

hybrid heritage

Shining Lights: Self-fashioning in the Lantern Festival of Saint Louis, Senegal

Ferdinand de Jong

Photography: Judith Quax

The Senegalese city of Saint Louis celebrates its lantern festival or Fanal, as it is usually called, on an annual basis. During several days of the Christmas holiday, cultural performances of various kinds are staged at the central square of this city. The climax of these celebrations consists of a procession of large, float-like lanterns, which ends at the central square, where the lanterns are presented to their patrons and public, seated at the grandstand erected for that purpose. There, patrons and public admire the lanterns that represent colonial buildings of Senegal. Praise singers publicly aggrandize their patrons' honor.

The Fanal is a tradition that has witnessed various historical transformations, and the contemporary festival is in fact a revival intended to enhance the touristic potential of the city of Saint Louis. In December 2008, I attended the tenth edition of this festival, accompanied by the photographer Judith Quax. Her photographs illuminate my exploration of the historical continuities and discontinuities in the contemporary festival. As this festival remembers historical modes of self-fashioning and actualizes these historical modes in the postcolonial present, I suggest that the festival is best understood as a palimpsest heritage. Here, the notion of palimpsest refers to the parchment scroll used by the ancient Egyptians for the purpose of accounting. Once the parchment scroll was filled with writings, it was washed, to be used again for future writings. Inevitably, traces of previous writing would remain visible in the scroll, saturating it with sediments of writing. I will use this concept to suggest that the performance of the Fanal—indeed, any performance of any tradition—is best understood as a palimpsest of different temporalities that are often difficult to read and disentangle in the present (Huyssen 2003, Basu 2007). This raises the question of how such past and present writings relate to each other. Do past writings provide legitimacy to present writings, as one may be inclined to think? Instead of assuming that traditions simply continue the past in the present (Connerton 1989) or dress up the present as past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), I argue that palimpsests of postcolonial modernity actually accumulate pasts in order to re-member the present (cf. Fabian 1996). In other words, the revived tradition of the Fanal is not simply a continuation of the past but an intervention in the present.

As an intervention in the present, the contemporary festival



1 Jewelry store La Signare on the tourist track in Saint Louis.



2 Display case in the jewelry store La Signare in Saint Louis.

of the Fanal reminds one of the history of festivals in French West Africa of which Saint Louis was the political and administrative center. At the end of the nineteenth century, France initiated a wide array of commemorations modelled after July 14 celebrations, meant to propagate Revolutionary ideals. These commemorations were subsequently introduced in the colony in order to establish imperial hegemony (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1999). Although the lantern festival of Saint Louis has its roots in the transatlantic slave trade, it was appropriated by the colonial regime to contribute to the construction of colonial hegemony. Today, the Fanal remembers the colonial past with nostalgia. We should therefore distinguish the Fanal from those Senegalese spectacles in which colonialism is remembered with resentment (De Jong 2008, forthcoming). But like these other spectacles, the Fanal should be understood as a festival that remembers the relationship to the former metropolis. In the postcolony, heritage is a technology that enables the formerly colonized to come to terms with colonialism (De Jong and Rowlands 2007, 2008).

MÉTIS REVIVAL

The revival of the Fanal is part of a burgeoning interest in Senegal's heritage of *métissage* and in particular of its *signares*, a brand of *métis* women known for their wealth and extravagance who dominated the social and economic life in the European trade posts of the eighteenth century. As a result of the presence of European traders, a class of *métis* emerged in Gorée and Saint Louis (Brooks 1976, 2003, Jones 2005). In the eighteenth century, *métis* women acquired fabulous wealth through their temporary liaisons, referred to as *mariages à la mode du pays*, with French Company officials. As their title already conveys, *signares* (a word derived from the Portuguese *senhora*) acquired high social status in the strictly hierarchical social order of the contact zones consti-

tuted by these trade posts. Although some *signares* were of slave origin, their status required that they be always accompanied by domestic slaves. The politics of distinction revolved around property and the ownership of one's own and other persons' bodies. The historical emergence of the *signares* was indeed part of the making of a transatlantic slave trade economy (Searing 1993).

The *signares* constitute part of Senegal's slave-trade heritage and the process of *métissage* that resulted from it. *Métissage* captivated the interest of Senegal's first president, Léopold Sédar Senghor, an interest that he expressed in his poetry on the *signares*. But the current interest in Senegal's *métis* and their heritage seems less inspired by Senghor's poetry than by the vested interests of their descendants to obtain recognition for their history. Such a longing for recognition can be traced in the numerous recent publications on the *métis* heritage, which are mostly of a celebratory nature.¹ These attempts to revalue the *métis* heritage are not limited to private initiatives, but include state interventions. The state has adopted policies to restore the architecture of Gorée and Saint Louis, which are both classified UNESCO World Heritage Sites. What all these initiatives have in common is what Senegalese call a valorization of this heritage. The tourist industry objectifies the *métis* heritage in hotel names, menus, guided tours, and souvenirs, resulting in a particular styling of Gorée and Saint Louis. For instance, a jeweller situated on the tourist track of Saint Louis named his jewelry store La Signare, since *signares* are remembered for their elegance and for the jewelry with which they decorated themselves (Figs. 1–2). Thus jewellers promote their sales through association with this heritage. The Fanal too, can be seen as an example of this heritage fever.

Marie Madeleine Diallo is the organizer of the current incarnation of the festival. She considers herself a *signare* and the Fanal her legacy (Fig. 14). The Fanal is a tradition that she iden-



(this page)
3 Dancer at *tanebeer*.

(opposite)
4 Skeleton of a *fanal* in the workshop of Aliou Dieye, Santhiaba. Note the plastic sheet in the background, which was hung there for the express purpose of preventing curious peeping by youth.

5 An apprentice sticks paper to the skeleton of the *fanal* of the workshop of Boubacar Sarr, Pikine.

tifies with and that she wants “to give a future.” She would like to preserve the Fanal as the “intangible heritage” of Saint Louis. But Marie Madeleine Diallo has made her career as a professional actress on national television and, being an actress, she has turned the Fanal into a theatrical production. The initiator and organizer of the Fanal considers the festival a tradition that she is part of and that she can transform at will. In this article I explore the extent to which the festival is indeed a reinvention of tradition and to which it continues the past or reinvents the present. I hope to demonstrate that heritage is a technology for the inscription of different temporalities in the present, infusing that present with the past.

