Historical and Dialectical Perspectives on the Archaeology of Complexity in the Siin-Saalum (Senegal): Back to the Future?

François G. Richard

Abstract Drawing on recent critiques of evolutionism, this article reviews the history of Iron Age studies in Siin-Saalum (Senegal) to examine the construction of African archaeological knowledge. From the 19th century to the 1980's, analyses of complexity in Senegal have been animated by developmentalist views that have portrayed the regional past as a stagnant backwater. In the past 25 years, however, archaeological research has sought to redress these inaccuracies by exploring the diversity and idiosyncrasy of African histories, and the processes behind sociopolitical change. These critical agendas can help us exploit the analytic potential of material culture to reincorporate African societies into the stream of world history, and to use the African past to reevaluate current scenarios of complexity and their applicability to various regions of the globe. To achieve these goals, however, and develop a fully self-reflexive archaeology in Senegal, researchers must eschew moral celebrations of African distinctness and strive instead to document how local pasts owe their particular qualities to complex political-economic articulations with other world societies. Concurrently, we must also attend to the dynamics of historical production in and out of guild circles, and consider our entanglement in the making of contemporary 'culture wars.' Because it is ideally suited to probe the historical and material depth of cultural differences and inequalities, archaeology must take a leading role in dispelling essentialist readings of Africa and promoting democratic knowledges about the continent.

Résumé S'inspirant du récent regard critique sur l'évolutionnisme, cette article examine la construction de la connaissance archéologique de l'Afrique à la lumière de l'histoire des études de l'Âge du Fer au Siin-Saalum (Sénégal). Entre le 19e siècle et les années 1980, l'analyse de la complexité au Sénégal a été dominée par des idées développementalistes, qui ont fait un portrait statique du passé régional. Néanmoins, au cours des 25 dernières années, la recherche archéologique s'est efforcée de

F. G. Richard (✉)
Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago, IL 60637, USA
e-mail: fgrichard@uchicago.edu

redresser ces erreurs en étudiant la diversité et les caractéristiques propres aux histoires africaines, et en retraçant les dynamiques de leurs changements socio-politiques. Ces nouveaux courants théoriques sont intéressants parce qu'ils s'appuient sur la culture matérielle pour réintégrer les sociétés africaines dans la mouvance de l'histoire mondiale, et sur le passé africain pour tester la pertinence des scénarios de complexité en usage et leur application à d'autres régions du globe. Pour atteindre ces objectifs, et contribuer au développement d'une archéologie plus autocritique, il est toutefois nécessaire de pousser la réflexion archéologique au delà d'un éloge moral des anciennes 'cultures' africaines et s'attacher plutôt à comprendre comment le passé africain s'est construit au cours d'une longue histoire d'intéractions économiques et politiques avec les sociétés du monde. En même temps, nous devons examiner les rouages de la production historique, tant à l'intérieur qu' à l'extérieur des carcans disciplinaires, afin de mieux cerner notre position dans les 'guerres de culture' qui sillonnent notre quotidien. Parce que l'archéologie est capable de sonder les fondements historiques des différences et des inégalités culturelles, elle doit jouer un rôle majeur dans la critique des lectures essentialistes de l'Afrique et la promotion de savoirs démocratiques pour le continent.

Introduction

The past 20 years of archaeological research in Africa have spawned an increasing concern with the 'future.' This forward-looking stance no doubt developed from a keen awareness of the conditions of scientific research in Africa, to the pulse of political, economic and social forces that often elude the archaeologist's control (Posnansky 1982; Shaw 1989: 19, 22; Musonda 1990; Ellison et al. 1996; Hassan 1999). As worldwide economic flows and imbalances in resource distribution bedevil continental destinies (Ferguson 2006), so the realities of the present influence archaeological possibilities and the courses of action required to improve the study and management of local pasts (McIntosh 1993b; Schmidt and McIntosh 1996; Kibunjia 1997; Shaw 1997; Mabulla 2000; MacEachern 2001a; Kankpeyeng and DeCorse 2004). More elusively perhaps, power inequalities have also played themselves out subjectively, by structuring how people have thought and written about Africa (Mudimbe 1988, 1994). Power, overtly or not, has inevitably crept into historical discourse at the various moments of its production (Trouillot 1995, 2003), and politically constructed pasts in turn have had profound impacts on the experiences of Africans. Because they call into question the authority and *raison d'être* of archaeological research, these developments have offered a new salvo of challenges to disciplinary futures.

Faced with the intensification of ethnic politics in Africa, the resurgence of Afrocentrism outside the continent (Bates et al. 1993: xi–xii; Holl 1995: 198–204), as well as the post-modern celebration of polyvocality and identities (Meskell 2002), archaeologists have begun to pay more critical attention to the implications of their work in the present, thus opening a Pandora's box of concerns: issues of authorship and ownership of the past, conflicting histories mirroring the interests of con-

temporary groups, and new questions about the responsibility of researchers toward their host communities (Ellison et al. 1996; Sowumni 1997; Stahl 2001, 2005b; Shepherd 2002). Multiple versions of history, painted in the colors of the present, have eclipsed what researchers once heralded as a single objective past (Reid and Lane 2004). Growing awareness of the constructed nature of history has also encouraged archaeologists to reflect on their own position, especially the role which unspoken assumptions have played in shaping archaeological narratives. Increasingly, archaeologists have focused on disciplinary pasts to understand how shopworn mythologies served as foundations for both our data and interpretations, and helped perpetuate visions of non-Western societies rooted in imperialist imagery (Amselle 1990; Robertshaw 1990; Andah 1995a, 1995b; Holl 1995; Stahl 1999b). These historical insights have laid critical ground for assessing the effects of Eurocentric thinking on our research, and imagining new directions for tomorrow's agendas.

Drawing from these new orientations, the present essay offers a historiographic reflection on the archaeology of complexity in the Siin-Saalum (Fig. 1), seeking to assess how the contours of knowledge and inquiry in this province of west-central Senegal have been shaped by a powerful blend of intellectual, disciplinary, and political economic forces. While modest in size, the Siin-Saalum possesses a rich landscape of Iron Age remains, forming a pointillist canvas of earthen tumuli, shell mounds and megalithic circles (Martin and Becker 1978a, 1978b). These vestiges provide some of the earliest expressions of 'complexity' in the Senegambia, and have aroused considerable scientific interest over the past century-and-a-half (Becker and Martin 1982b; McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b). In trying to elucidate the
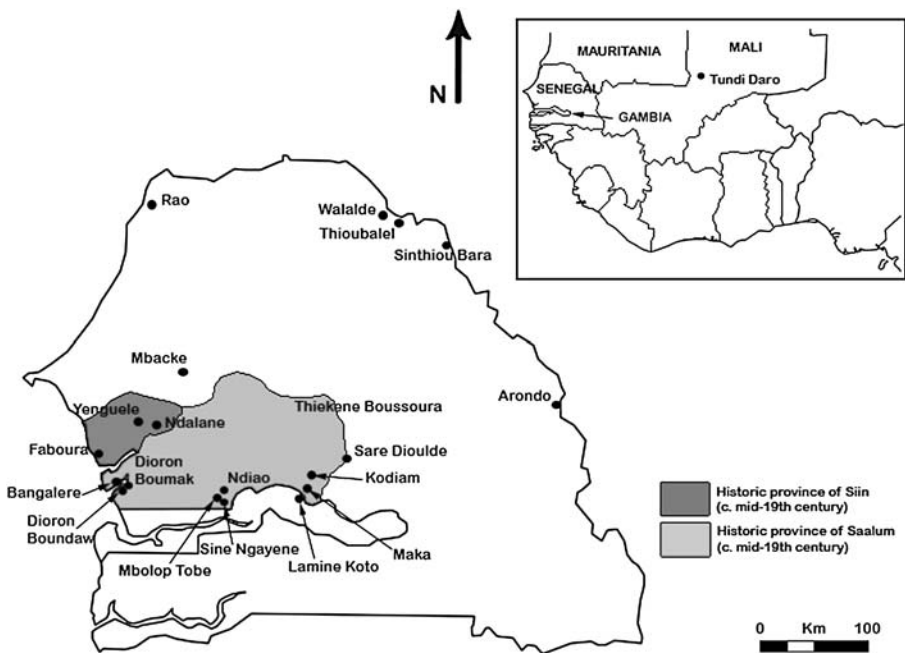

