

## Index

---

- Affect, 8, 24, 41, 65, 67, 108, 126, 133  
 abjection, 95, 187–8, 205  
 for colonial heritage, 108  
 disappointment, 14, 30  
 disillusion, 14  
 hope, 31, 99, 186, 188, 210, 247  
 mourning, 138, 205  
*see also* nostalgia  
 optimism, 206  
 redemption, 18, 31, 99, 240
- African Development Bank, 208
- African heritage, 25–8, 200, 216, 220  
 African art, 20  
 African Renaissance; *see* Pan-Africanism  
 agency, 184  
 classical civilizations, 20, 215, 218  
*see also* First World Festival of Negro Art  
 reappropriation, 20
- Afro-nostalgia, 31, 204–9, *see also* nostalgia
- Agamben, Giorgio, 67
- Anderson, Benedict, 61, 141
- Angelou, Maya, 44
- Angrand, Jean Luc, 82
- Anthropology, 220, 240
- Apter, Andrew, 20
- Araujo, Ana Lucia, 42
- Archaeology, 217–19
- Archinard, Louis, 231
- Architecture, 200, 214
- Archive, 20, 25, 54, 130, 166, 211, 228  
 affect, 41, 69  
 Black liberation, 34  
 decolonize, 166  
 National Archives, 208  
 non-verbal, 74, 130  
 Pan-African civilizations, 37, 216  
 political futures, 34  
 spirituality, 157
- Attia, Kader, 234
- Auschwitz, 28, 39, 52, 58, 60, 67–8
- Awadi, Didier, 13  
*Presidents of Africa*, 13
- Bamba, Cheikh Ahmadou, 3, 37, 137,  
 140–64, 239  
 anti-colonialism, 151, 157, 159, 239  
 exile, 147, 150,  
 founding father, 158  
 Jihad, 151  
 Museum of Black Civilizations, 228–9, 239  
 mystical powers, 3  
 recruitment Tirailleurs, 181  
 trial, 3, 147
- Bandiagara, 236
- Bassène, Pape Chérif Bertrand, 65
- Battaglia, Debhora, 109
- Baum, Robert, 74
- Bear, Laura, 32
- Benjamin, Walter, fn17: 33, 188, 248
- Berlin Conference, 233
- Bhabha, Homi, 32, 142, 183, 199
- Black  
 achievement, 129  
 anti-Black violence, 43  
 Black Atlantic, 16, 29, 43, 97  
 Black Panthers, 22  
 Blackness, 213, 223–4  
 dualism of, 29  
 legacies of, 34  
 performance of, 19  
 racial legacy, 29  
 re-imaginings of, 34  
 citizenship, 22, 29, 31, 44, 130  
*see also* Civilization  
 Diaspora, 97  
 diasporic consciousness, 43  
 heritage, *see* cultural heritage  
 liberation, 34, 242  
 subjects, 29, 34, 126, 247; *see also*  
 subjectivity
- Black Lives Matter, 5, 166
- Blaise Diagne International Airport, 207
- Bloch, Ernst, 31
- Bocoum, Hamady, 232
- Bouso, Mame Diarra, 155

## 282 Index

- Camara, Papa Mohamed, 196  
 Caribbean, 15, 86–7, 91, 100, 109–10  
 Carceral politics, 94, 223  
 Catholicism, 146  
 Césaire, Aimé, v, 16–17, 29–34, 47, 248  
 Cheikh Anta Diop University (UCAD),  
 187, 200, 219  
 Chirac, Jacques, 168–9  
 Citizenship, *see* Black; colonialism; empire;  
 Senegal; slavery; UNESCO  
 Civilization, 9, 20, 137  
 African, 211  
 Black, 20, 25, 241  
 European, 26, 140  
 Negro-African, 27  
 reappropriation, 20  
 universal civilization, 26–9, 245  
 world civilization, 25–6  
 Clifford, James, 33  
 Colonialism, 28, 144–7  
 accommodation, 160  
 administration, 3, 124, 147–50, 157  
 African elite, 131, 135, 144–5, 154–5,  
 185, 190–2, 195, 198, 209  
 amnesia, 101  
 anti-colonialism, 152, 173, 238–9  
 assimilation, 4, 130, 144, 146, 191, 220  
 association, 191  
 citizenship, 16, 105, 144–6, 192  
 collaboration, 160  
 coloniality, 26, 239  
*see also* duress  
 economy, 148  
 enlightenment, 18  
 ethnography, 114, 157  
*see also* Four Communes  
*Françafrique*, 166, 213, 237  
 hegemony, 146  
 humanism, 11, 16, 46  
*indigénat*, 145  
 institutions, 5  
 legacies of, 8, 10–11, 16–17, 35–8, 87,  
 212–13, 221, 234, 249  
 library, 5, 19, 157, 219  
 Murid ceremonies, 148  
 neo-colonialism, 166, 236  
*originaires*, 144–6  
 project, 8, 10–11, 32, 138, 225  
 protectorate, 144  
 rights, 16, 144–6, 158,  
 rule, 3–4,  
 social contract, 148  
 spectres of, 4, 12  
*see also* subjectivity  
 suffrage, 148  
 topography of, 247  
 traces of, 9, 130,  
 violence, 11  
 Commemoration, 35–7, 140–64, 167–204,  
 238  
 historical pageants (*tableaux historiques*),  
 116–21, 128, 138  
 Conrad, Joseph, 188  
 Cooper, Frederick, 16  
 Cottias, Myriam, 101  
 Creole, 36, 96, 105, 127, 138,  
 Creolization, 86, 97, 104–5, 126, 131, 146  
 Crespin, Marie-Josée, 83–4, 93  
 Coulibaly, Abou Latif, 212  
 Cultural heritage, *see also* UNESCO  
 affiliations, 36  
*see also* African heritage  
 architectural heritage, 106–38  
 authenticity, 120, 230  
 authorized heritage discourse, fn 13,  
 28  
 bifurcated, 75, 83  
 Black heritage, 23  
 colonial buildings, 187  
 colonial heritage, 4, 7, 10, 104, 106, 127  
 commodification, 108  
 conservation, 25–6, 47, 50, 106–8, 136,  
 223  
 conservation policy, 50, 108  
 culture industry, 23  
 decolonization of, 27  
 diplomacy, 239  
 diversity of, 27  
 heritagization, 47, 50  
 hybridity, 35, 111, 156  
 intangible heritage, 28, 109  
 legislation, 26  
*métissage*, 7, 86, 97, 101, 105, 125  
 mixed-race heritage, 86, 102, 104, 123  
 Murid heritage, *see* prayer of emergency  
 loss, 26  
 ontology of, 26  
 ownership, 111  
 preservation, 4, 66, 108, 186, 216  
 recovery, 26  
 redistribution, 232  
 registers of, 74, 98  
*see also* technique of temporality  
 universal heritage, 219, 223  
 Cultural dialogue, 21  
 Curtin, Philip, 63  
  