TRANSATLANTIC HERITAGE

Although lantern festivals can be found all over the world, several authors have attempted to establish a single origin for those festivals found along the West African coast. While some argue that the Fanal of Saint Louis has a European origin, others prefer to situate its origin in the Caribbean. For Fatou Niang Siga (1990:113), the lanterns were made in imitation of the beacons used to orient ships at sea. For Dieng (1991:38–39), it seems more likely that the *fanal* was made in imitation of the stern light of a ship. Indeed, the Wolof term *fanal* is derived from the French *fanal* (pl. *fanaux*), which means ‘lantern, ship’s lantern, or signal lamp’ (Gamble 1989:1). While these authors speak specifically about lanterns used in Senegal, lantern festivals seem to constitute a genre of urban festival that was not limited to the French colony of Senegal, and lantern festivals were in fact also performed in British trade posts in West Africa. Ironically, while Nunley (1985:45) attributes the origin of lantern-making in Freetown to Banjul in the Gambia, Oram (2002:79–80) suggests that the lantern festival of

Banjul was introduced by Muslim Yorubas from Freetown. This suggests that the lantern makers attribute their festivals an allochthonous origin. Bettelheim (1985) suggests that this “elsewhere” might in actual fact have been the Caribbean.

According to Bettelheim, Christmas was a time when slaves were permitted the leisure to entertain themselves and their masters, and the lantern festival may have been one of the leisure activities that occurred around Christmas time in the slave societies of the Caribbean (ibid., p. 50). Lantern festivals happened in Haiti, Jamaica, and Suriname. In these various contexts the lantern festival has been associated with both Christian and Muslim holidays (ibid., pp. 52, 96). This suggests that the lantern festival cannot be exclusively associated with a single geographic origin, religious denomination, or trade network, nor even with a particular social class. Bettelheim suggests that slaves and freed slaves transmitted the lantern festival across the Atlantic. Because the lanterns were usually made by slaves and patronized by their masters, the festival was part a transatlantic culture that emerged in the context of the slave trade (cf. Gilroy 1993). The lanterns may indeed have been modelled on maritime technology used in the transatlantic trade, but they obviously acquired a new functionality in the Fanal of Saint Louis.

THE ORGANIZATION

Today, the Fanal is organized by a production company, Jallore Productions, presided over by Marie Madeleine Diallo. A great deal of the work in producing a successful Fanal consists of fund-raising. One of the company’s assistants spends a lot of time calling bureaucrats and visiting ministries in the hope of receiving substantial funding for the Fanal. Although Jallore Productions targets private companies as well, most of its

funding is actually obtained from ministries and regional and municipal administrative bodies. Another substantial part of the funding is obtained from the so-called *parrains*, the patrons in whose honor the *fanaux* or lanterns are made.

Months before the actual performance, the production company approaches craftsmen for the execution of the lanterns and the songs to be sung in honor of the patrons. In 2008, three carpenters were selected to fabricate a lantern. Each of these carpenters heads a workshop in which he acts as master to a number of younger apprentices. For the frame of the lantern they use timber of Senegalese origin (Fig. 4). Obviously, the construction of the frame is informed by a vision of what the lantern should eventually look like. Each lantern is meant to represent a particular building, and in general, the craftsmen attempt to produce a faithful reproduction, at least as far as the shape of the building is concerned. In the workshops, photographs of the building that serves as source of inspiration are tacked to the wall to remind the craftsmen of the original. Some lanterns do not depart from rectangular shapes, but others have very complicated shapes and are assembled from many parts. A week or so is spent on the construction of the frame, while another week is spent on covering the skeleton with a mixture of paper sheets bought for that purpose in Dakar. In order to obtain the proper decorative patterns on the surface of the *fanal*, apprentices spend much time punching the paper sheets with hammer and chisel. The paper sheets are then attached to the wooden frame with glue made of a mixture of millet and water (Fig. 5). The lantern is finished off with decorations made of colored crepe paper. Finally, the *fanal* is mounted on a wheeled frame. This frame will also support the generator that produces the electricity for the bulbs that will light up the lantern from within. During the last few days prior to the festival, time pressure mounts and some workshops must work at night in order to finish in time.

The production company also selects groups of women in various neighborhoods of Saint Louis to sing songs in honor of the patrons when the lanterns are presented to them. To compose the song the company obtains the patron's curriculum vitae and consults the praise singers of his or her family. Together, the

patron's genealogy and curriculum vitae are used by the women to compose a song that they rehearse until all members of the choir know it by heart. For several hours a day, several days a week, the women gather at one of their homes and rehearse the songs. Each of the women's groups prepares a song for the patron allocated to them by the production company, which also allocates carpenters' workshops to the patrons. Thus, the relationships between the *fanal* craftsmen, the women praise-singers, and their patrons are not based on long-standing patterns of patronage but are established for the occasion, made possible by the commodification of this relationship by the production company. While this part of the organization is not determined by established forms of patronage—although it definitely remembers patronage as form—other aspects of it are steeped in traditional concepts of craft production. Since craftsmen fear the competition of others, both the carpenters and the singers solicit the help of *marabouts*, learned Muslim men, in order to protect themselves and their works and to ward off evil.

THE PROGRAM

The 2008 edition of the Fanal was the tenth anniversary of the revived festival and for that reason a very ambitious program had been drawn up. The original program consisted of a couple of core events staged at a central venue and a number of auxiliary events staged in the various neighborhoods of Saint Louis. In the end, the available funding did not permit the organization of the auxiliary events and the program was reduced to the core events only. On the 28th of December, a fashion show was staged; on the 29th of December, a traditional dance known as *tanebeer* was performed; finally, on the 30th of December the Grand Fanal was staged. Hence, three different events were held at the central square of Saint Louis over three successive evenings. Notwithstanding the endless delays and long waits typical for festivals in this part of the world, in the end an astonishing program was delivered.