Fig. 1 The Siin-Saalum area of Senegal: Important Iron Age locales

monumental past, regional archaeological traditions have been influenced by tools, methods, and ideas bequeathed by broader archaeological spheres, just as they have remained sensitive to intellectual discourses ranging beyond archaeology *per se*. Thus, in unraveling the 'genealogy' of Iron Age studies in Siin-Saalum, the present discussion inevitably considers the broader discourses of Senegalese, Francophone, Euro-American and Africanist archaeology.

The history of archaeology in the Siin-Saalum presents a fascinating complement to the recent reappraisal of evolutionary perspectives and complexity models within the discipline (Crumley 1987; Marquardt and Crumley 1987; Kopytoff 1987; Paynter 1989; McGuire 1992; Gamble 1993; Shennan 1993; Yoffee 1993, 2005; McIntosh 1994, 1999b; Ehrenreich et al. 1995; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Arnold 1996; McIntosh 1998a; Stahl 2001; Chapman 2003). Echoing this critique, I argue that the classifications, cultural sequences, and interpretations ordering Siin-Saalum's archaeological record have betrayed a profound, if at times unconscious, commitment to progressivist views of evolution (Stahl 1999b). Flourishing under the colonial mindset, developmentalist assumptions have silently endured into the post-independence era, where they have merged with hyper-diffusionist and historical-empiricist ideas to portray regional complexity in ways that worked to estrange Africans from their own histories and cultural heritages (e.g., Hall 1984; Gamble 1993; McIntosh et al. 1993; Stahl 1993; Andah 1995a, 1995b; Schmidt 1995; Pwiti and Ndioro 1999). Since the 1980's, however, Senegal has been the theater of important archaeological developments that have sought to address evolutionist legacies. In their effort to explore, rather than stamp out, diversity in the material record of past societies, and retrieve African historicities, these new investigative stances have produced 'alternative histories' that have challenged Hegelian portrayals of Africa at the margin of world history (Schmidt and Patterson 1995). Researchers have strived to recuperate the dynamic qualities of the African past, and demonstrate the distinctive and creative forms of social organization that materialized on the continent (e.g., McIntosh 1999b). More broadly, by refuting the need to import external models to interpret the African past, they have raised the possibility of upsetting the geography of historical production by using African perspectives on complexity to reevaluate our views of social evolution worldwide (McIntosh 1999b; cf. Bates et al. 1993; Bernault 1999).

Invaluable and stimulating though it has been, this agenda for more critical and respectful readings of the African past remains underwritten by a particular set of preoccupations, research priorities, and intellectual contingencies, which give a necessarily partial slant to its analytical insights. Thus, the focus on diversity, forms of African complexity, and academic discussions of political evolution has directed our attention to a circumscribed range of interpretive possibilities, enabling certain understandings and putting others on hold. Emerging trends in Africanist research (Stahl 2001, 2002, 2004a, 2004b; also DeCorse 2001; Kusimba and Kusimba 2003; Reid and Lane 2004; Mitchell 2005; MacEachern 2005; Stahl 2005a) and recent political-economic analyses of the production of history and culture (Marquardt 1992; Cohen 1994; Trouillot 1995, 2003; Harvey 1996; di Leonardo 1998; Mitchell 1996; Wurst 1999; McGuire et al. 2001) contribute a powerful array of relational tools and methodologies for assessing and expanding the achievements of the 1980's and 1990's, while mapping new thematic terrains into which to venture.

Knowledge, Critique, and Action: Dialectical Thoughts on African Archaeology

As Terence Ranger (1978: 100) long ago recognized, historiography is, inevitably perhaps, "an exercise in smugness, in knowing better than one's predecessors by dint of standing on their shoulders." There is an indelible element of violence that flows from critiquing perspectives that necessarily exceed in complexity and nuance one's renditions of them, no matter how attentive the scholar. My goal was not to condemn or devalue past research — a risky project indeed, precariously built on one's indebtedness to the work of previous authors. Rather my intention is more exploratory: to use the excellent work accumulating in other parts of Africa, and see how it might apply to my research area and help to imagine what the next stage might be in reconstructions of the regional past. In this respect, I aim for the kind of critical analysis recently articulated by Stahl (2005b: 15): "to explore the preoccupations and assumptions that framed [previous] research; to assess the quality and veracity of evidence used to sustain understandings of Africa's past; and to chart emerging research directions and questions that can help surmount limitation and build on strengths of earlier work" (also Stahl 1999b: 49). I hope that this essay lives up to these commitments, and that it does justice to a diverse corpus of research, whose most enduring legacy is the creation of an intellectual space favorable to the development of new questions, perspectives, and constructive conversations about the archaeological past of Senegambia.

Before turning to Siin-Saalum's archaeology, I will thus begin by discussing some of the ideas — about what a successful archaeology might do, the methodologies that can help us achieve these results, and how knowledge is produced — that structure the following historical essay. Several conceptual threads, that can be described as dialectical, political-economic, and Marxian, are woven together to outline a critical framework for reading and practicing archaeology in African contexts. Like any intellectual perspective, this agenda variously illuminates *and* obscures its object of study. A central argument of this essay, however, is that one way to come to terms with our own partialities, and to become accountable for the research we produce, is to make our assumptions, methodologies and political commitments as transparent as possible. By giving our audiences the tools to interrogate why and how particular arguments are made, we facilitate the development of new insights and relevant knowledges. Only in soliciting such critical engagement can we keep the making of lived and intellectual pasts a productive exchange, an open-ended construction project.

Underlying the present perspective is the proposition that a productive, self-reflexive archaeological practice consists of three interrelated poles of activity (McGuire et al. 2001): (1) the study of lived pasts through empirical evidence (knowledge); (2) the assessment of past and current perspectives to generate new understandings (critique); and (3) the use of critically informed archaeological insights to enact social or political changes in the present (action). Although they will be discussed separately, these are of course not definable 'moments' *per se*, but simultaneous processes that constantly implicate each other in the production of archaeological knowledge. Thus, while this essay is primarily an exercise in critical historiography, it is informed by the other 'moments' — both upstream, as the analysis flows from a distinct view on how the material past should be studied, and downstream, as it attempts to spell out orientations that contribute new insights into

the Senegalese past. The interplay of empirical evidence, critique and praxis, forms the ground on which socially useful knowledges can be (trans)formed to accommodate new intellectual and political challenges.

