGURE 5.7. Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the Convention People's Party, and later first prime minister of the independent nation of Ghana, on the steps of the Legislative Assembly, Accra, July 1954. © Fondation Jean Rouch.

ing in July 1954 (fig. 5.7). Having commented that Nkrumah looks well-fed enough, as do all his ministers, implying that they are growing fat at other people's expense, Damouré and Lam conclude that he is not so much the "prime minister" as "the prime arse-hole." Although this may represent a certain kind of reflection on alterity, it could hardly be said to constitute "reverse anthropology."

In my view, the main achievements of *Jaguar* lie elsewhere. First, in common with *Les Maîtres fous*, *Jaguar* acknowledges that rural Africans were already tied into a much wider world, both politically and economically. Much more important, it presents the migrants not as passive victims of this process but rather as active participants: they are "heroes of the modern world," as Rouch puts it in the passage of commentary toward the end of the film that is quoted in the epigraph to this chapter. These men certainly took to the road in search of money and material goods but also in search of adventure. In doing so, Rouch adds in the same section of commentary, they were following in the footsteps of their ancestors who had taken the very same roads south in order to fight as mercenaries in the seemingly endless interethnic skirmishes connected with the slave trade that were still going on immediately prior to the European colonial pacification of the area in the late nineteenth century.

This argument was central to the major report based on his migration research that Rouch published in the *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*

in 1956. Many years later, in 1988, he was taken to task by Thomas M. Painter for overemphasizing the historical continuity between the migrants' taste for adventure and the motivations of their nineteenth-century mercenary ancestors rather than focusing on the effects of the still-extant French colonial regime in Niger. In particular, Painter accuses Rouch of selective attention in not emphasizing the importance of a severe head tax imposed on everyone over six years of age in Niger that, in effect, obliged young men to migrate in order to earn the money necessary to pay it off.¹⁹ Rouch did not take kindly to this criticism, but to a third party, their respective arguments do not seem to be entirely incompatible. While there were no doubt certain "push" factors behind the migration, including not only the taxation but also the chronically fragile state of agriculture on the edge of the Sahel, there also appear to have been strong "pull" factors, including particularly the subjects' desire to see the world. Indeed, in the conclusion to his report, Rouch lists both the need to pay colonial taxes and the historically conditioned desire for adventure as reasons for Songhay-Zerma migration.²⁰

Interestingly, in her personal memoir, Jane Rouch comments that whenever she spoke to francophone migrants on the Gold Coast, taxation and the rudeness of French colonial officers were factors that they always cited as the reasons why they had migrated. The need to earn money in order to be able to pay taxes is also the principal reason for this migration that is cited by Damouré in a film interview that he gave to Berit Madsen and Anne-Mette Jørgensen in 2003. But while the priority that Rouch gives to the attractions of adventure in the film could possibly be put down to his Romantic inclinations, it might also be, as he himself suggests, that being an ethnographer in the Maussian tradition, he assigned particular significance to his subjects' own constructions of their experience in which, notwithstanding Damouré's recollections some fifty years later, the thirst for adventure may have featured at least as strongly as more material concerns.²¹

This relates to the second and perhaps even more important achievement of *Jaguar*, namely, that it succeeds in representing its principal subjects not as exotic curiosities, as in previous genres of ethnographic film and even, to some extent, in *Les Maîtres fous*, nor as mere Durkheimian social facts, as in Rouch's statistical reports on migration, but rather as human beings with idiosyncratic characters and attitudes and—particularly importantly for Rouch—their own dreams and fantasies. This interest in fantasy is exemplified in the very title of the film, which is taken from the title of a multilingual hit song that is played at various points on the sound track.²² In the immediate context of this song,

