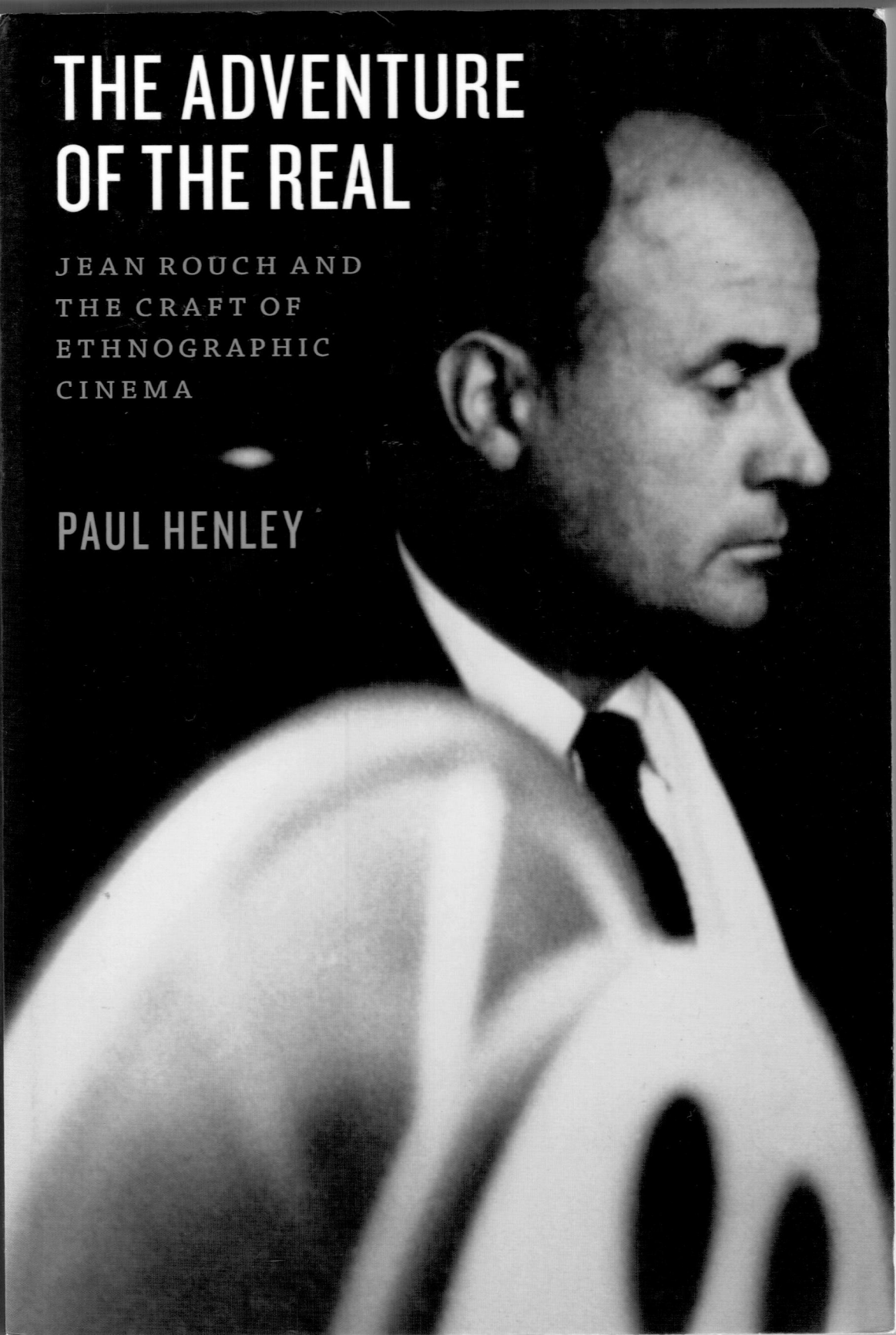
THE ADVENTURE OF THE REAL

JEAN ROUCH AND THE CRAFT OF ETHNOGRAPHIC CINEMA

PAUL HENLEY



Rouch is clearly shooting while standing waist-deep in the water himself, which I suspect may have been some kind of first in the annals of ethnographic film, if not documentary generally. But these idyllic shots of high jinks in the water are then followed by a series of subtle close-ups of the protagonists as Robinson reflects in the voice-over on the difficulties of his life.