The present framework also rests on a bedrock of relational assumptions regarding how the world operates and how to reach a relevant understanding of it. It starts from the conviction that our traditional objects of study — 'culture,' 'society,' 'communities,' 'polities,' 'the state,' etc. — have a tendency to mischaracterize the social worlds they seek to portray (Wolf 1998: 3–7). Because we tend to objectify these abstractions as 'things' or bounded entities, as real social actors or causes in their own right, we tend to overlook their embeddedness in history, economy, and power, and forget that they are actually *processes*, always made and unmade in the maelstrom of social relationships that connect humans through time and space (Harvey 1996: 48–57; Ollman 1993: 11–12; Trouillot 2003). Such stances become particularly pernicious when 'culture,' 'ways of life,' or 'traditions' — glossed in unchanging, ahistorical terms — become explanatory shorthands for some aspect of non-Western experiences (di Leonardo 1998: 132; also Mitchell 1996). More revealing is a mode of analysis which seeks to probe beneath the stable façade of 'culture,' society or 'history' to retrieve the shifting fields of relations that created and transformed social realities (Wilmsen 1989; Orser 1996; Wilmsen and McAllister 1996; Wolf 1998). Social trajectories, moreover, are never spun in untrammeled fashion, but entangled in wider worlds of power and domination. Bringing into light the inner workings of social systems thus implies a concern with power and its tracery, to take account of how political asymmetries and socioeconomic inequalities influence the directions of historical change, and how these dynamics get undermined or negotiated in the course of social action (Roseberry 1989). In truth, human experience cannot be fully grasped outside of the political economic contexts that nurtured it (Wilmsen 1989: xii).

In calling attention to the emergence of Africa's societies at the confluence of local and global histories, a relational, political-economic perspective suggests a strategic redefinition of the continent's relationship to history (e.g., Mitchell 2005). Rather than trapping precolonial pasts in the timeless amber of authentic customs and traditions, examining African populations as nodes in wider networks of relationships, spanning localities, regions, and nations, enables us to reaffirm their profoundly historical roots (Cooper 1993; Wolf 1998: 40, 229–231). On the one hand, by showing that Africa's fates reflect variable responses to the geopolitical processes that have framed the pasts of other world areas, the continent can no longer be denied an active part in the drama of world history. On the other hand, careful studies of the shaping of individual settings provide a safeguard against false images of cultural stillness, training attention to the profound changes that have remodeled Africa's landscapes over the centuries. This being said, we should resist the temptation to fetishize African experiences as 'nothing but change.' Condensing Africa's encounter with the world-system to a grand narrative of disintegration not only belittles local historicities, but it also effectively consigns cultural agency to the marginalia of history. Moreover, these scenarios appeal to instrumental views of change as disruptive, when the advent of change needs not imply departure from earlier courses of action (Stahl 1998: 10). Africa's track record of entanglement with the outside world is indeed replete with stories of foreign objects and ideas turned to

domestic usages and the maintenance of existing relations (e.g., DeCorse 2001; Stahl 2002; see also Appadurai 1986; Thomas 1991). The tempo and direction of continental experiences cannot be assumed *a priori* (Mbembe 2001); rather, local historicities must be addressed as empirical questions tied to specific historical contexts (Stahl 1994), and attention trained to the shifting expressions of change and continuity over time (Ollman 1993: 12).

The degree to which we might successfully capture the motions and causes of African histories rests on our ability to attend to *both products* and *processes*, *both* the forms of social life and its underside. The first step is to recognize that our analyses cannot solely rest on documenting what ancient lifestyles may have been like, but must also attend to the *making* of past realities. Our objective, in other words, should be to understand *how* and *why* particular pasts emerge while others do not, to isolate the particular conditions responsible for the crystallization of certain social arrangements and the demise of others (Ollman 1993: 31). Of course, while no archaeological knowledge is foreseeable without understanding what people did, made, ate, or traded, how communities were organized, their mortuary practices, etc., we should also remember that artifact patterns, ceramic phases, intra-site spatial structure, settlement systems, or sociopolitical models *per se* remain synchronic snapshots of life at particular moments of the past; *sui generis*, they largely fail to confront why change takes place at certain times and in certain compartment of social existence while it does not at others. To set these period-bound images in historical motion, and grasp the forces moving them, it is necessary to view patterns diachronically and examine *qualitative and quantitative variations of material arrangements over time and across spatial contexts*, from the excavation square to the survey region (Crumley 1987: 164). This back-and-forth between various scales of patterning affords two crucial insights: (1) it permits the construction of 'cartographies' of change (modifying Stahl 2002: 835) that retrace the historical fates of past material worlds; (2) in identifying disjunctures and persistences in various dimensions of past societies, these cartographies provide a platform to interrogate the historical forces framing social trends (McGuire 1992: 146; Wurst 1999: 17).

An awareness of political-economic connections also frames our approaches to historical determination in Africa. A relational lens points to the long history of continental involvement with wider systems of objects and ideas — trans-Saharan and Atlantic economies, Indian Ocean commercial networks and linkages to Asian commodity markets, expanding worlds of Islam and Christianity, colonial empires and global capitalism — acknowledging the profound effects of these networks on local trajectories of change (Insoll 2003; Mitchell 2005; Stahl 2004b). The encounter with unfamiliar peoples and new forms of association reshaped African cultural sensibilities, social networks, and modes of organization. It was also a moment of active cultural production, where foreign objects and existing practices meshed to weave new values and behaviors, reframing the terms of production, consumption, and exchange at home and abroad (Stahl 2002; also Dietler 1998). In enabling certain courses of action and foreclosing others, global encounters at times opened the way to innovation, curtailing the repertoire of social possibilities at other times, while simultaneously eroding knowledges and relations that once oriented African societies (Stahl 2004a: 258; also David and Sterner 1999: 98–99). Our challenge is

then to account for this legacy of 'turbulence and loss' in the making of African histories (Stahl 2004a: 258, following J. Guyer).

Archaeology surely has much to offer to the understanding of these complex dynamics, precisely because material landscapes are so sensitive to the work of political economic forces (Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Lefèbvre 1991; Gosden 1994; Fisher and Thurston 1999; Smith 2003). The material world is both a social product and the medium through which cultural existence is made and remade. As such, archaeological landscapes embody the diverse array of forces and experiences — local, regional, and global — that took part in their making. They also grant us access to the *longue-durée* of human activities and the multiple temporalities, sometimes imperceptible to human agents, that regulate social existence (McGlade 1999: 155–156; Murray 1999). Attention to these different social scales enables us to (1) chart reversals, intensifications, diversions, and permanences in various compartments of social life (settlement strategies, political organization, craft and industrial production, subsistence, consumption practices, technological capacity) and among classes of material culture, and (2) help us map qualitative pictures of change that capture local historicities in their broader context (e.g., Pauketat 2004).

The frequent lack of integration between our scales of inquiry, however, often gets in the way of fully multi-scalar readings of ancient African societies (see LaViolette and Fleisher 2005, for a related argument). Data collected at different levels tend to be consigned to separate realms of analysis, and become grounds for the reconstruction of some exclusive aspects of the past: Thus, survey data inform broad discussions of settlement strategies, demographic trends, and political modeling, while site-level studies take up more local issues of chronology, subsistence economy, trade, craft production through time, daily life — with few linkages between the two levels of analysis, beyond temporal elaborations. To some extent, scale, region, and site have become reified at the expense of the relations between them. This scalar division of labor raises a number of problems for archaeological analysis: (1) it clearly stands in the way of processual understandings of the past, if we understand of social process as lying where scales *intersect*, in the form of disjunctures and linkages between the experiences of individuals, social groups, communities, polities, and regions (Stein 2002); (2) in encouraging to match sets of research questions with singular data scales — as when viewing complexity chiefly through the lens of regions, or village life through sites — this perspective limits the multiscalar insights of archaeological landscapes. The problem is that no single level of analysis will ever exhaust or 'explain' a particular dimension of society; instead scales afford *partial insights* into social experience and the terrains on which it unfolds. Rather than pairing scale and process, we should decouple them and multiply the windows from which we look at the past; (3) parsing the past into discrete domains of social production risks reproducing the binary schemas — local vs. supralocal, comparativism vs. particularism,, structure vs. process, political superstructure vs. cultural practice — which a relational perspective tries to overcome (Stahl 1998, 2004a); (4) finally, this approach to scale is animated by a distinct 'additive' logic (Trouillot 1995: 48–53; Stahl 2001: 33), in assuming that regional and site-level data can be fitted together like the pieces of a historical jigsaw. Material repertoires at different scales, however, do not encode snapshots of

the world as it once was. There is a productive instability to scale: its contours can be contracted or expanded; it highlights certain relations and patterns, just as it masquerades others. An additive approach to data sets unfortunately freezes this dynamism, obscuring the sutures and faultlines between them. It also fails to acknowledge that scales are significant not only for what they reveal, but also for what they obscure, for the contradictions they embody, the disjunctures they can point to in lived histories.