*Daara ƴ*, 55  
 ‘Gorée’, 55,  
 ‘Interlude Joseph Ndiaye’, 54

- Dakar, 4, 8, 18, 167, 207–8  
 capital of French West Africa, 4  
 capital of Senegal, 4  
 French army base, 8  
*Hôtel de Ville*, 246  
*Palais de Justice*, 246  
 Seven Wonders of Dakar (*les Sept Merveilles de Dakar*), 214
- Damas, Léon-Gontran, 29, 216,
- Decolonization, 5, 7, 11, 14–18, 181, 186, 211, 238–9, 248  
 art world, 23  
 Bandung Conference, 15  
*see also* Black Lives Matter  
 decentring Europe, 183  
 Democratic Republic of the Congo, 222  
 epistemology, 69, 86, 114, 166, 218–19, 224, 226–30, 240–2  
*see also* Faidherbe Must Fall  
 Fees Must Fall, 165  
 federalism, 15, 17  
*see also* Frantz Fanon  
 future, 38; *see also* time  
 international relations, 167  
 lineages, 249  
*see also* national independence  
 Non-Aligned Movement, 15  
*see also* Pan-Africanism  
 politics of, 23  
 resistance hero, 172  
 Rhodes Must Fall, 165, 212  
 self-determination, 15, 20  
 South Africa, 165, 222  
 street names, 5  
 time, 163–4  
 University of Cape Town, 165  
 University of Oxford, 165  
 utopia, 29  
 world-making, 15
- de Gaulle, Charles, 247
- Derrida, Jacques, v, 10, 35, 247, 249, 252
- de Roux, Emmanuelle, 63
- Development collaboration, 7, 21, 97, 100
- Dia, Mamadou, 185
- Diagne, Blaise, 158, 160, 181
- Diagne, Souleymane Bachir, 16
- Diallo, Marie Madeleine, 109, 111, 117, 122
- Diarniadio, 207
- Diawara, Manthia, 235
- Diop, Alioune, 216
- Diop, Boubacar Boris, 24
- Diop, Cheikh Anta, 13, 218, 241, 248
- Diop, Momar-Coumba, 189
- Dior, Lat, 172
- Diouf, Abdou, 23, 31, 91, 153, 162, 179, 215
- Door of No Return, 53–72, 75
- Door of Return, 97
- Du Bois, W. E. B., 17, 44, 68
- Ducuing, Paul, 178
- Duress, 32
- Duval-Carrié, Édouard, 225
- École de Dakar*, 23
- École normale William Ponty*, *see* William Ponty School
- Eichmann trial, 68
- Empire, French  
 citizenship, 105, 107, 123, 130, 144–6, 154, 158, 192  
 education, 185–209  
 ethnology, 19  
 exhibition complex, 20  
 heritage legislation, 26  
 imperial nation-state, 16, 35, 127, 159–60, 180, 185, 223–4, 228, 247–8  
 legacies of, 32, 186  
 monuments to, 165
- Enwezor, Okwui, 247
- Fabian, Johannes, 32
- Faidherbe, Louis Léon, 4–7, 46, 108, 118, 129, 138, 142, 176, 231  
 colonial conquest, 5, 231  
 civilizing mission, 10  
 Bridge Faidherbe, 7, 107, 144, 149, 153  
*see also* Faidherbe Must Fall  
 Faidherbe Square, 9, 104, 117, 121, 124, 126, 129, 136, 139, 153
- Fanal, 118, 121  
 racial science, 218  
 statue of, 3, 143, 180  
*Tirailleurs sénégalais*, 4, 46, 176
- Faidherbe Must Fall, 5–12
- Fall, Cheikh Ibra, 142, 148, 155–6
- Fanal* festival, 36, 104, 145  
 appropriation, 123–4  
 architectural heritage, 106–38  
 artisans, 104, 133–4  
 carpenters, 112–15, 130  
 choreography, 116  
 classification, 114–15, 131  
 and status groups, 114  
 colonial buildings, 112, 121  
 corporality, 131–2  
 creolization, 127  
 craft, 113  
 and subjectivity, 115, 134