However, in my view, the most striking aspect of Rouch's cinematography in this film is the way in which he uses lighting. In general, there are not many examples of the creative use of lighting in Rouch's films, either before or after this point in career. But in this film, he seems to have gone to particular trouble to use light in an imaginative way. Both the main characters are first introduced in lit night-time shots; Robinson, who first appears beneath the Treichville train station sign, is a little out of focus, but the shot introducing Eddie Constantine, lit from below, is magnificent (see fig. 6.1 above). There are many other interesting examples of lighting in the bar scenes and many highly atmospheric night-time establishing shots.

But perhaps the most impressive sequence of all from a lighting point of view is the scene in which Robinson and Tarzan do their sparring on Friday evening. There is very little light falling on the subjects, but it is just enough to highlight their faces and limbs as they move about energetically in the darkness. This minimal lighting, accompanied by their pants and grunts, communicates a powerful sense of the intense physicality of their movements. In a review of the film, Jean-Luc Godard expressed his great admiration for this particular scene, comparing Rouch's aesthetic vision to that of Richard Avedon, the celebrated photographer of high fashion.[9]

The sound track of this film is also skillfully constructed. The credits suggest that rather than use his trusty Nigerien friends as sound recordists (though Lam gets the unusual credit of "marabout-consultant"), on this occasion Rouch worked with a professional sound recordist, André Lubin. But it is the sophistication of the postproduction sound that is most remarkable when compared to Rouch's earlier films. The final sound track is made up of a complex mix of the improvised voice-overs by the protagonists, Rouch's own commentary voice, a profusion of "wild track" field sound recordings, and a variety of special effects, not to mention a highly diverse catalog of songs, which not only enrich the sound track but also have the advantage of covering breaks or unevenness in the other sound effects. In developing this dense tapestry of sound, Rouch appears to have been greatly assisted and inspired by the editor, Marie-Josèphe Yoyotte.[10]

When *Moi, un Noir* was released, it received a rapturous critical welcome. Jean-Luc Godard wrote no less than three notices about the film for *Cahiers du Cinéma*, including a particularly eulogistic full-length review that appeared in April 1959 under the title "Africa Speaks to You about the Ends and the Means." Godard was particularly struck by the effects that Rouch had managed to achieve simply by relying on improvisation by nonprofessional actors. Whereas others, such as the Italian Neorealists, Pirandello, and Stanislavsky had sought to achieve such effects by careful calculation, Rouch had achieved them by trusting to chance. Playing on the fact that in French the name of Joan of Arc is written as Jeanne, the female form of Jean, Godard declared that like the national heroine, Rouch would come to the rescue, not of France perhaps, but certainly of French cinema, by opening the door on a completely new way of making films.[11]

But what also impressed Godard, in common with the majority of other critics, was not only the technical and stylistic effects that Rouch had managed to achieve by his informal, improvisational methods but also the fact that this was the first time—given that *Jaguar* remained unfinished and had only been shown in public in the Cinemathèque—that a feature film had provided general French audiences with the opportunity to hear Africans describing their life experiences in their own voices. The combination of these two qualities led to *Moi, un Noir* being awarded the most prestigious film prize in France, the Prix Louis Delluc, for 1959. Rouch, however, was not there to collect the prize in person, for by then he had already returned to the drought-ridden savannas of the middle Niger River to continue working on the film that would eventually become *The Lion Hunters*.

A Difficult Story

The final film that Rouch made in his "African" period, *La Pyramide humaine*, was shot at the very height of the process of decolonization on the Ivory Coast in 1959–60. It was in this climate that Rouch set about making a film about what he calls, in the opening commentary, "a difficult story of friendship between Whites and Blacks."