Although the majority of people involved in the Fanal were amateurs, for the 2008 edition the production company had sought and obtained the help of some professional artists. The





6 Trunks containing Oumou Sy's dresses in the governor's palace. She brought several trunks of historical costumes, including those for the *signares*. On the wall hangs a picture of Governor Faidherbe.

producer Jean Pierre Leurs was invited to devise a choreography (*mise-en-scène*) for the Grand Fanal. As a long-time producer of plays for the Daniel Sorano theater in Dakar and collaborator with the Opéra du Sahel, the first-ever African opera, Leurs is one of the most sought-after cultural producers in Senegal. He developed a *son et lumière* of various *tableaux historiques* in which the lanterns were to make their appearance. Each scene was to recount a particular historical event, to be exemplified by a particular *fanal* which was to be presented to a particular patron. Hence, Leurs was also responsible for the spatial and temporal organization of the performance: how the lanterns, the choirs, and the historical actors should move across the space of the city and in which order they should make their appearance at the Place Faidherbe (Fig. 9).

At the Place Faidherbe of Saint Louis, which is the heart of the former colonial city, sits the Governor's Palace established under Governor Faidherbe. For the first time since the Fanal's revitalization, the governor of Saint Louis had allowed the production company to use several rooms in the Governor's Palace as dressing rooms. Much of the preparation for the festival went on in this colonial building, which provided an appropriate setting for the historical scenes of the Grand Fanal. In this building, the models were dressed by fashion designer Oumou Sy, internationally renowned for her designs inspired by African textile traditions and made out of African materials. She too, offered her services to the organizers of the festival. Oumou Sy brought many trunks containing historical dresses for the scenes to be enacted during the Grand Fanal (Fig. 6),² and led a fashion show of clothes designed by herself and some young, up-and-coming Saint Louis designers (Fig. 7). The fashion show was held on a red tapestry laid out in front of the Governor's Palace, turning the Place Faidherbe into a catwalk (Fig. 8).

While the organization of the Fanal required much coordination, the successful performance of the festival also demanded improvisation on the part of the participants, particularly the drummers and dancers involved in the dance organized on the second night of the festival (Fig. 3). The creativity of dance depends on the sedimented, embodied knowledge of particular rhythms and a multisensory coordination between drummers and dancers that makes possible the drummer's rhythmic improvisations accompanied by the improvisation of the solo dancer. During the *tanebeer*, which was attended by a good number of tourists, some hired women dancers excelled in demonstrating some of the most provocative and obscene postures I ever witnessed in Senegal. While the dance allowed for the shameless exhibition of certain body parts—as typical of a corporality historically associated with slaves—the girls who impersonated the historical *signares* were to embody an honorable corporality associated with civilization and chastity (Figs. 10–11).

TABLEAUX HISTORIQUES

The Grand Fanal consisted of a *son et lumière*, a spectacle of sound and light during which the lanterns were presented to their patrons. If the dance was meant to entertain a popular audience, the Fanal itself was mostly directed towards a very exclusive set of invited guests. For these guests a grandstand had been erected, accessible only to tourists and those members of the Saint Louis elite in possession of a formal invitation. The guests of honor comprised the patrons of the *fanaux* and their families. Invariably, the patrons of the *fanaux* are politicians and administrators of regional or national renown. Most of them are men, but several women once sponsored a lantern and in 2008 two out of three patrons were women. Patrons should be wealthy enough to patronize a lantern, and rare are the writers, artists,

or musicians that have been invited to act as patrons, although Marie Madeleine Diallo has tried to include them whenever possible. In the 2008 edition of the Fanal, fashion designer Oumou Sy was one of the patrons.

The *son et lumière* spectacle consisted of three historical scenes in which the lanterns were presented to their patrons. The models selected to act the historical roles were recruited amongst young women aspiring to a career in fashion (Fig. 11). An attempt was made to select tall girls of fair skin color, in keeping with the historical image of mixed-race *signares*. If there were plenty of young, beautiful women in Saint Louis to choose from, this was not the case for the whites needed to impersonate the historical Frenchmen. Since access to the backstage of the organization was critical to my research, I volunteered to become Baron Roger, one of the governors of colonial Senegal. I should admit, though, that Baron Roger was not my preferred role. Initially I volunteered for the prestigious role of Governor Faidherbe. This governor conquered most of Senegal and is for that reason considered the “founder” of modern Senegal (Robinson 2000:43). I was rejected for this role for a number of reasons, one of them being that Faidherbe was not bald. In addition, I was not considered sufficiently mature to impersonate Faidherbe. Surprisingly, an American student about twenty years younger than I am was given the role instead (Fig. 12). This American student had very little sense of Senegalese history. He had no clue as to who Faidherbe was and kept joking that he was De Gaulle.

Clearly, the models for the historical scenes were selected on the basis of outward appearance: age, height, color, and sex. These models were then disciplined so as to embody the historical personages that they were to impersonate. While the soldiers were not instructed in their historical roles, the *signares* were told that the historical *signares* were true man-eaters (“*des véritables mangeuses d’hommes*”). They were instructed in how

to walk on stage and what posture to assume (Fig. 11). But the most important instruction given to them was: “Remember, no chewing gum on stage!” While whites were given roles of personages of historical significance, the Senegalese volunteers were turned into either anonymous soldiers or nameless *signares*. Not that they seemed much concerned with their minor roles; all the soldiers jested that they were Faidherbe. At no point did the historical mimesis by the actors—that is, their attempt to look like historical personages—become subject of serious historical debate. We pretended to impersonate historical personages in blissful ignorance of history “as it really happened.” This suggested to me not so much a glaring lack of historical memory but the irony of historical mimicry at play. History was repeated with a difference (cf. Bhabha 1994).

A Belgian couple with two children, on holiday in Senegal, had been recruited for historical roles: The husband was to be a sergeant and the wife was to play Mother Anne-Marie Javouhey, the founder in 1807 of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, the Catholic order that set up the first girl school in Saint Louis. Unfortunately, while the Senegalese took their roles seriously enough, some of the European participants were less dedicated to their historical roles. Ten whites had been recruited but because the performance was seriously delayed, the Belgian tourists and two American Peace Corps workers—or six out of ten whites—had left and deserted their roles before the Grand Fanal even started.³ This clearly demonstrates—in the most banal way—that the white Westerners were less committed to historical mimicry than the Senegalese youth whose history was thus represented. Mimicry, even as an opportunity to mock history, obviously still requires a commitment.