A *supplemental* approach (Stahl 2001: 31–36; also Dirks 1996: 34–36), by contrast, begins with tensions and partialities, and seeks to integrate them through confrontation. It is no longer a matter of stitching discrete scales together, but of triangulating between various levels of evidence, using their strengths and weaknesses to reveal imbalances in our historical knowledge. In this perspective, scale becomes central to our inquiries and methodologies, and orients our search for historical process across different bodies of evidence. Because Africa's past was molded by a complex set of forces and agencies, it is important that we examine archaeological landscapes from a variety of angles (vantage points), moving to new analytical windows and categories of data and back to previous ones with fresh perspectives. Through this 'dialectics of scale' (Marquardt 1992: 106–108), we can eclipse any single level of analysis to produce a richer picture of African historicity. This understanding, of course, is open-ended, continually outdone as we explore new repertoires of information or revisit previous ones in light of what we have learned, "until one has exhausted all available sources of information" (Marquardt 1992: 108; also Wurst 1999: 17).

Intersecting our 'dialectics of scales' at various points is a 'dialectics of sources,' which plays an important role in the construction of context and process. This movement recognizes that documents, oral traditions and artifacts afford uneven light into the past, and that bringing them into critical conversation enables us to transcend their individual scope. Specifically, exploring the dynamic tensions between/within sources helps us (1) identify the strengths and weaknesses embedded in various classes of evidence (Trouillot 1995: 1–30), and (2) explore how silences enter the making of material, textual and oral archives and how these might structure what is said or omitted in archaeological narratives (Stahl 2001: 27–40; 2004a: 259–261; also Wylie 1985). A supplemental reading forces us to be especially sensitive to the geography and temporality of sources, particularly those that orient our analogies. Specifically, it warns us against the pitfalls of 'time-traveling' (Stahl 1993: 249) — when one projects ethnographic or documentary observations into archaeological contexts to resurrect some aspect of ancient social life — and the dangers of 'doing history backward' (Cooper 2005: 18) — that is, reading oral or historical sources anachronistically as clues of cultural continuity or enduring precolonial structures. Instead, historically sensitive models of ancient political-economies must emerge from a contextual, comparative reading of diverse sources, both produced at roughly the same period and from different temporal contexts, with a keen eye for divergences/convergences in their versions of the past. Confronting various lines of evidence may prove particularly fruitful in unearthing practices and arrangements that once structured African societies yet fell by the wayside of historical memory, as casualties of the 'changes' initiated by global encounters (Stahl 2004a: 258). It may also caution against historical portraits

informed by descriptions recorded at or during the time of 'European contact' and reassess the impacts of a long history of cultural entanglements on African societies (Stahl 2001).

Archaeology, however, should not keep its concerns to sociohistorical process, but also examine its models of the past as historical and narrative constructions (Cohen 1994; Trouillot 1995). For, just as knowledge of the past emerges from an encounter with data, it is also born and modified in the halls of universities, in classrooms, in academic debates, or engagement with wider intellectual and public arenas. This requires us to step out of the excavation trench and enter the moment of 'critique,' to consider how, as archaeology studies the relational construction of the past, it is also relationally constructed in the present. Archaeological knowledge cannot be understood in isolation from surrounding political and intellectual climates, nor from the long history of interaction between ideas and the eccentricities of regional vestiges. The surface manifestations of archaeology — its networks of artifacts, typologies, excavated sites, theories and scenarios of the past — are the historic products of disciplinary communities, socializing institutions which themselves emerge from the playing out of complex political, ideological, and practical relations at different times and in different parts of the world (Murray 1993: 106). Regional traditions frame the production of historical narratives, if only by inculcating into their adherents disciplinary 'programs' that delimit the frontiers of 'scientific acceptability' and regulate professional standards, research objectives and methodological inclinations (see Gledhill 1994: 150, for a discussion of the Foucauldian 'program'). By disinterring the genealogical relations linking past and present legacies, we give ourselves the means to contextualize 'dominant' theories and 'normal science,' and question their face-value this, in turn, constitutes a base of action for the production of alternative, critical histories (Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Trouillot 1995). Hence the need to engage in a continual critique of the factors that shape the knowledges produced by archaeologists.

The first phase of this critical movement consists in exposing the philosophical foundations of archaeological agendas, and "what they suggest about the nature of society, history and socio-historical causality. [It] also directs attention to the consequences of what the different sciences leave out of account, systematically repress, or deny outright, as such omissions preclude other possible understandings of the world" (Saitta 1989: 39). This stage of critical *suspension* requires us to momentarily 'freeze' a specific archaeological period, context or tradition from the flow of time, and examine the products of its research from a plurality of angles (political economic contexts, researchers' biographies, contemporary intellectual currents, precedent/subsequent research and discoveries, etc). Confronting the period's structures of inquiry and forms of knowledge with different frames of reference exposes the tensions between evidence and narrative, the cracks between tools and theory, but also the links with earlier contexts, intellectual and political associations, and ideological influences (Harvey 1996: 7). Such in-and-out-of-context reading empowers the analyst by laying out the registers of knowledge inherited from decades of previous research — the merits and achievements, aspects of the past that have been obscured or unscrutinized, as well as the silences that have circumscribed the development of richer constructions or legitimized oppressive ideologies. An intellectual map is charted whose landmarks, high points, and

legacies orient future research. As we *preserve* and project this understanding to other situations, we enter a phase of *transcendence* (see Marquardt 1992): to subtly navigate between old insights and new commitments, old facts and new traces, in order to write histories that are more mindful of the 'real' experiences of non-Western people, that do more justice to unexploited veins of evidence, that loosen interpretations from the moorings of marginalization and misportrayal.

Note that this movement is consciously engaged in the present, and built on the premise that, since all knowledge is suspended in societal webs, then scholarship and political commitment go in pairs (Levins 1990; Marquardt 1992: 110–112; McGuire et al. 2001). As archaeologists seek to illuminate the past, they must also retain a vested concern for the implications of their work in the 'real world' and for contemporary populations, and thus make a conscious effort to construct socially useful, democratic and equitable knowledges (Marquardt and Crumley 1987: 5; Schmidt 1995). The moments of critique and praxis must come together in the course of practice. Political awareness of the impact of our work provide critical resources for action, just as they promote a critical conciousness of the contingency of our viewpoints — our positionality, if you will (Harding 1987; Haraway 1991) —, their limitations or unintended consequences, and the need to multiply our points of inquiry (Wylie 1995, 1996, 1999; Harvey 1996). As social and political contexts evolve, as our motivations and ideas of relevance change, we are drawn to new perspectives and new data, and called on to reevaluate earlier commitments.