## 284 Index

- Fanal* festival (cont.)  
*fanal* (lantern), 36, 104, 109, 121–2, 126–7, 133–6  
 as medium, 133, 135  
 figure of success, 139  
 fundraising, 111  
 hierarchical relations, 104, 137  
 history of, 109–11, 122  
 impersonators, 117  
 light, 122, 127, 135  
 maritime technology, 111, 127  
*métis* history, 129  
*see also métissage*  
 metonym, 127, 138,  
 miniature, 123  
 nationalization, 126  
 nobles (*gueer*), 115, 130  
 patronage, 113, 124, 136  
 commodification of, 113  
 patrons, 104, 111, 117, 133, 135  
 personhood, 104, 133–4  
 praise singers (*gewöl*) 113–14, 130, 132–3  
 shining lights, 36  
 sociality, 105  
 spectacle, 126  
 Whites, 118
- Fanon, Frantz, 7, 17, 22, 32, 34, 235, 248  
 and national culture, 22
- Festival  
 colonial exhibitions, 19  
 as contact zone, 21  
*Dak'Art Biennale*, 23, 245–7  
 development discourse, 21, 97  
*Gorée Diaspora Festival*, 97  
 Gospel and Roots Festival of Benin, 97  
*Grand Magal*, 36, 163, 228  
*see also Fanal*  
 First World Festival of Negro Arts  
 (*Premier Festival Mondial des Arts Nègres*), 18–25, 51, 98, 211, 245  
 Third World Festival of Black Art and Culture (FESMAN), 24, 211  
 FESTAC 77, 20, 22  
 Murid festivals, 148, 160, 163  
 PANAFEST, 22, 97  
 Cultural manifesto, 22  
*Portes Ouvertes* (Open Doors), 93  
 Roots Homecoming Festival, 97  
 First World War, 158–9, 169, 176, 178–81  
 Floyd, George, 5, 9, 212  
 Four Communes, 8, 181  
 France, 176  
 army, 183  
 National Assembly, 168, 181  
 immigrants, 175  
 immigration policy, 176  
 Fredericks, Rosalind, 187  
 French West Africa, 4, 185  
 Freud, Sigmund, 33  
 Future, 9, 14–15, 17, 20, 25, 29–30, 130, 159, 182, 188, 207  
 Afro-future, 189–90, 195, 201, 205, 209  
 abandoned, 186  
 alternative futures, 29, 31  
 decolonial future, 38  
 futures past, 30, 34–5, 38, 213, 248,  
 imagining future, 17–18, 33  
 lost, 245  
 neoliberal, 99  
 modernist, 206  
 possible, 247, 252  
 racial reconciliation, 102  
 shared, 100, 180  
 temporal lagging, 199  
 traces of, 188, 249  
 unanticipated, 210  
 unrealized futures, 17
- Gabus, Jean, 215  
 Garvey, Marcus, 31  
 Getachew, Adom, 15, 18  
 Gilroy, Paul, 43  
 Glissant, Édouard, 101, 224, 235, 238  
 Goldberg, David Theo, 235, 241  
 Gorée Island, 46–72, 75, 95, 105–6, 185  
 European inhabitants, 91  
 ferry, 91  
 gentrification, 91, 94  
 memory island, 53, 82, 90  
 memoryscape, 96  
 migration, 94  
 racial relations, 91  
 regime of incarceration, 94  
 structural inequality, 94  
*see also* tourism
- Goudiaby Atepa, Pierre, 200
- Haley, Alex, 51  
*Roots*, 51  
 Hardy, Georges, 191  
 Harney, Elizabeth, 23  
 Hartman, Saidiya, 45  
 auto-ethnography, 45  
 Herskovits, Melville J., 97  
 Hinchman, Mark, 83  
 Hip-hop, 13  
 Holsey, Bayo, 81  
 Hope, 31, *see also* affect  
 Houphouët-Boigny, Félix, 17, 125, 185