In terms of content, *La Pyramide humaine* is very different from the previous films that Rouch made during his migration research. First, although one or two of the characters had migrated to Abidjan at some point in the past, the film has nothing to do with rural-urban migration as such. Secondly, if European protagonists had been completely absent from *Jaguar*, and in *Moi, un Noir*, had been represented only by

the Italian sailor and a few passing extras, in *La Pyramide humaine* the relationship between Africans and Europeans is central to the action of the film. Third, whereas Rouch's earlier films had charted the experiences of the relatively poor or socially marginal, the protagonists of this film are pupils at an elite Abidjan *lycée*. As such, Rouch saw it as an opportunity to counter the accusation that he only ever filmed the lumpen proletariat.[12]

But perhaps the most important distinguishing characteristic of *La Pyramide humaine* concerns the relationship between enactment and reality. In the case of his earlier ethnofictions, even though they were extensively fictionalized, they had nevertheless reflected an underlying ethnographic reality. Robinson was acting out his own life prior to meeting Rouch, and while Damouré and Lam may never have been on a migratory journey to the Gold Coast before the making of *Jaguar*, many people like them did make such journeys, and they themselves would have been very likely to have done so at some point, even without Rouch's intervention.

In contrast, in *La Pyramide humaine* the action was entirely fictional. Prior to the making of the film, though the two groups of pupils were mostly in the same school year, sat side by side in the same classroom, and even shared common professional ambitions, they had very little to do with one another. Therefore, in order to explore the possibilities of interracial friendship, Rouch was obliged to provoke some sort of contact between the Africans and the Europeans. In this way, "instead of reflecting reality," as Rouch puts it in a crucial early commentary line, *La Pyramide humaine* "created another reality." Yet although the film was a fiction in this sense, Rouch claimed that it was a fiction that changed the protagonists' attitudes toward race in the real world. Later in his career, he would come to employ the term "psychodrama" to refer this process whereby the protagonists are provoked by the requirements of making a film into improvising a reality that otherwise would not exist but that then acts back on and affects their everyday reality.[13]

La Pyramide humaine was also different from Rouch's earlier works of ethnofiction in the sense that it was first of his films that he did not shoot entirely himself. In an interesting memoir written shortly after the shoot was completed, Rouch explains that the sixteen hours of rushes were shot in three different stages. Each of these corresponded to a different school vacation so that nobody could accuse him of interrupting the pupils' studies. Even so, for reasons that remained obscure, the Ivory Coast government forbade him to shoot in the *lycée* itself, so he had to recreate the classroom scenes in another, half-constructed building. Perhaps due to this implicit official disapproval or simply because the shoot occurred

FIGURE 6.4. The classroom set up in a half-constructed building when permission to film in the Cocody *lycée* itself was refused. Later the props were transferred to Paris for the final phase of the shoot. At first, the pupils remained in separate racial groups, as in real life, but as the film progressed, they began to share desks. © Films du Jeudi.

during the vacation, the schoolteacher never appears: a voice is heard instructing the students, but this is Rouch's own voice.

The first shoot took place in Abidjan in July 1959, during the summer vacation. This material was shot by Rouch himself, and although he was not using his faithful Bell & Howell Filmo 70 but rather a battery-driven camera that permitted longer takes, he still did not have synchronous sound.[14] The ten hours of rushes that he produced during this stage account for almost all the exterior scenes in the film and some of the interiors. The sound of these scenes was achieved through the same technical procedures that Rouch had employed in the making of *Moi, un Noir*, that is, a mixture of wild tracks, voice-overs, a little postsynchronization, and a considerable amount of music to cover the glitches.

But at some point after this first shoot, it was decided that in order to complete the film, synchronous sound was necessary for certain scenes. Probably because the situations created for the film were entirely fictional, the European *lycéens* particularly were not able to improvise voice-overs retrospectively in a sound studio with the conviction that the protagonists of Rouch's earlier ethnofictions had shown. The voice-overs that one hears in the *La Pyramide humaine* were actually scripted by

FIGURE 6.5. Nadine gets a ride from Alain. "During the vacation . . . he slept, really slept with a girl, a sensational Swedish girl, he claimed, rather pleased with himself." Although the protagonists performed the voice-overs, Rouch wrote the lines, inspired by the example of *We Are the Lambeth Boys*.