While the actors and actresses got dressed in the governor’s palace, elsewhere in Saint Louis the lanterns were brought out of the workshops to be admired by the public (Fig. 16). After the carpen-



7 Oumou Sy dresses one of her models for her fashion show.



8 One of the models on the catwalk at the Place Faidherbe.

9 Director Jean Pierre Leurs indicates the trajectories of the various *fanaux* through the streets of Saint Louis.



ters and other members of the workshop were photographed with their *fanal* (Fig. 18), young men pushed the lantern from the workshop to the city square. Obviously, everyone involved was under stress, and tensions built up over weeks sometimes escalated into heated discussions. When all the lanterns had finally arrived at their indicated positions and the invited guests had taken their seats, the grand finale was to start.

The Grand Fanal consisted of a series of *tableaux historiques* during each of which a lantern was pushed across the Place Faidherbe, preceded by the historical personage who had erected the building reproduced by the *fanal*. The lantern was followed by the drummers and the women's choir. When the lantern had been shown to the public, a soundtrack was played that spoke to the accomplishments of the historical personage. After this, the women's choir sang a song of honor to the *fanal*'s patron. Three different lanterns were thus shown in three different historical scenes and their three different patrons praised in song. The last *fanal* to be brought out represented the fortress of Podor (Fig. 13). This *fanal* was preceded by Faidherbe, who had ordered the fortress to be built. Faidherbe, who was meant to stride across the square named after him, was actually very nervous and paralyzed with fear. While he was to process arm-in-arm with his *signare*, he lost hold of her and each of them walked across the square in different directions. Only after an intervention by an assistant were they united again.

After Faidherbe's contribution to the construction of contemporary Senegal was thus commemorated, the *fanal* of the fortress of Podor was presented to Oumou Sy and the women sang her praises (Figs. 15, 19). All the international competitions and prizes she had won were named one by one, in strict chronological order. On top of that, her praises were sung by a professional

female singer. This was the climax of the Grand Fanal. Afterward all went home, except Faidherbe, who had his finest hour when many Senegalese youth came to take a picture of the historical founder of their country impersonated by the American student. Oumou Sy and her friends retired to the governor's palace while praise singers acclaimed her, begging for money. Marie Madeleine Diallo oversaw it all with pride (Fig. 14). After their presentation at the Place Faidherbe, the lanterns were returned to the workshops (Fig. 20).

This, I hope, demonstrates how the Fanal was organized and how formal relations of production made its production possible. It is clear that almost everyone involved makes a bit of money out of it. Yet, although it might look as if the Fanal is thus entirely formalized and commodified, it is certainly not bereft of meaning. In fact, the contemporary Fanal derives its significance from sediments of meaning that have accumulated over centuries and are still visible in today's palimpsest performance. In spite of the production company's rhetoric that the festival is organized to enhance the tourist potential of Saint Louis, I suggest that the Fanal is primarily performed today—as it always was—to celebrate the status of its patrons. In other words, while the reinvention of the Fanal as a tourist attraction suggests that this tradition was successfully objectified, the palimpsest performance actually contains memories that resist their erasure through engineering.

HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Throughout its history the Fanal has gone through a series of profound historical transformations, which I will describe here to demonstrate that the Fanal has thereby accumulated sediments of meanings. In eighteenth-century Saint Louis, lanterns were made to illuminate the *signares* when they walked to mid-



10 One of the models being dressed as a *signare* at the governor's palace. Note the contrast in bodily posture of this *signare* with the posture of the dancer in Fig. 3.

11 The models follow instructions in how to perform as *signares*. Their dresses are considered typical for the historical *signares*. Note the restraint of posture in contrast to that of the dancer in Fig. 3.



Downloaded from <http://direct.mit.edu/afar/article-pdf/42/4/38/1735261/afar.2009.42.4.38.pdf> by guest on 07 September 2022



12 The American student dressed as Governor Faidherbe.

13 The *fanal* of the fortress of Podor accompanied by women singing the praises of Oumou Sy. The women are dressed as Fulani women, thus associating themselves with Oumou Sy's region of birth.



night mass. Christmas was an occasion for *signares* to show off their beauty, dress, and jewelry.⁴ The *signares* and their *dames de compagnie* paraded through the city's streets in a procession of accumulated wealth and an ostentatious display of foreign consumer goods. While they walked to Mass, the *signares* were accompanied by slaves whose very presence constituted a conspicuous sign of their mistresses' accumulated wealth.⁵ The lanterns that the slaves carried illuminated the mistress and her splendid dress. Thus Christmas offered the *signares* an opportunity to express their social mobility and affirm their status by drawing attention to their wealth, rather than their birth. Illuminating their extravaganza, the shadows of the *fanaux* must have obscured parts of their genealogies.

In the nineteenth century, much of this changed as a result of a male appropriation of the Fanal. While the *signares* succeeded in establishing stable *métis* families and increasingly became respectable bourgeois housewives, their *métis* husbands set themselves up as independent traders. Their social status depended on their mixed-race heritage and their political rights. As the island of Saint Louis was considered French territory, in fact French soil, the inhabitants of the island were subject to French law and enjoyed French citizenship (Johnson 1971). This, I think, explains why the lanterns that were once made to highlight the status of *signares* were now given the form of public buildings of the city of Saint Louis. The lanterns of the architecture of Saint Louis embodied the autochthony of their patrons and expressed their political

rights in the French empire. Carried through the streets of Saint Louis, the lanterns celebrated the belonging of their *métis* sponsors to this colonial city. After a procession through the city, the *fanal* was returned to the patron's, where it was offered to him while women sang his praises.