- Holocaust, 40, 50, 58, 66–7  
 House of Slaves, 28, 36, 39–72, 74–5, 105, 138  
   absence, 54, 85  
   African American pilgrims, 42, 91  
   controversy, 41, 82  
   Door of No Return, 53–72, 75–96  
   haunted house, 40  
   as material witness, 65  
   as metonym, 54  
   guidebook, 56, 62  
   and other doors, 96  
   post-Holocaust context, 42  
   restoration, fn 6: 50  
   speech Joseph Ndiaye, 41, 54–7, 67, 94  
   simulacrum, 95  
   tour, 55, 63, 91  
   theatre of memory, 53–62  
   UNESCO World Heritage, 39, 104  
 Human rights, 11, 69, 99, 178  
 Huyssen, Andreas, 31, 139  
 Huxley, Julian, 26
- Imagined communities, 141  
 Institut Français d’Afrique Noire (IFAN), 50, 186  
 Infrastructure, 5, 147, 187–209, 214, 238, 246  
   *embouteillage*, 187  
   Pan-African, 211  
 International Council of Museums (ICOM), 215  
 Islam, 141, 146, 160, 233, 238, 243  
   accommodation, 160  
   African, 157, 229  
   Africanity, 156  
   anti-colonial resistance, 239–40  
   *see also* Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba  
   colonial scholarship, 227  
   *islam noir*, 155–7, 226  
   Khadriyya, 226  
   knowledge, 229  
   Layenniyya, 226  
   modernity of, 156  
   writing tablets, 227  
 Muridiyya, 140, 152, 154, 226  
   accommodation to state, 160  
   Baye Fall, 143  
   diaspora, 148  
   disciples, 147–62  
   grace (*baraka*), 148, 162  
   exchange, 161  
   internal struggles, 154  
   leadership, 149, 158, 160  
   marabouts, 147–50  
   nationalized, 159  
   presence, 154, 161–2  
   religious order (*ndiggël*), 148  
   resistance, 146  
   submission, 143, 161  
   subjectivity, 163  
   trade network, 149  
   values, 152  
 Muslim identity, 146  
 pilgrimage, 141  
 postcoloniality, 156  
 Prayer of Two *Rakhas*, *see* Prayer of Emergency  
 reformist, 228, 236  
 spirituality, 156–7,  
 Sufi orders, 3, 37, 141, 146, 226  
 Tijaniyya, 127, 154, 226, 231, 240  
 transmission, 229
- James, C. L. R., 17
- Keita, Modibo, 13, 17, 185  
 Kenyatta, Jomo, 13  
 King, Martin Luther, 13  
 Kisukidi, Nadia Yala, 27  
 Konaré, Alpha Oumar, 178  
 Koselleck, Reinhart, 29, 248
- Lambek, Michael, 129  
 Leurs, Jean-Pierre, 116, 120  
 Lille, 9, 107–8  
 Limoud, Youssef, 246  
 Lonetree, Amy, 212  
 Louverture, Toussaint, 43  
 Lumumba, Patrice, 13
- Macron, Emmanuel, 10, 211, 239  
 Maheu, René, 215  
 Mali, 166  
 Mali Federation, 17, 239  
 Malraux, André, 19–20  
 Mandela, Nelson, 13  
 Mann, Gregory, 177  
 Marley, Bob, 13  
 Materiality, 7, 35–6, 58, 65, 83, 90, 94, 96, 104, 121–2, 127, 133, 167, 188, 209, 232, 238  
   assemblage, 105, 128, 137, 238, 249  
   colonialism, 7  
   material remains, 83, 92, 186, 217–19, 240  
   relations, 232  
   *see also* ruination  
 Mbeki, Thabo, 24

## 286 Index

- Mbembe, Achille, 29, 62, 178, 224–5, 235, 241
- M'Bow, Amadou-Mahtar, 28
- Melly, Caroline, 187
- Memory,
  - absence, 59
  - aesthetics of, 87
  - African voice, 68
  - archaeology, 35
  - bifurcated, 75
  - colonial amnesia, 101
  - see also* commemoration
  - counter-memory, 5, 145
  - Duty to Remember, 69
  - embodiment, 131, 138
  - forgetting, 17, 50, 73, 98, 101, 138, 159, 161, 170, 176–82
  - historical mimicry, 120
  - historical transmission, 68
  - lieu de mémoire*, 30, 35, 53, 71, 90, 182, 208, 235
  - lieux-communs*, 235
  - media memory, 173–6
  - memorial justice, 68
  - memoryscape, 35, 42, 47, 53, 75, 90, 96, 163, 166, 178, 249
  - milieu de mémoire*, 90
  - mimesis, 129, 183
  - multi-directional, 42, 65–9
  - see also* Nostalgia
  - orality, 66
  - palimpsest, 35, 95, 130–1, 137, 160–3, 186, 209, 224, 252
  - photography, 59, 175
  - presence, 59, 143
  - realm of memory, 81
  - re-enactment, 15, 45, 64, 139, 140–64, 171, 235
  - registers of, 36, 60–1, 74, 86, 95–6, 99, 101, 105, 129, 131, 156–7, 159, 176
  - irony, 120
  - repair, 167, 241
  - sequestration, 81, 83, *see also* bifurcation
  - split memory, 87
  - technology of memory, 168
  - testimony, 36, 58, 62–9
  - theatre of memory, 53–62
  - topography of memory, 87, 92, 106
  - war memorials, 180
  - witness, 36, 66, 68
  - work of memory, 33, 236
- Merlaud-Ponty, William, 185
- Meskill, Lynn, 27
- Métissage*, 7, 85–6, 97–8, 100–2, 105, 125  
 and subjectivity, 128, 134
- métis* class, 123, 144–6,  
*métis* family, 82–5, 123, 127  
*métis* woman, 105–9
- Milanés Benito, Juan Andréas, 241
- Mitchell, W. J. T., 240
- Miyazaki, Hirokazu, 31
- Modernity, 28, 187–210, 224, 240  
 colonial, 188–9  
 counter-modernity, 29, 43  
 horizons of expectation, 29  
 imagination, 33  
 liberation, 18–20, 22, 29–30  
*see also* nostalgia  
 progress, 187  
 promises of, 29–30, 187–210  
 traumas of, 28, 32, 41, 58, 101, 235  
 spectrality of, 40  
 utopia, 210, 245–52
- Monument, 50, 165–83  
 African Renaissance Monument  
 (*Monument de la Renaissance africaine*), 190, 249–52  
 colonial, 37  
 Demba and Dupont (*Demba et Dupont*),  
 37, 167, 173, 178–83  
 dialectical image, 250  
 Faidherbe, 3–12, 143, 180.  
 iconography, 166, 180  
*Mémorial Gorée-Almadies*, 91  
 power object, 166  
 repair, 167  
 reparatory justice, 47  
 Statue of the Liberation from Slavery (*La Statue de la Libération de l'Esclavage*),  
 87–90  
 statue, 166–7, 178–82
- Moisa, Jean and Christian, 87
- Mourre, Martin, 173
- Murphy, David, 19–20
- Museum  
 anthropology, 220  
 Army Museum, 233  
 classification as monument, 50  
 colonial exhibitions, 220  
 colonial museums, 221  
 contact zone, 213  
 decolonization, 221  
 epistemic violence, 225  
 evolutionary theory, 220  
 exhibition complex, 225  
 historical realism, 61  
 Jewish Museum Berlin, 39–40, 59  
*see* Museum of Black Civilizations  
*see* House of Slaves  
 memorial museums, 39, 41, 66