This openness to social action encourages us to set the terms of our debates on wider intellectual and political grounds, and consider the fates of constructed pasts as they pass from the arena of production to their various sites of consumption (Cohen 1994: xxii, 4, 52). Just as a critical archaeology should be mindful of the mechanisms underwriting 'guild' productions of knowledge, it should also examine their relationship to the reception of history and culture outside of the discipline, and the representations that emerge as our images of Africa are appropriated by other scholars, the media, governments or popular imagination. As they leave academic halls, archaeological visions of Africa confront a world fractured with battles over culture, pasts lived and claimed, identity and ways of life, with consequences for the people fighting them. These 'culture wars' are power-saturated contests over social and cultural legitimacy, over definitions of what is proper, acceptable, or alien, over the inclusion of certain groups into the 'circle of the We' and exclusion of others from it (di Leonardo 1998: 65; also Mitchell 1996: 5–12). And matters of knowledge and history, ideas of the past and its ties to the present participate actively in the establishment of boundaries and difference, and making of otherness (Rowlands 1994; Wilmsen and McAllister 1996).

The realities of culture wars hence give an ambiguous dimension to the politics of African archaeology: while potentially empowering and democratic on one level, our historical images can, in other circles, become badges of difference, a ground for the perpetuation of stereotypes and inequalities (Stahl 2004a: 269–270). In effect, how inclusive or exclusive we choose to make our political visions of Africa raises important implications for our framing of its past. Thus, should one privilege 'universal' principles and risk alienating more localized claims or identities, or does one celebrate a plurality of cultural expressions, defending their right to exist but opening the possibility of marginalization from the mainstream? Should our models

stress unity or diversity? Cultural uniqueness or globalizing messages? As we pursue 'cultural justice' in the making of world people's pasts, we often find ourselves straddling the thin line between universalist and particularist readings of African identity, and struggling with the complex question of how the 'African experience' can be at once idiosyncratic and similar to that of other world areas. The difficulty we face lies in deciding how one writes a relevant past that does justice to particular trajectories while it avoids the trap of historical homogenization (Stahl 1999b: 49; also Kristiansen and Rowlands 1998:1–26). Our political action, as a consequence, cannot boil down to a simple advocacy of social justice and cultural autonomy, to the fostering of historical pride and well-meaning celebration of the 'cultures' of Africa. Responsibility for the pasts we produce and the communities they concern entails instead a close engagement with the political economy of cultural production, and its umbilical ties to the social processes of differentiation (Mitchell 1996: 287–294; di Leonardo 1998). Tracking how particular framings of Africa's past reaffirm negative imagery of the continent encourages us to apply archaeological energies to exposing the political economic roots of cultural difference. Understanding the social and political construction of Africa's supposed otherness, both in the past and the present, can fuel our political battles to free the continent from the marginalization it continues to endure in today's public discourse.

The production of archaeological knowledge, then, is not an additive process, where facts and theories build upon each other to fill the gaps left by previous analyses (Trouillot 1995: 48–49). Instead, our three moments of practice — abstracted as knowledge/evidence, critique and social action — stand in supplemental relation to each other, both informing and transforming each other as knowledge is being produced. In unraveling the past, ideas, hunches, critiques, and evidential archives must coexist in fundamentally destabilizing ways, alternatively undermining, constraining, or amplifying each other's insights and assumptions. At the most basic level, conceptual frames work to delimit what raw data are, to establish their relevance, and fashion them into facts. By helping us to problematize material, documentary, and oral sources, and mobilize their analytical potential, theories also guide our attempts to make sense of observed patterns and discontinuities. At the same time, however, empirical data impose a 'network of resistances' on theoretical excesses, sometimes to challenge our hypotheses, or to channel our historical gazes in unanticipated directions (Wylie 1992: 25; see also McGuire 1992: 113–114; Ollman 1993: 10). In tacking back-and-forth between past and present, between academic and social settings, between words and things, between and within scales, we begin to unveil the "partialities, the cracks, the cleavages, both in our under-standing of a lived past and in the production of history in the present" (Stahl 2001: 33; see also Marquardt 1992: 108). Archival databases and conceptual tools can thus exceed their own limitations to shed novel light onto the historical experiences of the people we study. In this never-ending construction project, syntheses of the past are open-ended and temporary, continually renewed and revised (McGuire 1992: 114; Ollman 1993: 39). In Alison Wylie's (1995: 268) metaphorical words, "[i]t is a matter of rebuilding the ship in which you float, continuously, as you travel."

These various dialectical threads frame the following review of the archaeology of complexity in Siin-Saalum, the diverse shapes it has taken, and how history and politics have oriented its course over the past 150 years. How labor was organized

around our three poles of activity has imparted particular shapes to the structures of practice and forms of knowledge produced over time. Broader political economic environments and intellectual discourses have heavily influenced archaeological research in Senegal, molding continuities and ruptures in our portrayals of the past on a backdrop of enduring relationships with evolutionism. Such historical depth provides a springboard into the next round of rebuilding and a lens to address where we could be headed next. Though the dialectical ideas presented above remain largely implicit in the following historical narrative, I take up the three moments of practice in more explicit light as I discuss the achievements of recent developments, and suggest possible orientations for future research.

Iron Age Archaeology in Senegal: Evolutionist Premises and Ethnological Logics

Heuristically, archaeological work in the Senegambia, and the Siin-Saalum more particularly, can be loosely grouped into a colonial period, consisting of a phase of amateurism and professionalization, and a post-independence period, further divided into empirical-descriptive and 'coming-of-age' processual stages (see Shaw 1989; de Barros 1990; Holl 1990; Trigger 1990; Stahl 1999b; Thiaw 1999: 73–88; and Bocoum 2002, for analogous yet not identical chronological schemes for Francophone West Africa and the African continent). Of course, not all studies fall neatly into this chronological and thematic scheme, but the play of sociopolitical factors and intellectual influences imparted quite distinct identities to each of the periods, and to their conceptual frameworks and research concerns (Trigger 1990; Murray 1993). Following Shaw (1989: 4), then, this periodization should be seen as a frame guiding our steps across the terrain of historiography, directing our attention to significant features and patterns of regional archaeological practices, and their ties to wider intellectual contexts.

Interest in the 'pre-and-proto-historic' past has long-standing roots in Senegal. A byproduct of the wave of scientific fact-gathering spurred by the colonial moment, early archaeological research partook of many of the preconceptions that colored the European gaze on African societies (Holl 1990, 1995; Trigger 1990). At the time, most writings on Africa were informed by the ethnocentric perception of a fundamental racial inequality between European and African, for which the evolutionist cosmology that saturated Europe's scientific inquiries in the second half of the 19th century provided a ready-made explanation (see Curtin 1964; Duchet 1971; Leclerc 1972: 15–39; Cohen 1980; Mark 1980; Mudimbe 1988, for discussions of the genealogy of this discourse, and its roots in the 'Age of Discovery' and Enlightenment period). In the evolutionist imagination, the story of humanity was pictured as a universal, one-way traffic of societies along the same evolutionary track but at different speeds, leading mankind from primitive forms to complex arrangements, with European civilization as the final destination (Olivier 1999). While all societies would 1 day reap their share of the evolutionary harvest, all were not endowed with the ability to harness progress and foster change, to propel themselves along the stream of human achievement (Neale 1985, 1986; Stahl 1999b: 42). The failure of Africans to emulate western institutions and technology, as well as 'mainstream' development was a manifest

sign of their innate disqualification from the race to civilization (e.g., Hegel 1956: 93–99; see essays in Stocking 1968). It was thus incumbent upon those predisposed to dominate the march toward progress — European nations and colonial administrators — to fulfill their moral duty, by lifting Africa out of its historical torpor and cultural barbarism, and coaxing its infantile populations along the path toward civilization, humanity and liberal values (Simersen 1990; Van Hoten 1990; Manchuelle 1996; Conklin 1997). Of course, on the reverse side of this munificent paternalism lay a doctrine of assimilation which foresaw the eventual dissolution of African genes and customs into the pool of a dominant colonial culture (Crowder 1972; Karady 1982; Van Hoten 1990). Evolutionary thinking and assimilationism not only reinforced the need for each other, but they also lay a philosophical-practical groundwork for legitimizing the ideals of colonial rulership, and naturalizing Europe's unequal partnership with Africa (Stocking 1987; Holl 1995; Wylie 1995).