By the second half of the nineteenth century the economic strength of the *métis* class was undermined by the emancipation of the slaves and a free-trade policy on the River Senegal (Jones 1980:340; 2005). As a result, their economic position was threatened by the French trade houses and their political position by the rise of an African citizenry. Since 1848 all male Africans in Saint Louis—including former slaves—had enjoyed voting rights, but a *mariage de raison* between French traders and the *métis* effectively excluded the African electorate from the political process for most of the nineteenth century (Johnson 1971:93). However, in the early twentieth century African political parties were established. They modelled themselves on the existing political process in Saint Louis, which had always revolved around the politics of patronage. The appropriation of the Fanal by African politicians should be situated in this context. Throughout the twentieth century, all major politicians from Saint Louis patronized *fanaux*. Carried through the streets of Saint Louis, these lanterns attracted the African voters, who demonstrated their allegiance to a politician through association with his *fanal*. Thus, the Fanal served as an important indicator of the politician's popularity (Dieng 1999:44). The songs that

14 Marie Madeleine Diallo, the director of Jallore Productions, the company that produces the Fanal festival of Saint Louis.





15 Female praise-singers. They are dressed in orange in order to heighten their visibility for the purpose of television recordings.

16 The *fanal* for Minister Awa Ndiaye is carried out of the workshop of Malick Welle.



were sung on the occasion praised the politician for his competence, while denigrating his opponents (ibid., pp. 47–48). This association of the *Fanal* with the political process was reinforced by a competition organized by the colonial government at the Place Faidherbe, where the lanterns and the accompanying singers and dancers competed for a jury composed of members of the municipal council (ibid., p. 46).⁶ Since competition between the supporters of these “party lanterns” sometimes escalated in violence, the colonial government later decided to suppress the organization of the *Fanal*.⁷ In the postcolonial era the occasional *Fanal* was still performed, mostly for visiting statesmen. This meant that the performance of the *Fanal* was effectively monopolized by President Senghor, a situation which foreshadowed today’s appropriation of the performance by Jallore Productions.

The politicization of the *Fanal* by African politicians was not a real break with previous practice. The *Fanal* had always been a moment to celebrate the honor and prestige of the patron, closely associated as these were with the enjoyment of citizenship and its denial to slaves and colonial subjects. The *Fanal* has always been a public spectacle for the embodiment of a regime of political subjectivation that actually displays considerable continuity. After the emancipation of slaves and the emergence of black politics in Senegal, the slaves who had carried the lanterns for the *signares* or their *métis* husbands were replaced by the voters/clients who followed the *fanal* of their favorite patron/politician. That the performance of subjectivation was made to culminate in a competition on the Place Faidherbe made the *Fanal* even more explicitly a spectacle of power.

The *Fanal*’s function to subject the population of Saint Louis does not seem to have disappeared, as the contemporary festival clearly remembers previous forms of subjectivation. The contem-

porary Fanal is a festival that honors politicians and administrators and affirms their status. In fact, the production company selects its patrons from amongst important Saint Louis families and affirms their membership in a Saint Louis elite whose presence is thus publicly asserted. The production of honor through the patronage of lanterns continues today. Although Dakar became the national capital of Senegal in 1958—a transfer that is still mourned at Saint Louis today—the “old city” has not entirely lost its influence in the army, administration, education, and professions. Most importantly, the “old city” has maintained its reputation for “good taste” and its authority to judge matters of professional achievement. The Fanal capitalizes on this cultural capital that the festival constitutes as a Saint Louis heritage.

CREOLE HERITAGE

The Fanal is a spectacle of cultural mixing, or creolization. If the creolization of its cultural forms is spectacular, some forms can nevertheless be identified with a particular origin: the format of *son et lumière* is ostensibly derived from French revolutionary culture, while the praise singing can safely be attributed to Wolof culture. But not all aspects of the Fanal can be attributed to a particular origin, and creolization has effectively merged cultural originals in hybrid forms. For instance, the reproduction of colonial architecture in lanterns is the material focus of the Fanal. While the heritage of colonial architecture is neglected in the day-to-day administration of the city, in the context of the festival this architecture is celebrated as an expression of locality. This clearly demonstrates that the Fanal appropriates colonial architecture in a way that gives meaning to this heritage, which it does not have in its original form. Colonial architecture in itself is not a constituent element of the festival, but its appropriation in the shape of lanterns is.



17 Actors waiting to perform at the Grand Fanal.

18 Malick Welle (right) and his brother Abdourahmane Welle (left) posing with their *fanal*, which represents the building of the Sisters of Cluny on the island of Saint Louis (Sindoné).



Downloaded from <http://direct.mit.edu/afar/article-pdf/42/4/38/1735261> at ar. 2009. 4



There is no doubt that the *fanal* is a most intriguing materialization of the process of creolization. In many ways the lantern is a metonym of the history of the *métis*. In a historical process, the *fanal* has appropriated the technology of ship's beacons and given them the form of colonial architecture, thus embodying the transitions from maritime trade to sedentary occupation and from the danger of maritime navigation to the security of bourgeois citizenship. Seen in this light, the lanterns seem to materialize a genealogy of the *métis* as an emergent class in the transatlantic world, tracing their origin in maritime trade and their establishment as successful traders at Saint Louis. Thus, the *fanal* has appropriated technologies associated with the transatlantic trade (ship's beacons) and the French empire (architecture) to express the position of a class of *métis* consisting of full-fledged citizens and their subjectivity of being superior to their African servants, but not being fully French (white). The *fanal* materialized a creolized subjectivity of an intermediate class of *métis* citizens that belonged to the Empire, at a slight remove. The Fanal should thus be understood as yet another instance of colonial mimicry, the expression "of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 1994:122). Even when performed by Senegalese citizens, the Fanal still conveys a sense of belonging to a realm of French civilization, but not quite.

There are other, unexpected creolizations of form and meaning that suggest that the Fanal is a creolization of self-fashioning. The impersonation of colonial personages and the miniaturization of colonial buildings and their recontextualization in a *son et lumière* does not in any way clash with the performance of *sabar* drumming and praise-singing. In fact, the praise-singing has taken on a creolized form itself, amalgamating in one song the patron's genealogy and his curriculum vitae. Songs speak

simultaneously to the professional career of the patron and his family genealogy, celebrating at once individual achievement and family honor. The praise songs creolize the values associated with personal advancement on the basis of merit, with values associated with an economy of honor based on ascription by birth. Thus the creolized form of the praise-song reflects the creolization of its subject and the Fanal celebrates a creolized citizenship (cf. Diouf 1999). In Saint Louis this creolized subjectivity exists to this day. Although most *métis* families left Saint Louis at Senegal's independence to settle in metropolitan France, Saint Louis is still very much a creolized society. The proof is in the Fanal itself: while the lantern festival originated with a class of Catholic *métis*, it is today performed by African Muslims.