- Musée de l'Homme*, 220  
*Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro*, 220  
*Musée d'Ethnologie de Dakar* (Museum of Ethnology of Dakar), 221  
*Musée des Civilisations Négro-africaines*, 215, 221, 223  
*Musée Dynamique*, 19, 21, 215  
 Museum Quai Branly Jacques Chirac, 230  
 National Library, 233  
 National Museum of Ghana, 224  
 Natural History Museum Le Havre, 226, 230, 233  
 order of things, 220  
 Smithsonian Institution, 230  
 temporal conscience, 220  
 Théodore Monod African Art Museum, 230  
 Museum of Black Civilizations, 37, 211–44, 246  
 Abrahamic religions, 226–8  
 anthropology, 220, 240  
 collaboration, 230  
 cradle of the world, 225  
 epistemology, 226–30, 240–2  
*see also* archaeology  
 exhibitions, 224  
 International Conceptualization Conference, 222, 230  
 Islam, 230, 239  
 legacy of race, 240  
 migrations, 225  
 name, 223  
 and Negritude, 216, 221–4, 241  
 pedagogy, 229  
 post-secular, 240  
 provenance, 230  
 Qur'an, 227  
 religion, 239–44  
 registers of Blackness, 240  
 repair, 211, 230–9  
*see also* restitution  
*see also* Restitution Report  
 sabre of El Hadj Oumar Tall, 230–9  
 secularism, 228  
 sensory experience, 228  
 Treasure of Ségou, 231  
 and time, 219–25  
 time of the world, 224  
 uncanny histories, 243  
 writing tablets, 227
- National independence, 7–8, 13, 16–25, 158–60  
 National Theatre, 214
- Ndiaye, Boubacar Joseph, 36, 39–72, 79, 99  
*Once Upon a Time at Gorée*, 69  
 N'Diaye, Tidiane, 242  
 Negritude, xi, 10, 16, 18–35, 42, 156, 198, 221–4, 241, 245–9  
 Africanity, 22  
 civilization, 25, 27, 211  
 commemoration of slave trade, 42, 66, 86–7, 97–9  
 cultural dialogue, 21, 98  
*métissage*, 100, 106  
 Museum of Black Civilizations, 216, 221–4, 241  
 neo-colonialism, 21  
 Negro-African civilization, 27  
*see also* nostalgia  
*ouverture et enracinement*, 156  
 as palimpsest, 35, 252  
 as project, 27, 29,  
 racial essentialism, 19  
 return to origins, 33  
 reconciliation, 97–9  
 traces of, 99, 251  
 untimeliness, 215, 248–9  
 untimely visions, 17, 215  
 universal civilization, 27, 105, 245  
 universal humanism, 30,  
 utopia, 106, 245–9  
 world civilization, 25
- Neoliberalism, 207–8  
 Niang Siga, Fatou, 109  
 Niasse, Ibrahim, 239  
 Njami, Simon, 246  
 Nkrumah, Kwame, 15, 44  
 Nora, Pierre, 182  
 Nostalgia, 8–9, 25, 30–1, 36, 115, 137, 209, 245  
 Afro-nostalgia, 31–2, 204–9  
 colonial, 37, 108, 137, 188, 205, 209  
 for modernity, 210  
 practical, 109,  
 restorative nostalgia, 138  
 as utopia, 139  
 as repair, 32
- Nyerere, Julius, 15
- Obama, Barack, 13, 42, 72, 97  
 Obama, Michelle, 72, 102
- Padmore, George, 15  
 Pan-Africanism, 14, 19–25, 43, 96, 199, 208, 215, 241  
 African nationalism, 13, 30