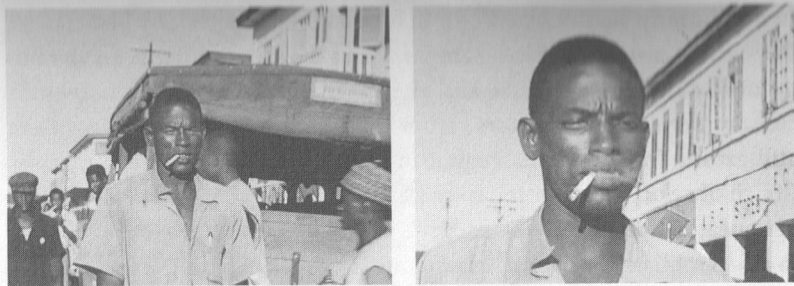


FIGURE 5.8. Damouré shown demonstrating the “jaguar” walk in a series of jump cuts.

the term “jaguar” refers to a particular form of fashionable urban cool. As Damouré and Lam comment on the sound track, “jaguar” was the English-language equivalent of “zazouman,” a style of dress and comportment associated in francophone countries with African American jazzmen.²³ In a series of jump cuts, Rouch shows Damouré giving a demonstration of this cool in *Jaguar*, at least as it applied to men: it meant to be fashionably dressed and to parade oneself about town, smoking casually, being looked at while looking about oneself (fig. 5.8).

For women, on the other hand, being “jaguar” was synonymous with being a streetwalker in another sense, that is, being a particular kind of high-class prostitute. As Rouch explains in his migration report, these women were typically very young, expected large payments and dressed in a particular way, wearing low-cut blouses, short skirts, and European shoes. Their clients were mostly Europeans and Arabs, but any self-regarding Songhay migrant would aspire to enjoy their company at least once during his time on the Gold Coast. Jane Rouch also gives a series of amusing examples of the connotations of the term “jaguar” in 1950s Accra. According to her, among men, not only jazzmen but also skillful boxers were considered “jaguar,” while among women, Hollywood film stars, even though they were all white in those days, could also be “jaguar” if they were considered particularly sexy.²⁴

However, the ultimate reference of “jaguar” in 1950s Accra was not to a particular form of comportment, but rather to the classic British sports car of that name, an unimaginable luxury for most urban migrants, but one to which many aspired and one which, almost incredibly, a very few, according to Rouch, actually achieved.²⁵ The refrain of the song, which takes various forms, refers to a series of other such aspirations, some more improbable than others. One of these refrains is “Jaguar—fridge full, Jaguar—fridge full,” which is played over the image of Damouré as he begins his cock-walk through the streets. A migrant with a refrigerator full of food would have been only a slightly less fantastic idea for

a Songhay migrant than the idea of owning a Jaguar sports car. At the end of Damouré's demonstration, the refrain changes slightly to “Jaguar—freedom, Jaguar—fridge full,” which provides a convenient segue into a sequence in which Damouré attends a political rally addressed by Kwame Nkrumah calling for political independence.²⁶ This aspiration, at least, did come to pass, though it was a dream that would later turn into a nightmare.²⁷

Yet although *Jaguar* was based on fictionalization and fantasy, for all that it was “one big joke,” as he would later put it, Rouch felt that the film gave a much more valuable account of the phenomenon of Gold Coast migration than his detailed statistical monograph with all its facts and figures. “When I compare the monograph to *Jaguar*,” he observed in an interview given in 1967, “I realize that the most truthful testimony is that of *Jaguar* in the sense that in the monograph, the human dimension is completely lacking. This was something that really impressed me . . . We had entered into a domain that was not reality, but rather the provocation of reality, one that revealed that reality.”²⁸ This insight was something that Rouch would pursue in a variety of ways for the rest of his career.

Griaule and Dieterlen generally worked very closely together, this seems more than likely.

8. See Dieterlen (1988), 252.

9. See Fulchignoni (1982).

10. See Fulchignoni (1982). Rouch explains that at first he was reluctant to shoot the mourners, given their apparent distress, but Griaule urged him to do so, explaining that most of them were professional mourners anyway. Interestingly, these shots of Dogon women have an intimacy that is absent from the Dogon films that Rouch made fifteen or more years later.

11. These films about the Sigui ritual cycle are discussed at length in chapter 11, pp. 220–234.

12. Rouch (2008), 139–145.

13. Rouch (2008), 146–193. It is possible, however, that some of this material was incorporated into *Jaguar*, the film that Rouch made during his subsequent expedition to the Gold Coast in 1954–1955.