Rouch himself, even though they were then voiced by the protagonists. In drafting these voice-overs, he was inspired by examples from Karel Reisz's then recently released film about South London schoolchildren, *We Are the Lambeth Boys*, which he had seen as a member of the jury for the ethnographic section of the Festival dei Popoli in Florence in December 1959.[15]

There was also the problem that some of the scenes shot by Rouch suffered from certain technical inadequacies. In a recent interview, one of the principal protagonists, Nadine Ballot, reports that the producer Pierre Braunberger insisted that if the film was to have a commercial distribution, it was necessary to supplement Rouch's footage with material shot by a professional crew.[16] Another consideration was that Rouch wanted to include some reflexive scenes with himself on screen, which obviously required someone else to be behind the camera.

In order to record this additional material, Rouch returned to Abidjan during the Christmas vacation with a professional crew, albeit a very small one by the standards of the time. But even this second shoot failed to produce all the material necessary to produce a coherent film, so a third shoot was arranged for the Easter vacation, this time in Paris. By this time, five of the original cast had moved to Paris anyway to continue their studies, but a further five were brought over from the Ivory Coast. In Paris, a number of additional voice-overs by the protagonists were recorded, but also a number of further key scenes. These even included some of the scenes in the classroom, for which the props had been brought from Abidjan and set up in a film studio in Paris. This surely explains the rather curious variation in the lighting of the classroom scenes through the course of the film. Indeed, achieving continuity through all this different material proved extremely challenging and required six months in the edit suite to sort out.

Although he was directing a professional crew for part of the shoot rather than working by himself, Rouch claims in the introductory voice-over that the techniques that he employed for generating the action of the film were the same as in the earlier ethnofictions. That is, once he had contrived the original situation whereby the two groups of pupils had some form of contact with one another, it was then left to them as actors to devise their actions and their dialogues as they saw fit, "spontaneous improvisation being the only rule of the game." But although this may have been true in a general sense, it is clear from both his own memoir and that of Nadine Ballot that at all stages, Rouch played a strong hand in setting up the situations in which the pupils would perform their improvisations, as well as in determining the general overall storyline of the film.

Early on in the film, he is shown setting up the initial situation, first with the European pupils, then with the Africans. The scene with the Europeans is shot outside, close to the banks of the lagoon. Although this was one of the scenes shot during the second shoot over the Christmas vacation, everyone pretends that they are learning about the project for the first time. Rouch explains that his eventual aim is to explore whether it is possible for there to be friendships between Blacks and Whites that are genuine and completely free of tension. For the purposes of the film, not only does he want each group to have contact with the other, which they do not normally have, but he wants certain members of each group, whatever their personal sentiments, to play the role of racists, in the same way that "if you are making a film about robbers, somebody has to play the role of the robbers." This is immediately followed in the film by a scene in which Rouch offers similar explanations to the African students. This is shot indoors, with a guitar and the sleeves of various classical music LPs arranged just a little too artfully around the walls, suggesting that this scene may have been shot in the studio in Paris as late as the Easter vacation. The acting in both scenes is very wooden—for understandable reasons, given that most of the students had been actively involved in the shoot for some months—but they do fulfill their dramaturgical purpose: after a show of being initially perplexed and worried by the fact that there is no script, both groups agree to participate in the project.

The initial plot point of the film revolves around the character played by Nadine, who wants to get to know more about the lives of her African schoolmates. In reality, Nadine was the daughter of a French banker and had grown up in Africa, but in order to explain her newfound curiosity

about the Africans, she is presented in the film as a *débarquée*, that is, as having only recently got off the boat from France.[17] As her parents are living in the interior of the country, she feels free to do more or less as she pleases, without undue concern for the mores of the Abidjan European community. Despite the opposition of some of the pupils, African as well as European, she first develops a friendship with the character played by Denise Koulibali, and other friendships between the two groups then ensue. The most eloquent member of the African group, Denise was a couple of years older than most of the others members of the cast and in reality was not actually in the same class. But she was a key figure in the project, being politically well-connected as her father was an important figure in the ruling party in the Ivory Coast, the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA). Some years after the film, she herself became a government minister.[18]