## 288 Index

- Pan-Africanism (cont.)  
 African Renaissance, 19, 21, 24, 31, 98, 200, 248  
 African Socialism, 251  
 Africa's sixth region, 97, 199  
 Afro-centrism, 248  
 Afro-nationalism, 152, 155–7, 159  
 Afro-radicalism, 13, 62  
 anti-colonialism, 14, 22, 36, 152, 173  
 cultural politics, 19  
 decolonization, 14  
 dreams, 15, 190  
 future, 14, 25, 195  
 as heritage, 249  
 House of Slaves, 61  
 imagination, 31, 251  
 liberation, as, 22, 30  
 legacies of, 30–1, 192, 248  
 monuments, 165  
 neoliberalism, 24  
 Organization of African Unity, 16  
*Parti Africain de l'Indépendance*, 152  
 performance of, 19  
 political ideology, 13  
 registers of, 248  
 system of education, 190  
 utopia, 251–2
- Parker, Henry, 217
- Performance, 19, 35, 51, 68–70, 74, 92, 98, 104, 121–2, 126–7, 130–1, 138–40, 158, 161–3, 174, 183, 228, 235  
*see also* Fanal, impersonation
- Oscar des Vacances, 174
- People's Republic of China, 203, 213, 238
- Pérez Bravo, Marta Maria, 241
- Philippe, Édouard, 232, 237
- Postcolonialism  
 culture, 19  
 disenchantment, 17  
 emplotment, 17  
 re-employment, 18  
 Romance, 18  
 tragedy, 18
- Postcolony, 14, 175  
 disappointment, 14,  
 failure, 17  
 liberation, 30, 249  
 promise, 14–15  
 ruination, 249
- Prayer of Emergency, 140–64  
 agency, 160  
 anti-colonialism, 154  
 charter, 153  
 commemoration, 140–64  
 counter-memory, 151  
 cultural week (*semaine culturelle*), 155  
 education, 155  
 foundation, 149–55  
 hierarchy, 141–2  
*magal*, 141, 145, 163  
 Prayer of Two *Rakhas*, 140, 144  
 privy council, 150
- Promey, Sally, 228
- Promise, *see* Time
- Public space, 143  
 public sphere, 5, 10, 73, 87  
 remembrance, 161
- Quatre communes*, 8, 125, 181
- Race, 10, 20, 29, 36, 73–103, 130, 144–6, 157, 218, 239–44  
 interracial heritage, 129, 137  
 interracial relations, 86  
 nativism, 82  
 mixed-race, 75–87  
 mixing, 75, 79, 85–6, 100, 218  
 racial injustice, 242  
 racialization, 22, 75–6, 105, 157  
 racism, 10, 36, 101, 170, 227, 234  
 White domination, 241  
 Whites, 88, 94, 118, 149
- Ramírez Vázquez, Pedro, 215
- Reconciliation, 73–103  
 interracial, 102  
 and forgiveness, 10–11, 99  
 politics of, 238  
 postcolonial, 237  
 register of, 237, 239  
 ritual, 237
- Re-enactment, *see* Memory
- Reinhardt, Catherine, 101
- Religion, 239–44
- Repair, 38, 100, 167, 216, 233–44  
 apologies, 11  
 atonement, 71  
 ethical relation, 213  
*métissage* and, 100  
 modes of, 234  
 mourning, 71  
 nostalgia as, 32, 138  
 overcoming, 59  
 promise of, 236  
 poetics of, 239  
 politics of, 213, 239  
 reclamation of the self, 32  
 recognition, 168, 176, 181, 235, 241  
*see also* reconciliation  
 registers of, 243  
 reparations, 73, 99–100

- reparatory justice, 34, 69  
 relational ethics, 236–9  
 temporality of, 18, 29–36  
*see also* technique of temporality  
 victimage discourse, 99  
 work of, 235  
 Republic of Taiwan, 203  
 Restitution, 38, 211, 230–9  
   *Realpolitik*, 239  
   relational ethics, 236–9  
   as repair, 233–9  
 Restitution Report, 37, 211, 231–9  
 Revolution  
   French, 10–11, 16, 43, 46, 145, 183  
   Haitian, 18, 43  
 Rhodes, Cecil, 165  
 Richard, François, 218  
 Ricou, Xavier, 84  
 Rivière, Georges-Henri, 215, 225  
 Rodney, Walter, 62  
 Roger, Baron, 118, 120  
 Rothberg, Michael, 11, 42, 68  
   *see* subjectivity, implicated  
   *see* memory, multi-directional  
 ruination, 37, 50, 187–210, 249  
  
 Saint-Louis, 3–12, 28, 36, 46–8, 76, 79, 82,  
   86, 104–38, 140–64, 185  
   architectural heritage, 106–38, 140  
   *Baya Ndar*, 9  
   Bridge Faidherbe, 7, 142  
   *Bureau du Patrimoine*, 108  
   cityscape, 107  
   colonial capital, 155  
   colonial city, 145  
   conservation policy, 106–8  
   *see also* creole, creolization  
   elite, 155; *see also* Fanal, nobles  
   Faïdherbe Square, 9, 104, 117, 121, 124,  
     126, 129, 136, 139, 142  
   *see also* Fanal  
   Governor's Palace, 117, 136, 140, 142,  
     153, 158  
   Great Mosque, 152  
   *habitants*, 107  
   hierarchical society, 130, 137  
   heritagization, 107  
   *Le Partenariat*, 108  
   *see also* Prayer of Emergency  
   sabre of El Hadj Oumar Tall, 230–9  
 Sall, Macky, 207, 212, 215, 232  
 Samb, Djibril, 63  
 Sankara, Thomas, 13  
 Sarr, Felwine, 211, 222, 224, 232  
 Savoy, Bénédicte, 211  
  