14. I am grateful to Paul Stoller for the literal translation of the term *yenendi*, though he prefers to render this term as *yenaandi*. But given that this book is about Rouch's work, I have followed his preferred usage.

15. See chapter 1, p. 7. Also Rouch (1995c), 418.

16. See Piauxt (1997), 13; also Ahounou (2000), (2007). Christopher Thompson has drawn attention to the intriguing link between Rouch's interest in the figure of Dongo and the fact that his oceanographer father, Jules, was a meteorologist with a particular scientific interest in storms (Thompson 2007, 181).

17. See Villain (1991), 34, for a description of Rouch's *prise de conscience* about the need for an editor.

18. Rouch (2008), 207.

19. This sequence has a certain similarity to the sequence in *Nanook of the North* in which Nanook discovers the blowhole of a seal just in front of Flaherty's camera. As Rouch often talked about the influence of this film upon him, one wonders whether, consciously or not, it might have influenced him in setting up this sequence for *Bataille*.

20. Stoller (1992, 42) says that this crucial event took place in 1954, but Rouch himself (1995a, 93) maintains that it took place in 1953. It is not mentioned in Rouch's travel diary (Laurent Pellé, pers. comm., June 2008), nor in Jane Rouch's published memoir of the same journey (Jane Rouch 1956). However, Damouré Zika also wrote a travel diary for this part of the journey and although he does not report the screening either, he does state that the visit to Ayorou took place between 25 January and 8 February 1954 (Zika 2007, 36).

21. Fulchignoni (1981), 12–13, also (2003), 157–158.

22. Compare and contrast Rouch (1995a), 93, (1995b), 224; and Fulchignoni (1982).

23. Rouch (2008), 219–228.

24. Speckenbach (1995).

Chapter Five

1. This is a commentary point made toward the end of the film, *Jaguar*, released in various forms between 1957 and 1970.

2. These included the Scientific Council for Africa (CSA), set up in 1949, and the Com-

mission for Technical Cooperation in Africa (CCTA), set up in 1950. These agencies represented joint ventures by the governments of France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa and in practice, they often operated in tandem (see Gruhn 1971, 459).

3. See Jane Rouch, *Le rire n'a pas de couleur* (1956), 9–55. Jane accompanied Jean Rouch on a number of his expeditions to Africa in the late 1950s and early 1960s. See also her equally amusing later account of some of these experiences, *Nous n'irons plus aux bals nègres*, published in 1984, particularly 28–82. Although mostly about Africa, this book also describes her experiences travelling in Latin America and Asia. Jane Rouch died in 1987.

4. Stoller comments that “a generation later,” although migration to the Ivory Coast continued, Ghana was no longer a favored destination following the expulsion of Nigerien migrants in 1969 by that onetime student of anthropology, President K. A. Busia. However, this did not stop Nigerien migration: instead, Togo and Nigeria became the principal destinations (1992, 63, 69).

5. The methods as well as the results of Rouch's research into migration to the Gold Coast are reported in a lengthy article published in the *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* in 1956. An extensive summary in English is provided by Stoller (1992, 63–79).

6. See Rouch (1956), 179–181. Political events are much more prominently represented in the photographic record of Rouch's 1954–55 Gold Coast expedition.

7. I am grateful to Laurent Pellé of the Musée de l'Homme for the precise date and location of the principal photography of *Les Maîtres fous*. These data he extracted from Rouch's personal travel diary (pers. comm., July 2008).

8. Marc Piault (1997, 11) draws a parallel between Rouch's willingness to embrace modernity and the work of his contemporary Georges Balandier on the “colonial situation” in Central Africa. There are also many parallels with the work on African urban migration carried out in the 1950s by the Manchester School of social anthropology, headed by Max Gluckman (Banks 1996, 24–39; Werbner 1990). Rouch and the Manchester School had a number of research interests in common, and he visited Manchester on several occasions in the 1950s.

9. Fieschi and Téchiné (1967), 17.

10. There is some disagreement among regional specialists as to exactly what *kourmi* or *kurmi* means. Rouch suggests that it means “forest,” while Thomas M. Painter reports that it is a Hausa word meaning, literally, “south.” In the view of Murray Last, on the other hand, the term refers to a “forest beside a river” and as such, is a term applied to “the forest zone and the south generally” (Painter 1988, 97n).