REMEMBERING DISTINCTION

Of course, creolization does not in the least imply the disappearance of cultural hierarchy (see the First Word for this issue). While one can clearly see how Wolof and French cultural forms have been creolized in order to celebrate the status of the elite, in the context of the festival the distinction between *signares* and their domestic slaves is remembered in different forms of embodiment. On the one hand, the dance performed by professional dancers embodies a corporality considered dishonorable to "nobles." Aimed at a popular audience, the dance remembers slave entertainment for the lower strata of Saint Louis society.⁸ On the other hand, the girls impersonating the *signares* are instructed into bodily postures of "civilized" restraint considered typical for the historical *signares* and their contemporary audience comprising the Saint Louis elite. In fact, the elite is seated at the grandstand and remains almost "invisible" to the general audience. This suggests that different, historical forms of recognition are thus

20 After its presentation to the patron, this *fanal* is pushed across the Bridge Faidherbe and returned to the workshop of Boubacar Sarr in Pikine.



remembered at the festival. While dancers perform their vulgar dances and thereby gain recognition through visibility, the patrons of the *fanaux* are recognized through songs sung to their honor by praise-singers and female choirs. While the dancers are subjected to the gaze, the patrons are glorified through words. The recognition of their elevated status requires that they make a gift to the praise-singers, as patrons do. In other words, while the dancers obtain recognition through the exposure of their bodies—remembering the condition of slaves—the patrons enjoy the prerogative of being honored without having to expose themselves and in return they reward the praise-singers through culturally prescribed generosity.

The spatial organization of the performance re-memors such distinctions in ways that reflect their historical transformations. In the eighteenth century, the *signares* were accompanied by their slaves as they paraded through the streets of Saint Louis, exhibiting close proximity. Today, the workshops that make the lanterns are paid to do so and have no established relationship to their patrons. The spatial organization of the contemporary Fanal reflects the increased formalization and commodification of the relationship between the makers of the *fanaux* and their patrons. Today the carpenters and choirs move through the city to offer their *fanal* and praise to the patrons seated at the grandstand in front of the Governor's Palace according to the choreography devised by the production company. If abolition and emancipation have resulted in greater freedom for the craftsmen, the contemporary festival maintains the social distance between the patrons and their dependents and formalizes the movements of the latter. The relationship between patrons and dependents remains the critical nexus in the Fanal and its public staging makes the Fanal a true festival of power. At the

Place Faidherbe the invited guests are seated at the grandstand that sits in front of the Governor's Palace at some remove from the general public, which stands across the square, viewing the invited guests and the Governor's Palace which are thus associated in perspective.⁹ In as far as the public is given an opportunity to watch the event, their perspective seems to inculcate their inferior position in the polity. Such an analysis conveys that the Fanal, although in many ways formalized and commodified, remembers the historical status distinctions between free citizens and their slaves/dependents. In fact, the festival formalizes these distinctions and thereby re-memors social distinction today.

The Fanal is crucial in establishing such social distinction. While the *fanal* can be seen as a metonym of *métis* history—as suggested above—we should acknowledge that the majority of its patrons today are in fact Africans. This posits an interesting conundrum: if the *fanal* does not represent to them the history of the *métis* (a history with which they presumably have little affinity), what does it represent to them instead? I suggest that the Fanal enables historical mimesis through the identification of the patron with a historical personage, enabled through identification of the patron with his *fanal*. Let me explain this. First, it should be emphasized that the production company selects the patrons from amongst established Saint Louis families. Second, the company subsequently chooses a historical building that will be represented as *fanal*. The choice for the historical building is at least partly inspired by the relationship that a historical personage had with this building. Thus, amidst the cacophony of historical representations, very precise relationships are celebrated between the patron, the *fanal*, and a historical personage. For instance, in the 2008 Fanal the *fanal* for Minister of Family Awa Ndiaye represented a detail of the building established by

the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny, the Catholic order that set up the first girls' school in Saint Louis. The choice of this building was deliberate. Awa Ndiaye is a daughter of an important Saint Louis family and throughout her educational career she has obtained a great many diplomas. Her individual achievements in education—a core value of middle-class Saint Louis—were thus embodied in her *fanal*, which represented the building of the Catholic order that, historically, introduced girls' education in Saint Louis. The *fanal* was preceded by a white actress impersonating Mother Anne-Marie Javouhey, the founder of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny. Through her *fanal*, the Minister of Family was connected to the founder of the Sisters of Cluny. Less straightforward but perhaps more daring in its interpretation was the 2008 *fanal* for Oumou Sy. Oumou Sy never completed primary education. Her genealogy includes ancestry in Casamance, Saint Louis, and the Fleuve region (she identifies herself as Toucouleur). By choosing the fortress of Podor as the basis for her *fanal*, the production company chose to honor her ancestry in the Fleuve region. Since this fortress was built by Faidherbe, her *fanal* was preceded by the Governor of Senegal, who strode across the Place Faidherbe during the presentation of the lantern. Now, the correspondence between Faidherbe's political achievements and Oumou Sy's artistic accomplishments may be slight, but by choosing the fortress of Podor and the historical personage of Faidherbe for the contemporary patron Oumou Sy, her achievements were celebrated as equivalent to those of Faidherbe. Clearly, the *fanal* mediates between past and present and attributes to the present patron the status of the historical personage associated with his or her *fanal*. As a technology of temporality, the *fanal* enables the present patron to assume the status of the historical personage.