An important moment in the breaking down of barriers between the two racial groups occurs when the African pupils entertain the Europeans at a dance at the Royale *goumbé*, the migrants' fraternity house that had been featured in *Moi, un Noir.* The Europeans then reciprocate with a party at Nadine's very grand house, which, in extradiegetic reality, actually belonged to the local director of the IFAN. A central figure in the *goumbé* scene is Nathalie, who in *Moi, un Noir* had been Eddie Constantine's dance partner. In this film, she shows the European pupils how to dance in an African manner. Although Nathalie was not actually one of the *lycéens*, she became a regular member of the cast thereafter. Rouch was clearly much taken by Nathalie's beauty, commenting in his memoir that whenever she appeared in the film, she lit up the screen.[19]

These contacts give rise to some interracial love affairs, which to a modern sensibility seem rather touchingly innocent. In the most risqué sequence on this topic, Nadine and Raymond, the son of a poor fisherman, walk hand in hand through the night after the party at her house, and then sit together beneath a tree. While Raymond sings a Spanish ballad, Nadine puts her head in his lap and a dream sequence unfolds. They are shown arriving by canoe at a chapel of the Harris cult, a local syncretic religion combining African and Christian elements.[20] On the sound track, Nadine recites a poem by Rimbaud. They kiss on the lips, enter the chapel, and their union is apparently blessed by the statues in the chapel. Then with a smile and a look of erotic complicity toward Raymond, Nadine brings her abundant beautiful red hair down over her face. Slightly caught up by the breeze, the mound of her hair momentarily becomes a disturbingly surreal object of desire. But then there is a cut and Nadine is shown still lying innocently in Raymond's lap, listening to his song as if it were merely a lullaby (fig. 6.6).