 Schmidt, Nelly, 46  
 Schoelcher, Victor, 46–7  
 Sébikotane, 186, 190  
 Sebi Ponty, 190  
 Seck, Assane, 194, 209  
 Seck, Tapha, 149  
 Self-determination, 15, 20, 26, 47, 50, 68  
 Senegal,  
   art world, 23  
   Catholic Church, 78  
   citizenship, 159, 181, 187  
   colonial history, 105, 142, 159, 178  
   conservation policy, 50, 108  
   cultural policy, 17  
   Democratic Party of Senegal (PDS), 171  
   Emerging Senegal Plan, 207  
   founding father, 158  
   government, 149  
   hospitality (*téranga*), 85  
   *see also* Islam  
   National Assembly, 179  
   National Radio and Television Station  
     (RTS), 143  
   *see also* national independence  
   national narrative, 175  
   nation-state, 163  
   *see also* Negritude  
   *see also* Senghor  
   social contract, 149  
   sociality, 130, 141  
   'true independence', 183  
   Senegambia, 217  
 Scott, David, 17  
*Signares*, 36, 48, 75–81, 102, 104–38  
   chastity, 118  
   extraversion, 135  
   *see* Fanal  
   heritage of, 82–7, 105  
   history of, 75–81  
   impersonation, 85, 102  
   ostentation, 135  
   *see also* Senghor  
   *see also* slave trade  
 Second World War, 15, 26, 46, 50, 84, 91,  
   148, 159, 168–81, 218, 247  
 Sembène, Ousmane, 170  
 Senghor, Léopold Sédar, v, xi, 10, 13,  
   16–25, 29–30, 37, 39, 47, 98, 152,  
   156, 160, 165, 201, 241, 245–51  
   African heritage, 25–8  
   cultural dialogue, 98  
   cultural politics, 23, 66  
   diplomacy, 125  
   First World Festival of Negro Arts,  
     18–25, 98

## 290 Index

- Senghor, Léopold Sédar (cont.)  
 and future, 245–51  
 House of Slaves, 47, 66  
 independence, 16–25  
 legacies of, 24  
 Léopold Sédar Senghor Award, 246  
*métissage*, 86, 105, 125  
 and Murids, 156, 162  
 and Museum of Black Civilizations,  
 211–23, 241,  
 and Negritude, 10, 245–51; *see also*  
 Negritude  
 politics, 125, 152  
 reconciliation, 75  
 reclaiming the past, 241  
*Signares*, 86, 105, 125  
 and *Tirailleurs*, 165.1, fn 13: 170, 172,  
 174, 190, 195
- Shonibare, Yinka, 241
- Slavery,  
 abolition, 44, 46, 148  
 citizenship, 44  
 and colonialism, 46  
 domestic, 73, 105, 176  
 emancipation, 46–7, 51  
 inequality, 75  
 invisibility, 96  
 post-slavery, 177  
 slave societies, 110  
 traces of, 242
- Slave trade, 28, 43–53, 73–103, 105, 109  
 dystopia, 251  
 figures of, 63  
 inhumanity of, 57  
 legacies of, 73–4, 102, 242  
 Middle Passage, 51, 58, 67, 84, 94  
 recognition of, 42  
 slave depot, 82  
 spectres of, 40, 62  
 transatlantic culture, 111  
 transatlantic memory of, 43  
 trans-Saharan, 242  
 trauma, 242
- Slave trade, commemoration of, 41–2, 47,  
 73  
 abolition, 177  
 African American pilgrims, 44, 51, 97,  
 commemoration of, 41–2  
 forgetting, 73, 98, 101  
 Ghana, 44  
 hauntings of, 243  
 homecoming, 44  
 home tours, 46, 58  
 International Day for the Remembrance of  
 the Slave Trade and its Abolition, 177  
 and Negritude, 66  
 silence, 74  
 slave forts, 44  
 spectacles of return, 45  
 spectacles of slavery, 73  
 Statue of the Liberation from Slavery (*La  
 Statue de la Libération de l'Esclavage*),  
 87–90
- Spectres, 15, 171  
 modernity, 40  
 slave trade, 40, 243
- St Christopher, 249–51
- Stewart, Susan, 134
- Stoler, Ann Laura, 32, 101
- Stone circle Sinthiou Ngayène, 217
- Straker, Jay, 30
- Subjectivity, 29, 34, 115, 126, 128, 130,  
 134, 161, 163, 213  
 decolonial subjectivity, 164  
 implicated subjects, 11, 71  
 implicated subjectivity, 11, 41, 71, 75,  
 102  
 subjectivation, 29, 115, 126, 136–7, 161  
 subjects, colonial, 11, 16, 101, 114, 126,  
 130, 145–6, 157, 168, 181–2, 220,  
 247  
 subjects, postcolonial, 166
- Sufi order, *see* Islam
- Sy, Oumou, 117, 120, 122, 128
- Sy, Malick El Hadj, 226
- Tall, Ahmadou Saïdou, 231, 238
- Tall, El Hadj Oumar, 231
- Taubira, Christiane, 87  
*Loi Taubira*, 73, 87
- Technique of temporality, 32–3, 58, 60,  
 103, 129, 163–4, 182  
 and responsibility, 129
- Temporality, 188, 209  
 hope, 99  
 messianism, 251  
 myth of return, 31  
 politics of, 116  
 promise, 206, 251  
 Promised Land, 251  
 repair, 29–35  
 ruination, 209  
 shared, 100  
*see also* technique of temporality
- Théâtre Daniel Sorano, 21
- The Gambia, 217
- Thiaroye, 170, 174
- Thiaw, Ibrahima, 83
- Thioubo, Ibrahima, 73
- Thomas, Deborah, 34