11. In an interview given in 1967, Rouch states that he invented the character of Adamou as a device to encourage the sense that the voice-over commentary was like a story being told to a friend (Fieschi and Téchiné 1968, 17). However, this supposedly imaginary character appears to be closely modeled on Adamou Al Hadj Kofo, a Zerma migrant from Niger, who was a leading member of the francophone migrants' association in Accra and one of Rouch's principal informants for the sociological research on which the film is based (Rouch 1956, 36). Kofo is even given a screen credit alongside all the other principal protagonists in the opening titles and, according to Marc Piault (personal communication, September 2008), it is almost certainly his voice that one hears asking questions on the sound track.

12. See Damouré's account of these arrangements in *Madsen and Jørgensen* (2007). Also in Jørgensen (2007), 65–66.

13. Marshall and Adams (2003), 205.

14. Fieschi and Téchiné 1968, 17.
15. See Zika (2007), 28–35. As they head south from Ouagadougou, Damouré writes, at some point in late 1950, “we have to stop in places where it would be interesting to make films about Gold Coast migrants. . . . We arrive at a place where the trees are beautiful, tall. Very good, we must shoot films here.” See also Rouch (2008), 147–93.
16. Fieschi and Téchiné (1968), 17; Marshall and Adams (2003), 205–206. According to the *Cahiers du Cinéma* author, Alain Bergala, it was Roberto Rossellini who, on seeing a preliminary rough cut of the film in 1955, first suggested to Rouch that he should arrange for it to be narrated by the protagonists (Mundell 2004).
17. The origins and precise meaning of the term “ethnofiction” remain uncertain. See Sjöberg (2008a), particularly 19–28 for a recent discussion.
18. Rouch (1956), 117–118; Fieschi and Téchiné (1967), 18.
19. Painter (1988).
20. Rouch (1956), 194–195, (1997d), 207–208.
21. Jane Rouch (1956), 97; Madsen and Jørgensen (2007).
22. Rouch reports (2003b, 61) that Sean Graham, a former assistant of John Grierson who ran the colonial government film unit in Accra where Damouré and Lam recorded their voice-over and for whom Rouch had a high regard, also made a film called *Jaguar* based around the same popular song.
23. Rouch claims that as a teenage jazz enthusiast, he himself had adopted the zazouman style (see Mouëllic 2002; also chap. 2, p. 61).
24. Rouch (1956), 149; Jane Rouch (1956), 68–80.
25. Rouch (1956), 145.
26. Another version of the refrain, though not one that I have been able to detect in the film, is “Jaguar—been to, Jaguar—fridge full.” In this case, the “been to” refers to the aspiration to have “been to” Britain to study, which is perhaps even more unlikely than the aspiration to own a sports car (Rouch 2003b, 61).
27. Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African state to achieve independence, in March 1957. But thereafter, under Nkrumah’s government, the country became embroiled in a series of economic and political problems that eventually led to him being deposed in a military coup in February 1966.
28. Fieschi and Téchiné (1967), 18.

Chapter Six

1. Fulchignoni (1981), 17, and (2003), 165; Rouch (1999).
2. The detail about Oumarou being rejected by his father appears to have been a piece of poetic licence on Rouch’s part and was later directly contradicted by Oumarou (Haffner 1996, 97–98).
3. Rouch (1957), (1960b), (1961), (1999).
4. Jutra (1960), 36–37. See also Jane Rouch (1984), 76–82.
5. See Colette Piault (1996b), 153.
6. The “Italian sailor” was actually played by Edmond Bernus, a French ethnologist from Rouch’s circle of friends in Abidjan (Marc Piault, pers. comm., September 2008) while his voice was supplied later by Enrico Fulchignoni in the dubbing suite (Françoise Foucault, pers. comm., November 2008). This sequence was initially censored on the Ivory Coast, because it was deemed inappropriate for Whites and Blacks to be seen fighting in the newly independent republic. But, later, when the censored prints wore out and new