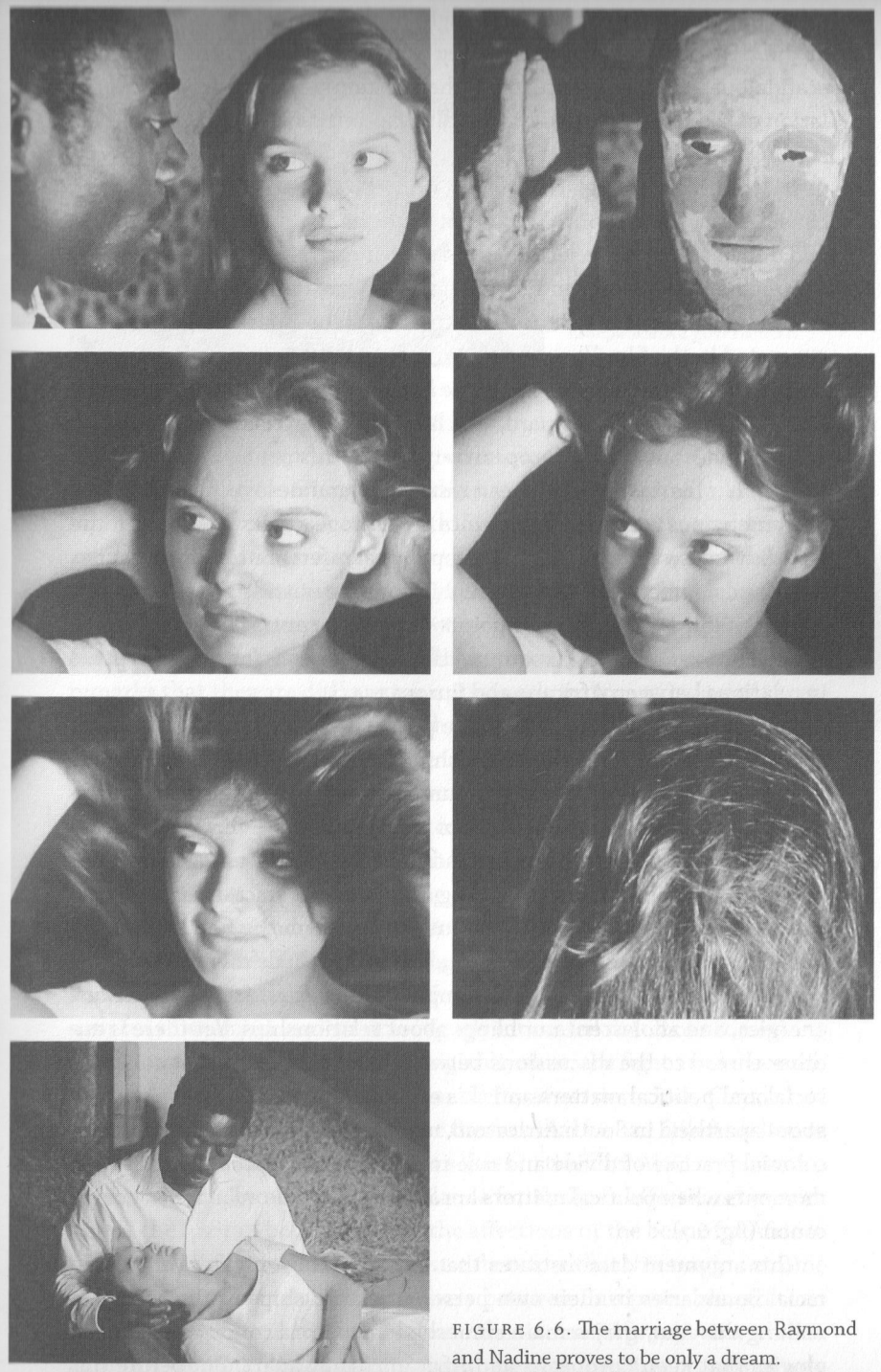


FIGURE 6.6. The marriage between Raymond and Nadine proves to be only a dream.

Although scenes such as this might seem relatively innocuous now, at the time of the film's release, they were regarded as nothing short of scandalous, if not in France itself, then certainly to the European population of the Ivory Coast where the film was initially banned because, according to Nadine Ballot, it showed African boys approaching European girls. However, although Nadine lent herself to the part of the "flirt" with considerable conviction, she did not take the possibility of such interracial love affairs very seriously. "It was, if anything, very funny," she comments in the recent interview. "It became a kind of a game. I did not believe in it all, but maybe some of the boys believed in the possibilities suggested in the film."[21]

The title of the film, *La Pyramide humaine*, is taken from a poem by the Surrealist poet Paul Éluard, which is read out in class at one point by Jean-Claude, one of the European pupils.[22] In this poem, Éluard reflects on whether his dreams of love can result in a genuine love in real life. This has an obvious immediate relevance to the love affairs going on in the film, but it also appears to be a metaphorical reference to Rouch's hopes for friendship between Africans and Europeans outside the film. As one commentator on the film has pointed out, this contrasts radically with the call by Frantz Fanon, at around this same period, for a total rupture in relations between Africans and Europeans.[23]

However, whatever the objective possibilities for interracial friendships outside the film, the friendship between the two racial groups within the film results in some arguments. At first, these relate mostly to the love affairs, and particularly to Nadine's habit of flirting with several different boys at once, both African and European, raising their hopes but, in the end, disappointing all of them. In fact, this theme becomes so prominent that it threatens to transform the film from being an imaginative exploration of race relations into little more than a high school romance with the usual complement of tiffs, frustrated sexual energies, and adolescent ramblings about relationships. Yet there is another thread to the discussions between the two groups that concerns social and political matters and this eventually leads to a heated debate about apartheid in South Africa and, more generally, about the European colonial practice of divide and rule in Africa—one of the relatively few moments when political matters are addressed head-on in the Rouchian canon (fig. 6.7).