Both consciously and unconsciously, the administrator-ethnographer became a pivotal node in the perpetuation of colonial ideology, first in the field, through collecting ethnographic data that lubricated administrative, jural, and political structures at the local level, and second, back in the metropole, through educating new cohorts of colonial servants (Grosz-Ngaté 1988; see further Leclerc 1972: 44–53; Asad 1973; Van Hoten 1990). In their attempt to uphold the sociological discourse on Africa's evolutionary standstill, and following the predilection to associate change with outside influences, ethnographers developed a vested interest in remote times. Historical data and oral testimonies could be assembled and synthesized in the present, in order to forge a view of the past, merging diffusion and stagnation, which would be in unison with the evolutionary convictions and political agendas of the day. This trend finds its inspiration and clearest expression in the ethnological and linguistic work of Louis Léon César Faidherbe, who governed Senegal from 1854–1861, and 1863–1865. Breaking with the tradition of descriptive reportage favored by earlier administrators, Faidherbe developed a synthetic model of African social evolution which drew on his fervent belief in the Hamitic myth of civilization, his profound admiration for Islam as vector of cultural progress, and his willingness to look to Pulaar history to confirm his presumptions (see Pondopoulo 1996, for an insightful analysis of Faidherbe's historical method). In a teleological tour-de-force, which linked both the past — Pulaar oral traditions' apocryphal claims of Egyptian origins and long-standing conversion to Islam — and the present — the massive wave of Peul state building and military conquest which was sweeping across the Sudan at the time of his writings — Faidherbe elevated the Peul 'success story' to a paradigmatic reflection of the outside roots of political organization in sub-Saharan Africa and its realization under the Messianic aegis of Islam (Manchuelle 1995: 341–345). This ideological embrace of the superiority of Islam, and the disdain for non-Muslim societies it generated, laid out the structure of feeling which informed much of francophone Africa's colonial ethnography (Delafosse, in particular), and perdures in contemporary historical and public discourse (Bathily 1976; Manchuelle 1995).

The authority of ethnographic history-making quickly spilled into archaeology, and its influence extended over prehistoric scenarios (de Barros 1990: 160–162). Guided by this "ethnological reason," which elegantly distilled the mechanics of non-western societies through organizing reified bits of indigenous culture into

cross-cultural classifications (Amselle 1990: 1, Chap. 1; Mudimbe 1994: 52–53, 59; and discussion in Thiaw 1999: 73; see also Asad 1973; Stocking 1987; Van Hoten 1990), Europe's unraveling of Senegal's precolonial past hinged on an implacable two-step tautological sleight-of-hand: If West Africa was caught in a Hegelian coma of technological stagnation and primitiveness that placed it outside of history (Fabian 1983; Thomas 1989), then the event of cultural dynamism and political achievement could only come at the behest of outside contributions, first from the Islamic world and later from the European presence (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984: 74; 1988b: 110–111). This version of the 'myth of the timeless primitive' (Fabian 1983; Fall 1988) provided the lens through which early observers made sense of the intriguing megalithic structures and tumuli that dotted the Senegalese landscape.

Archaeological Beginnings and Colonial Amateurism (19th Century-1930's)

Although the very first exploration of a megalithic structure may have been initiated in the 16th century at the demand of a local ruler of the Cape Verde peninsula, the beginning of a loosely concerted effort to shed light on the region's monuments can perhaps be traced to the excavation conducted by Captain Pineau in 1891(in Thilmans et al. 1980: 16–17). This work was followed by a suite of investigations, spanning the entire colonial period, and animated by an "obsessive fascination with monumental burial architecture and import goods" characteristic of the early phase of Senegal's Iron Age archaeology (Thiaw 1999: 74). In quick succession, Ozanne 1896, referenced in Hamy 1904) and du Laurens 1904, referenced in Thilmans et al. 1980: 15–16), Duchemin (1905, 1906), Todd and Wolbach (1911; Todd 1903), Jouenne (1916, 1971, 1918, 1920, 1930), Parker (1923), as well as Boutonnet (1916), Doke (1931), de Saint-Seine (1939) and Evans 1946, all four referenced in Thilmans et al. 1980: 19–20), all carried out excavations on megalithic sites. To this list, we can add the studies of Bonnel de Mezières (referenced in Thilmans and Ravisé 1980: 12) in the Senegal River Valley, Monod and de Saint-Seine (1939, referenced in Bessac 1953; Monod 1938) and Bessac (1939 referenced in Pradines 1997: 3) at Dioron-Boundaw, and Joire's (1947, 1955) excavations in the region of Saint-Louis.

While a number of tumuli were targeted by Jouenne and the second set of excavators, archaeological interests during the colonial period clearly gravitated around megalithic circles — understandable when we consider that the monuments' sheer size and numbers offered a head-on contradiction of popular scenarios of Africa's supposed cultural standstill (Hamy 1904: 567; Jouenne 1916: 27–28). In other provinces of Africa, Iron Age remains generated little interest because such sites "were assumed to have been inhabited by people little different from contemporary Africans in rural settings" (Stahl 2001: 13). Megalithic formations, on the other hand, were regarded as the cachet of great historical and cultural sophistication in other areas of the world, including Europe, which considerably enhanced the controversial nature of the Senegambian monuments and their role in regional history. Indeed, a wave of discomfort probably came upon colonial expectations when burial remains exhumed from Maka by du Laurens (in Thilmans et al. 1980: 16), in Dioulata by Duchemin (1905), and at Lamine-Koto by Todd and Holbach (1911), exhibited 'typically negroid' features, thus associating those

structures with black populations. According to Thiaw (1999: 74), such indirect assault on the racial legitimacy of colonialism prompted a theoretical reaction in the direction of diffusionist models *à la* Ratzel and Frobenius (Trigger 1990: 311). The grand radiation of world cultural achievements from an original Indo-European cradle to other parts of the globe carefully eschewed the possibility that culturally dynamic African societies would have preceded the advent of the caravan or the caravel, just as it provided a suitable settlement to the colonial quandary (Holl 1990: 299–300; Trigger 1990: 312).

The work of Jouenne (1916, 1917, 1918, 1920, 1930) undoubtedly stands as the most representative exemplar of this intellectual trend. Unlike many of his pre-decessors, who presented little interpretation, a manifest explanatory consciousness seems to have driven Jouenne's research, and later, that of Maës (1924) at Tundi Daro in Mali, and others in the Gambia (Parker 1923; Palmer 1939). These authors believed that the erection of the megaliths was synonymous with a degree of cultural and technological advancement simply beyond the grasp of local populations, and argued instead for an exogenous origin of the phenomenon. Jouenne (1918: 81), for instance saw the archaeological evidence of cremation — a practice with alledged Indo-European roots — as an indicator that the monuments had been erected and used by a prehistoric 'race' of sun-worshipping peoples, whose architectural genius far surpassed indigenous cultural aptitudes. In later writings, Jouenne (1930: 366), influenced by the recovery of a cranium exhibiting 'African' skeletal characteristics from a stone circle at Ndiao, rescinded his earlier positions, attributing instead monumental workmanship to an isolated and extinct African people. His initial conclusions, however, were enthusiastically transposed to Malian megalithic sites by Maës (1924: 36), who ventured a Carthaginian, Egyptian or Berber stimulus for their formation. In Gambia, Parker (1923), impressed with the stone circle craftsmanship, likewise interpreted the regional megaliths as originating from the Mediterranean basin, being the products of possible Carthaginians. This scenario was revised several years later by Palmer (1939), who attributed the region's monuments to the ancestors of vaguely defined 'Sarakolle' populations, or more specifically, to artistic, cultural, biological, and technological influences resulting from their contact with white-skinned populations.