- Tillet, Salamishah, 44  
 Time, 33, 36, 163–4, 219–25; *see also*  
 decolonization  
 belated, 30  
 choreographies of time, 38  
 decolonization of, 163–4  
 discontinuity, 33  
 ethnographic present, 220  
*see also* future  
 global time, 164  
*see also* hope  
 linear time, 58, 210  
 monumental time, 7, 166  
*see also* nostalgia  
 progress, 18, 27, 219  
 promise, 14–15, 18, 29–31, 130, 183,  
 188, 198, 209, 211, 245, 247, 251  
 secular, 142  
 teleology, 33  
 time of the world (*le temps du monde*),  
 224  
 undecided present, 246  
 untimeliness, 36, 248  
*Tirailleurs sénégalais*, 4, 37, 46, 50, 158–9,  
 167–83  
 blood debt, 37, 167–76  
 camp de Thiaroye, 170  
 choreography, 175  
 collaboration, 173  
 conscripts, 37  
 Day of the *Tirailleur* (*Journée du*  
*Tirailleur*), 169–82  
 Demba and Dupont, *see* monument  
 media, 169–83  
 mutiny, 170  
 pensions, 168–74  
*Place du Tirailleur*, 173, 246  
 press, 169–83  
 recognition, 176, 178, 181–3  
 recruitment, 159, 176, 181  
 rights, 177–8, 181  
 sacrifice, 181  
*see also* Senghor  
 veterans (*Anciens Combattants*), 168–81  
 Touba, 163  
 Touré, Sékou, 16, 21, 30  
 Tourism, 7, 71, 82, 88, 91, 95, 106, 108,  
 122, 137  
 extraversion, 95  
 guidebook, 91  
 inequality, 95  
 roots tourism, 44, 73, 97  
 tour guides, 91, 99  
 Tousignant, Naomi, 210  
 Tukulor Empire, 231  
 Uncomfortable truth, 176, 243  
 UNESCO, 25–9, 34, 152, 219  
 decolonization, 27  
 House of Slaves, 39–71, 75, 90, 102  
 Intangible Cultural Heritage, 28, 137  
 memorial politics, 54  
 Memory of the World Register, 186  
 parallel projects, 25  
 self-determination, 26, 68  
 Slave Route Project, 70  
 World Citizenship, 25  
 world civilization, 26, 28  
 World Heritage, 4, 25–9, 39–71, 75, 104,  
 106–8, 140, 142  
 World Heritage List, 27–8, 106, 214,  
 216–17  
 world-making, 25–7  
 University of the African Future, 37,  
 185–209  
 academic excellence, 197  
 collaboration, 197  
 economic development, 198  
 elite education, 198, 209  
 regeneration, 197  
 skills, 199, 206  
 University Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow, 208  
 Utopia, 17, 139, 187–209, 245–52  
 decolonial world, 29  
 and dystopia, 69  
 intercultural dialogue, 98  
 ‘never again’, 36  
 ruins of, 185–210  
 untimely, 245–52  
 United Africa, 30  
 universal civilization, 28, 245  
 Utopianism, 29, 69, 72, 183, 199, 239  
 ambitions, 247  
 belated, 30–1  
 imagination, 30, 32, 249  
 postcolonial, 210  
 promise, 31  
 retrospective, 25  
 tragedy, 28  
 untimely visions, 17  
 world-making, 15, 25  
 Valente-Quinn, Brian, fn 3: 186  
 Van Gennep, Arnold, 141  
 Vansina, Jan, 68  
 Vergès, Françoise, 101  
 victim and perpetrator, 178, 235  
 Wade, Abdoulaye  
 African Renaissance, 24, 248  
 African Renaissance Monument, 249–51

## 292 Index

- Wade, Abdoulaye (cont.)  
 anniversary of national independence, 14  
 election, 162  
 FESMAN, 24  
 Murid disciple, 162  
 Museum of Black Civilizations, 211–15  
 Africa's sixth region, 97  
 patron of *fanal*, 125  
*Tirailleurs sénégalais*, 37, 166–83  
 University of the African Future,  
 186–209  
 Wade, Madické, 151, 153  
 Ware, Rudolph T., 229  
 Welle, Malick, 114, 134  
 Wilder, Gary, 16, 34, 248  
 William Ponty School, 37, 185–210  
 African elite, 190, 193, 195, 209  
 auto-ethnography, 186  
 brain drain, 200  
 education, 185–209  
 Pan-Africanism, 205  
 pedagogy, 191, 209  
 Ponty notebooks, 185  
 relocation, 190  
 'return-to-the-soil', 190  
 ruins, 186, 206  
 school buildings, 186  
 'spirit of excellence', 196  
 utopian complex, 201, 203  
 workshops, 202  
 Williams, Eric, 15  
 Wolof, 8  
 X, Malcom, 44  
 Žižek, Slavoj, 32