This argument demonstrates that although they might have crossed racial boundaries in their own personal relationships in the course of making this film, they remain enmeshed in political conditions and ideologies that keep Europeans and Africans firmly apart. But before this political debate becomes too acrimonious and before, one suspects, the

FIGURE 6.7. The diegetic interracial friendships are threatened by extradiegetic political realities. Alain, *center*, later joined the Foreign Legion and was killed during the Algerian war of independence. Denise, *left*, later became a minister in the post-independence government of the Ivory Coast.

extradiegetic reality of interracial tension intrudes too strongly on the burgeoning diegetic friendships, the scene breaks off and all the protagonists are shown, together with Rouch, laughing at a screening of rushes of themselves engaged in this argument. In the commentary track, Rouch deflects the film away from these "interminable" political discussions and returns to the question of the epistemological status of the film. As the camera pans over the protagonists looking at the film, he remarks that they are discovering a previously unknown image of themselves, adding, in a telling phrase, that the fictional world of the film "has become a surreality."

The film then culminates in a scene of the whole group going for a picnic on board an old cargo ship that has run aground on the beach. In the course of this scene, Alain, one of the European boys, sees another European boy, Jean-Claude, canoodling with Nadine, and in a fit of pique, dives off the ship and apparently drowns. As a plot point, this does not make a great deal of sense. Although Alain and Jean-Claude had been shown fighting at the party at Nadine's house earlier in the film, the reasons for this remain unclear: it is vaguely intimated that it has something to do with Nadine, but in fact, as originally shot, the fight arose because, in a scene that was eliminated from the final version, Jean-Claude had previously been teasing Alain about the fact that he had failed his baccalauréat.[24] In any case, in subsequent scenes in the film, Alain is shown engaging in a rivalry not with Jean-Claude for Nadine's affections but with one of the African boys, Elola, for the affections of the beautiful African girl, Nathalie. It makes even less sense therefore that this tragic outcome of a supposed love triangle exclusively between Europeans should then result in a rupture in the film between the two racial groups as a whole.

In his memoir, Rouch admits that there is something unsatisfactory about this but metaphorically shrugs it off, commenting that this is the

dices of the time, it would have been just too explosive to have added a racial component to the tragic love triangle, or perhaps it was indeed simply that he found himself lumbered with rushes that did not really hang together and had to make the best of it. But whatever the case, he clearly did not want to leave the film on this pessimistic note, so in the final scene, there is a reconciliation between the two groups as they meet at the airport to see off Nadine, who has decided to return to France. Then, in an epilogue, the film shows a number of the protagonists, including the "drowned" Alain, happily walking down a street in Paris, and one is reminded that the film was but a fiction. Even so, Rouch suggests, it was a fiction that has had effects in the real world in the sense that it has helped all the participants to overcome their racial prejudices.[26]

La Pyramide humaine confirmed Rouch's developing status as a major figure of French cinema. In 1965, four years after its release, when thirty-one leading critics were asked by *Cahiers du Cinéma* to name the best ten French films since the end of the Second World War, seven of them included *La Pyramide humaine* in their lists while three more included *Moi, un Noir.* Jean-Luc Godard was a particular admirer, rating *La Pyramide humaine* second only to the Max Ophuls film, *Le Plaisir*, as the greatest French film of this period.[27] From an ethnographic point of view, *La Pyramide humaine* is perhaps the least interesting of the films that Rouch made during the period of his migration research since we discover very little about the broader social, political, or cultural contexts in which race relations are played out. But in terms of the development of Rouch's praxis, this film is of crucial importance since it prefigures a number of elements that would be central to his work in the future. As we shall see in chapters 8 and 9, the psychodrama methodology and the associated play between the fiction and reality, the incorporation into the film itself of both the initial setting up and the viewing of rushes by the protagonists, and even several of the leading characters of *La Pyramide humaine*, would all reappear, under various different guises, in the films that Rouch would make in the next phase of his career. But this phase would only begin after Jean Rouch had undertaken his own migration, back to Paris, just as the French colonial empire in West Africa was coming to an end.

7 : Images of Power

In Jean Rouch's immense body of work, there are a number of films that stand out particularly, but even among these, *Les Maîtres fous* is one of the most salient. Mostly filmed over the course of a single day—Sunday, August 15, 1954—this was the film that first clearly established Rouch's international renown. He shot the film with his trusty spring-wound Bell & Howell Filmo 70 purchased at the Paris Flea Market, while the sound was recorded asynchronously by his longtime Nigerien associates, Damouré Zika and Lam Ibrahim Dia on a "portable" tape recorder weighing in excess of thirty kilograms. It was edited by Suzanne Baron, a rising star of the cutting room who had already worked with Jacques Tati on *Les Vacances de M. Hulot* (1951) and who would later become Louis Malle's editor of choice.