While the fantastical claims of such diffusionist models have long been refuted, interpretive efforts such as those described above stand as testimonies to the intel-lectual spirit of the times, and particularly, the need to always present the glaring signs of material achievement embedded in the Senegambian landscape as the legacy of non-African outsiders, despite mounting evidence to the contrary (Schmidt 1995: 141–143; Wylie 1995: 262; see also Hall 1984, 1990). It should be no surprise that such archaeological research closely mirrored the epistemological assumptions of much contemporary ethnographic literature. The paucity of fieldwork, cultural sequences, and chronological landmarks (Trigger 1990: 310, 313), connived to draw archaeologists to ethnology for interpretive insights, and the work of such renowned colonial anthropologists as Maurice Delafosse played a formative part in the development of colonial archaeology in Senegal. This pattern, Holl (1990: 301) suggests, may also have been the product of a division of intellectual labor during the early colonial era, where petty civil servants and officers were entrusted with the responsibility of gathering data, while the colonial and metropolitan elites made it

their task to synthesize empirical evidence in ways that would sustain the fable of white cultural supremacy (cf. Pondopoulo 1997). Delafosse (1900, 1922) believed that Africa's long geographic isolation from Mediterranean activity was the cause of its 'backwardness,' and went to great lengths to correlate past political achievements and their material ruins in the French Sudan with Egyptian or Phoenician influences. He was instrumental in translating Arabic chronicles that provided information on the various settlements and capitals that thrived at the time of the great Sahelian empires Ghana, Mali and Songhai. Under his spirited influence, these discoveries incited at least two generations of researchers to locate and excavate the remains of towns described in documentary records (de Barros 1990: 163). By accepting uncritically many of the ethnocentric and self-aggrandizing perspectives conveyed in the Arabic manuscripts, Delafosse (1912, 1924: 492–494) became an important popularizer of the thesis that African 'civilization' had arisen out of the commercial and cultural entanglement with the Mediterranean world, laying thereby an enduring cornerstone of Sahelian historiography (e.g., Mauny 1961: 541).

In retrospect, much of the archaeological work conducted up to the 1930's appears as an uneasy mélange of field amateurism and historical speculations. Focusing primarily on individual aggregates of megalithic remains, the discussions were generally devoid of methodological substance, consisting of descriptions of surface finds and stone arrangements, complemented by rudimentary sketches and periodic anecdotes (de Barros 1990: 158–159). Although this period has come under considerable criticism for its lack of scientific rigor (Mauny 1961; Thilmans et al. 1980: 24), the archaeological traditions that emerged from it left a profound impact on Senegambian archaeology, laying down the basic epistemological and analytical ground for future research.

Of foremost influence was the progressivist orthodoxy which explicitly, and later tacitly, made up the scaffolding of most of the research produced in the Siin during the golden years of avocational archaeology. By mapping terminology, periodization and artifact typologies ('fossiles directeurs') associated with French Prehistoric research onto sites of the French Sudan, early Africanists unconsciously imported and reproduced the developmentalist assumptions that underlay these concepts (e.g., Hubert 1922, 1925; Laforgue 1925; Laforgue and Mauny 1938; see discussion in Stahl 1999b: 40–41). Viewing African culture history as a progressive sequence of technological ages framed research questions (selection and relevance of sites), retrieval and analytical strategies (collection methods, epistemology, modes of analysis), and interpretations ('backwardness of Africa') (Stahl 1999b: 39). In conformity with the progressivist agenda, many researchers felt that the only history meriting scholarly attention was the kind of history of technological and cultural achievement documented in Europe, which in Africa, translated into a nearly exclusive examination of features that evoked the expressions of 'mainstream development' — metallurgy, urbanization, craft specialization, trade, or monumentalism (Neale 1985: 7–8; 1986: 113–117; Fuglestad 1992). It is then little wonder that the Siin-Saalum's massive earthen or stone funerary structures came to command the undying attention of archaeologists and historians, while in other francophone areas, the rubble of historically documented urban centers became the main focus of inquiry (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984).

Another palpable legacy of the 'imperial tradition' (Gamble 1993) was the persistence of the image of Africa as struck by cultural and historical amnesia,

denied any creativity in the production its own history (Grosz-Ngaté 1988: 505–506; Fuglestad 1992). This perspective, in turn, encouraged scholars to depict the past as a stratigraphic profile of sorts, each layer embodying a qualitatively different moment in the sociopolitical evolution of the region: (1) On the bottom-most stratum rested the blurry precolonial past, a sterile and unchanging landscape of primeval cultural practice frozen in the immutability of the long-term; (2) above it, encased in the matrix of local structures, lay the traces of states, empires, long-distance commerce, urbanism and metallurgy — emblems of a complexity stimulated by contacts with the outside; (3) the superficial layer contained the artifacts of the colonial conquest, which represented but "the most recent succession in the 'Sudanese epic'" (Grosz-Ngaté 1988: 504).

The last set of features that helped to mold Senegambian archaeology derives from the dynamics of France's archaeological environment. Much like the French Palaeolithic tradition from which it directly descends (de Barros 1990: 156–157), Senegambian archaeology developed as a 'science of observation' (Audouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1981; Devisse 1981), marginally interested in theoretical issues or reflective epistemology, yet more concerned with empirical description, and tightly connected with 'history' (Cleuziou et al. 1991; Olivier and Coudart 1995; Scarre 1999). Its subordination to history endowed Iron Age studies in the western Sahel with a distinct medievalist and city-centric flavor, particularly apparent in the reliance on single documented sites with particular bodies of text, and focus on narrow questions designed to verify or complement historical records (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984: 76; de Barros 1990: 156, 162).

From Dilettante to Discipline: IFAN and the Historical-Particularist School (1940's–1960's)

Amidst these strong continuities with early colonial practice, the creation of the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) in 1936 (Notes Africaines 1960) announced a wind of change in Senegambian research, marking the shift from the leisurely practice of archaeology to the professionalization of the field (Mauny 1953). With the creation of the research institute and museum for collection storage, the energetic personality of Raymond Mauny gave unprecedented impetus to regional archaeological studies. Mauny sought to implement a more systematic approach to archaeology by encouraging strict recording and excavation procedures, deepening ceramic and metallurgical analyses, devising more solid chronologies, and calling for more synthetic explorations of trade, culture contacts, and Sudanese states (de Barros 1990: 163) — views that culminated with his *Tableau Géographique de l'Ouest Africain au Moyen-Âge*, an impressive compendium of West African archaeological knowledge (Mauny 1961). Some advances did take place, as can be noted from the dramatic increase in the number of excavated and surveyed areas, or the innovative use of aerial photography which led to the recording and discovery of archaeological deposits invisible from the ground (Joire 1947, 1955; Clos-Arceduc 1962; Gard and Mauny 1961; Mauny 1961: 63). More symptomatically, however, much of Senegambian archaeology (Mauny's opus included) relied on a disparate aggregate of timid methodological improvements, chance discoveries

or grab samples, defective typologies, and single-site investigations (Thiaw 1999: 76). In the absence of explicit research designs, colonial field techniques remained largely inadequate — mixing poor spatial control (in the case of surveys), mediocre stratigraphic care, an over-reliance on bulk-excavation and shovel test-pits, and, at best, approximate plans, drawings, and cross-sections sketches — while the wealth of artifacts yielded by the intensified research sorely awaited study and classification (Raimbault 1981; de Barros 1990: 163–164). To be fair, this period was also afflicted by a severe shortage of personnel as well as limited funding, which necessarily reduced the scope and intensity of archaeological research (Mauny 1953: 362–363).