CONCLUSION

The Fanal speaks about the past and remembers a history of Senegal. In this history, the *signares* offered themselves to French traders, fatally compromised as they were by their love for elegance, extravagance, and the money to pay for it. Out of a *mariage à la mode du pays*—the creolized, temporary liaison between Senegalese women and French men—the class of *métis* was born. As the city of *métis*, Saint Louis subsequently served as the logistic basis for the conquest of the colony. Thus the Fanal represents Senegal as a nation colonized by the French and a class of *métis*. In this story the children born and educated at Saint Louis subsequently administered the colonial nation. The contemporary sons and daughters of Saint Louis constitute the latest generation to serve as beacons of the nation, a task for which they are honored with a *fanal*. This story clearly represents Saint Louis as the place of origin of Senegal and is fundamentally nostalgic in claiming a historical role for a city whose political significance has since waned. Today the Fanal still celebrates the city's taste for elegance and the making of careers required to finance such lavish spending, but the festival itself depends on funding provided by the national government in Dakar.

The Fanal does not limit itself to telling a story that can be interpreted as a history of Senegal, but relives the past in the present as if to extend that past into the present. The Fanal is indeed fundamentally nostalgic in modelling the present after

the past. By means of *tableaux historiques* and the making of *fanal*s of historical buildings, the past is actually remembered in the present. Hence, in addition to spoken accounts of the past—or history—the Fanal offers a range of embodied representations of the past in the present. For instance, if the story recounted above is partly conveyed through the textual commentaries provided in the *tableaux historiques*, most of it is actually transmitted through the embodied performance of the past. Such embodiment of the past offers possibilities for historical telescoping. For instance, Faidherbe is known to have had a local mistress who was either a Khassonke or a Sarakholle.¹⁰ But in the Fanal, Faidherbe is accompanied by a *signare*. To stage Faidherbe with a *signare* is to confound the precolonial history of the *signares* with the era of Faidherbe's colonial project. The past is thus compressed in the present and the Fanal accumulates these temporalities in a palimpsest. The productivity of such an accumulation of temporalities in a single performance is yet to be established. My hypothesis is that, as a technology of temporality, the palimpsest performance accumulates time in order to redistribute it in the present. The honor bestowed on the patrons—as mediated by the *fanal*s—is thus given the weight of centuries of distinction and discernment. An accumulation of time that blurs historical distinction—as in the palimpsest—actually produces a stage for contemporary Senegalese patrons to identify with and be identified with the historical personages of colonial Senegal. Past and present coincide in the palimpsest.

If the Fanal is presented as heritage, it is presented as such because the festival cannot sustain itself and depends on national subsidies for its performance. Although it is in many ways formalized and commodified, at its heart the Fanal still celebrates the careers made by Saint Louisiens and Saint Louisiennes. As a festival that praises the values of education and public administration, its public funding seems to contribute to inculcating a sense of citizenship. The Fanal is not an objectified heritage, but a festival that subjectivates the city of Saint Louis. However, the subjectivation of the urban populace through the festival does not in any way achieve hegemony. The actors who portray the historical personages mimic these personages with irony and subvert the social distinctions that they themselves impersonate. In that sense, the Fanal does not uncritically remember colonial pasts but performs a split memory of colonialism. History is repeated with a difference.

FERDINAND DE JONG is Senior Lecturer in Anthropology at the School of World Art Studies and Museology of the University of East Anglia, where he teaches the anthropology of art, material culture, public memory, and heritage. His publications include *Masquerades of Modernity: Power and Secrecy in Casamance, Senegal and Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa* (co-edited with Michael Rowlands). F.Jong@uea.ac.uk

JUDITH QUAX studied at the Photo Academy in Amsterdam. Her projects touch themes like cultural identity, differences in cultures, religion and spirituality. She exhibited (a.o.) at the *DakArt Biennale 2008* in Dakar, Senegal, the *Dutch Photobiennale Noorderlicht* in Groningen, 2007, and was selected by curator Akinbode Akinbiyi for the exhibition "Spot on DakArt" in Berlin, Germany, 2009. Her photos are published in various magazines. She is currently working on a long-term project on Senegalese immigrants. judith@judithquax.com; www.judithquax.com

Notes

This article is part of a larger project that will result in a monograph, provisionally titled *Remembering the Nation: Heritage and Memory in Postcolonial Senegal*. Fieldwork for this project was conducted in 2003, 2004 and 2005, 2008, and 2009. I attended the Fanal of 2008 and interviewed various experts on the Fanal. I would like to thank the Senegalese Ministry of Education and Dr. Hamady Bocoum for permission to conduct research in Senegal and Fatima Fall (CRDS) for her assistance in Saint Louis. I also want to express my gratitude to Marie Madeleine Diallo, Daouda Dia, Jean Pierre Leurs, and Oumou Sy for their permission to research the Fanal and to photograph the proceedings. The fanal makers Malick Welle and his brother Abdourahmane Welle, Boubacar Sarr, and Cheikh Makhfou Sène are gratefully acknowledged for their help and hospitality. Finally, I would like to thank all assistants and models for willingly posing for the photographer. Fieldwork was funded with grants by The British Academy and the Economic and Social Research Council. Research leave of the University of East Anglia, partly funded with a generous grant by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, has enabled me to write this article. Finally, thanks to Judith Quax for her collaboration on this project and to Martin Klein and Peter Probst for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper. The responsibility for any remaining mistakes in this article is mine.

1 Alongside popular histories of *signares* (Angrand 2006, Sankalé 2007), publications have been dedicated to the traditions and fashions of women (Siga 1990), the history and architecture of Gorée and Saint Louis (Camara and Benoist 2003, Aïdara 2004), and colonial iconography (Ricou 2007).

2 Models dressed as *signares* partook in the fashion show, as if to make the point that *signares* were very fashionable in their time and still are today. The presence of *signares* in the fashion show was another indication of the palimpsestual nature of the performance. I should note that the *signare* costumes used during the fashion show were provided by the association Ndart, which has its own collection of *signare* costumes. This association strives to improve the position of all couture professionals in Saint Louis and is presided over by Fatima Fall, the Director of the Centre de Recherche et de Documentation du Sénégal (CRDS). The CRDS authorized the production of the historically “authentic” costumes of Ndart in order to counter the prevalence of anachronistic costumes made by amateurs.

3 Quantity was not unimportant. A recurring question was: “How many *signares* have we got now?” Except for Faïdherbe’s wife, none of the *signares* was given a particular historical personage to impersonate, but a *signare* presence was urgently required.