Les Maîtres fous concerns the *hauka* spirit possession cult in and around Accra, capital of what is now the independent state of Ghana but was then still the British colony of the Gold Coast. The mediums were mostly young Songhay men who had migrated from the middle reaches of the Niger River, some 650 miles to the north in the French colony of Niger (and now an independent republic of the same name). Referred to as "Zabrama" in the film, they represented merely the most recent wave of a pattern of seasonal migration from the drought-afflicted southern margin of the Sahelian Desert to the economically dynamic cities on the coastal plains of West Africa that had been going on since at least the middle of the nineteenth century.

This chapter represents a modified version of an essay that was awarded the 2004 Curl Essay Prize of the Royal Anthropological Institute and that later appeared in a somewhat abbreviated form under the title "Spirit Possession, Power and the Absent Presence of Islam: Re-viewing *Les Maîtres fous*" in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (Henley 2006a). It is republished here in this form with the kind permission of Blackwell Publishing Ltd. but the original can be accessed via http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/loi/JRAI.

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

copies were ordered from Senegal, where the film had not been censored, the full version was shown on the Ivory Coast also (Rouch 1999).

7. The name "goumbé" derives from the name of a particular kind of drum that is played at the events organized by such associations.

8. Delahaye (1961), 7; Rouch (1999). See also Rouch (1958) for a transcript of this improvisational commentary by Oumarou.

9. Godard (1959), 22.

10. For further discussion of their collaboration, see chapter 13, pp. 282–283.

11. Godard (1959), 22.

12. Fulchignoni (1981), 18, also (2003), 166.

13. The term "psychodrama" was the name given to an approach to psychotherapy first developed by the North American psychiatrist of Austrian extraction, Jacob Levy Moreno, in the 1930s. This approach was subsequently adopted for purely theatrical purposes without any necessary associated therapeutic objectives. According to one authority, "Important in Moreno's theories were the concepts of role taking, spontaneity, creativity, tele (empathy), and catharsis. In the process of acting out conflicts and problems in interpersonal relations, the actors gained insight and were helped by the group process to remedy problem behavior patterns and improve coping skills" (Ozarin 2003). Although intended as an account of a psychotherapeutic process, this description parallels very closely Rouch's conception of the dramaturgical processes taking place in the making of *La Pyramide humaine*. See also Sjöberg (2008a), particularly pp. 166–172, for a more detailed comparison of Moreno and Rouch's ideas about psychodrama.

14. Fulchignoni (1981), 18, and (2003), 166.

15. Rouch (1960), 17; Hennebelle (1982b), 168.

16. Ten Brink (2007b), 138.

17. Ten Brink (2007b), 135.

18. Rouch (1999); ten Brink (2007b), 137.

19. Rouch (1960), 20; ten Brink (2007b), 136.

20. This cult featured in a number of Rouch's subsequent films, notably *Monsieur Albert prophète* (1963).

21. Ten Brink (2007b), 137.

22. In his memoir, Rouch admits that the reading of this poem by one of his Surrealist poet-heroes was his idea. The film also features a poem by Baudelaire and two by Rimbaud. These too were suggested by Rouch though he takes pleasure in the fact that after the filming, some of the students developed their own interest in poetry (Rouch 1960, 23).

23. Jones (2005).

24. Rouch (1960), 24–25.

25. Rouch (1960), 26.

26. Though perhaps the transformation in attitudes was not as great as Rouch imagined or hoped for. Alain later joined the Foreign Legion and went to fight against the independence movement in Algeria, where he was killed (Rouch 1999).

27. Anon. (1965b).

Chapter Seven

1. Piault (1997), 12.

2. Luc de Heusch, personal communication, October 2004. See also Rouch (1991); Stoller (1994), 84–85; Colleyn (1992), 48–49; Marshall and Adams (2003), 192. Rouch's com-