4 In many ways, Christmas was a tournament of status not unlike the *folgars* or the balls that *signares* organized in order to entertain themselves and their visiting traders.

5 Although not as ostentatiously attired, the accoutrements of the slaves testified to the wealth of their mistresses.

6 Thus the Fanal was reorganized in such a way as to culminate at the Place Faïdherbe, not at the house of its patron, as it formerly used to be. The *fanal* was still brought to the patron’s house after the event at the Place Faïdherbe.

7 Which government suppressed the Fanal is a matter of debate. Dieng, in his essay on the history of the Fanal, suggests that the colonial government is to blame: “Mais puisqu’il revêtait les aspects d’une manifestation africaine de masse dans un contexte colonial, les autorités

finirent par l’interdire sous prétexte qu’il était devenu un foyer de discorde et de trouble à l’ordre public” (Dieng 1991:48). However, in my research in Saint Louis an informant suggested that the Fanal was suppressed by the first Senegalese president, Léopold Sédar Senghor.

8 This analysis is informed by Martin Klein’s observations on the embodiment of status in the Sahel (1998:8, 246–51) and more recent work on the remembrance of slavery and the slave trade in dance and masquerades (Argenti 2007).

9 At the annual celebration of National Independence Day on the 4th of April, the grandstand for the invited guests, including local and national administrators, politicians, and army personnel, is erected at the same position. It is at the same place that thousands of Murid disciples gather for the annual commemoration of the Prayer of the Two Rakhas by Sheikh Ahmadou Bamba (see De Jong forthcoming).

10 Interview with Daouda Dia, January 2, 2009, and personal communication Martin Klein, April 22, 2009.

References cited

- Aïdara, Abdoul Hadir. 2004. *Saint Louis du Sénégal d’hier à aujourd’hui*. Brinon-sur-Sauldre: Grandvaux.
- Angrand, Jean-Luc. 2006. *Céleste ou le temps des Signares*. Sarcelles: Edition Anne Pépin.
- Argenti, Nicolas. 2007. *The Intestines of the State: Youth, Violence, and Belated Histories in the Cameroon Grassfields*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Basu, Paul. 2007. “Palimpsest Memoryscapes: Materializing and Mediating War and Peace in Sierra Leone.” In *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa*, eds. Ferdinand de Jong and Michael Rowlands, pp. 231–259. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Bettelheim, Judith. 1985. “The Lantern Festival in Senegambia.” *African Arts* 28 (2):50–53, 95–97, 101–102.
- Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Brooks, George E., Jr. 1976. “The Signares of Saint-Louis and Gorée: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal.” In *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, eds. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, pp. 19–44. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Brooks, George E. 2003. *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- Connerton, Paul. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 1999. “Fêtes et commémorations en Afrique occidentale au XXe siècle.” In *Fêtes urbaines en Afrique: Espaces, identités et pouvoirs*, ed. Odile Goerg, pp. 201–210. Paris: Karthala.
- de Benoist, Joseph Roger, and Abdoulaye Camara, eds. 2003. *Histoire de Gorée*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose.
- De Jong, Ferdinand. 2008. “Recycling Recognition: The Monument as *Objet Trouvé* of the Postcolony.” *Journal of Material Culture* 13 (2):195–214.
- De Jong, Ferdinand. forthcoming. “Remembering the Nation: The Murid *Maggal* of Saint Louis, Senegal.” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*.
- De Jong, Ferdinand, and Michael Rowlands, eds. 2007. *Reclaiming Heritage: Alternative Imaginaries of Memory in West Africa*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

De Jong, Ferdinand, and Michael Rowlands. 2008. “Introduction: Postconflict Heritage.” *Journal of Material Culture* 13 (2):131–134. Special issue on postconflict heritage.

Dieng, Mamadou Moustapha. 1999. “Saint Louis du Sénégal et son fanal. Naissance et évolution d’une fête.” In *Fêtes urbaines en Afrique: Espaces, identités et pouvoirs*, ed. Odile Goerg, pp. 37–50. Paris: Karthala.

Diouf, Mamadou. 1999. “The French Colonial Policy of Assimilation and the Civility of the Originaires of the Four Communes (Senegal): A Nineteenth Century Globalization Project.” In *Globalization and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure*, eds. B. Meyer and P. Geschiere, pp. 71–96. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fabian, Johannes. 1996. *Remembering the Present: Painting and Popular History in Zaire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gamble, David P. 1989. *Verbal and Visual Expressions of Wolof Culture*. San Francisco: Private publisher.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. New York: Verso.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Huyssen, Andreas. 2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Johnson, G. Wesley, Jr. 1971. *The Emergence of Black Politics in Senegal: The Struggle for Power in the Four Communes, 1900–1920*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Jones, D.H. 1980. “The Catholic Mission and Some Aspects of Assimilation in Senegal, 1817–1852.” *Journal of African History* 21:323–40.

Jones, Hilary. 2005. “From *mariage à la mode* to Weddings at Town Hall: Marriage, Colonialism, and Mixed-Race Society in Nineteenth-Century Senegal.” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38 (1):27–48.

Klein, Martin. 1998. *Slavery and Colonial Rule in French West Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Niang, Fatou Siga. 1990. *Reflets de modes et traditions Saint-Louisienne*. Dakar: Centre Africain d’Animation et d’Echanges Culturels, Khoudia.

Nunley, John. W. 1985. “The Lantern Festival in Sierra Leone.” *African Arts* 18 (2):45–49, 97, 102–103.

Oram, Jenny. 2002. “Urban Float Traditions in West Africa: A Museum Perspective.” In *Museums and Urban Culture in West Africa*, eds. Alexis B.A. Adande and Emmanuel Arinze, pp. 77–95. Oxford: James Currey.

Ricou, Xavier. 2007. *Trésors de l’iconographie du Sénégal colonial*. Paris: Riveneuve éditions.

Robinson, David. 2000. *Paths of Accommodation: Muslim Societies and French Colonial Authorities in Senegal and Mauretania, 1880–1920*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Sankalé, Sylvain. 2007. *A la mode du pays: Chroniques saint-louisienne*. Paris: Riveneuve éditions.

Searing, James F. 1993. *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700–1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.