Mauny's synthetic vision notwithstanding, the bulk of francophone archaeology between 1940 and 1960 retained an unmistakable city-centric approach. Focusing their studies on famous trade entrepôts, political centers, or caravan routes mentioned in contemporaneous Arab chronicles, the authors often confined their analytic efforts to confirming the identity of the sites, and documenting the material residues of North African architectural, religious and commercial influence (e.g., Mauny 1947, 1961; Thomassey and Mauny 1951, 1956; Robert 1970; Filipowiak 1979; Vanacker 1979; Devisse 1983). Particularistic and descriptive, this historical approach examined particular archaeological locales within particular slices of time illuminated by written documents, foreclosing, in the process, a diachronic view of the settlements' development and articulation with regional systems (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984). While a need for chronological security in the absence of radiocarbon dating may have justified this perspective (Thiaw 1999: 76), its persistence within the discipline reflected the widely-held suspicion that African complexity had been imported from the outside (Corbeil et al. 1948: 455; see discussion in McIntosh and McIntosh 1988a), and that the period of pre-Arabic contact, often dismissed as one of cultural stagnation, was less worthy of inquiry (see discussion in Trigger 1990: 313). In areas which medieval chroniclers had not visited, such as the Siin-Saalum, the focus on local clusters of megaliths and tumuli (Thilmans et al. 1980: 20–22; cf. Mauny 1961: 170–171) betrayed a continued obsession with markers of progress as the only legitimate archaeological evidence and as the signs of externally induced change. Such disciplinary agenda clearly limited the overall knowledge of the African past to a handful of highly selective glimpses, a legacy which paradoxically lingered into the post-independence period.

Nationalist Revisionism: Cheikh Anta Diop's Program

By the time of independence, after more than a half-century of maturation, international critiques of colonialism and political discourses of pan-African autonomy and emancipation from imperialist shackles had molded to a considerable extent the intellectual milieu of the Senegalese academy, and provided a background to the radical nationalist program of Cheikh Anta Diop (Holl 1995: 194–196). Diop rebelled against the 'cultural alienation' which the discourse of western science imposed upon Africa through its support of the colonial edifice, its monopoly over historical and ethnographic knowledge production, and portrayal of the continent as a historical backwater (Diop 1979: 4; Fall 1988: 184; Holl 1990: 302). Turning the

intellectual weapons of the metropolis against the institution of colonialism, Diop (1973, 1979, 1987) altered hyper-diffusionist scenarios to argue that Black Egypt, not the Arabic world, had been the cradle from which civilization radiated to Africa, and to the rest of humanity (Trigger 1990: 314; Holl 1995: 198–204). Relying on a diffusionist concoction of ethnographic, archaeological, historical and linguistic elements to support his thesis, he traced the movement of several Senegalese ethnic groups across the Sahara, all the way back to the Nile Valley, distinguishing the Sereer, the present-day inhabitants of the Siin, for having erected the Senegambian megaliths in the course of their migrations. With the development of chronometric dating, monumentalism and Iron Age state formation now illustrated the degree of cultural-technical sophistication which Africa had achieved prior to the advent of Europe's exploratory voyages, and the fact that continental socio-political evolution had kept apace with other world areas (Stahl 2001: 13).

Yet, for all his opposition to western science, Diop's radical program paradoxically endorsed the basic developmentalist tenets and epistemology of colonial history with great panache (Holl 1995: 204; Wylie 1995: 264). While inverting the flows of cultural diffusion between black Africa and the rest of the globe, Diop retained the premise of progressive evolution, through which lens he depicted African political formation. In doing so, however, Diop became as guilty as the staunchest colonial writer of denying Africa an active role in the production of her own history, first, by perpetuating the 'European' model of sociopolitical evolution as an increasingly complex, cumulative sequence of hierarchization, specialization, centralization, and heterogeneity, and second, by placing the resources of civilization in a single cradle, beyond of the creative capacity of local societies (Neale 1985: Chap. 1; 1986; Stahl 1999b; Thiaw 1999: 78).

Although Diop's Afro-centric activism and philosophical-historical rhetoric commanded much respect among the international African Diasporic community, and although his pharaonic model of African civilisation still holds sway in some history and Egyptology departments in Africa and North America (see Thioub 2002: 120–124, on Senegalese Egyptology), his popular influence has left little visible imprint on the archaeological landscape of post-colonial Senegal. This, however, appears much less surprising when we consider that Senegalese archaeology continued to exhibit a rather conservative aura until the 1980's, undergoing few overall changes in its passage to independence. Research remained very much a French enterprise, resulting from the cordial cultural and academic partnership between Senegal and France cultivated at the insistence of the French: The French government "saw themselves, not only as the financial partners and supporters of the newly-freed francophone African countries, with interlocking economic activity and development much as before, but as their cultural guides as well, who would continue their activities uninterrupted" (Shaw 1989: 13). In this respect, Iron Age archaeology work was predominantly, if not unilaterally, handled by French researchers from the ORSTOM (Organisme de Recherche Scientifique des Territoires d'Outre-Mer) and CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), working under the aegis of the IFAN. While Diop's reconstructions had implications for the interpretation of local vestiges, these scholars were less inclined to be moved by the anti-colonial harangue, and treated his speculations with reserve. Because Senegal, unlike some parts of West Africa, did not have a university-based archaeological tradition, the IFAN preserved

its role as regional purveyor of archaeological services, and did not invest substantial amounts of time in training national students to become archaeologists. And even when Abdoulaye Sokhna Diop, one of the earliest Senegalese students to receive his doctorate in archaeology, devoted his research to megaliths, "the focus was on description and typology, an approach that distanced him from C. A. Diop and brought him together with the traditional colonial archaeology" (Thiaw 1999: 79).

In notable contrast with other African countries, archaeology played virtually no role in the construction of a national imaginary for post-independence Senegal. That archaeological research remained largely in the hands of expatriates surely accounts for that phenomenon. This divestment from political action, however, can also be understood as a legacy of the various ideological visions that have underwritten the formation of historical consciousness in Senegal. For instance, Pres. Léopold Sedar Senghor's cultural project of nation-building rested on an reinvention of Senegalese identity around the twin poles of *enracinement* ('rooting') and *ouverture* ('opening'), which both stressed the organic Africanness of the nation and legitimized the French, modernist foundation of Senegalese democracy (Thioub 2002: 134). Local militancies and colonial allegiances, the French and African heritage, were thus integrated into a bricolage of referents that embodied those cardinal values, moral vocations and cultural orientations on which the nation would stand: Faidherbe (the builder of modernity and state institutions), Lat Dior Diop, a famed Wolof ruler who combated French imperialism (symbolizing African resistance and endurance), and Murid religious leader Cheikh Amadou Bamba (who inspired hard work and pious industry) (Diop and Diouf 1990: 272). Its African flavor notwithstanding, unsettling continuities tie the Senghorian model to the tradition of 'ethnological reason,' that is, beyond the critical invocation of Faidherbe as a cornerstone of the Senegalese state. There is a similarly conscious elision of historical process, in the muting of particular historical voices and trajectories, and an equally deliberate embrace of the ideologically constructed nature of nation: here, it is not history that matters, but a selective combing of it, which reads out of the flow of time those salient symbols that make up the stuff of integration and unity (Senghor 1964: 66, 211, 245, 286; 1977: 398–404, 405–411). The shallow, artificial temporality of this historical representation leaves little room for archaeological expression, or more accurately, in the words of Senghor, its insights are consigned to the realm of "scientific truth" and "rigorous objectivity," to interactions with a deep past unclaimed and primitive, and thus unconnected to the making of today's world (Senghor 1977: 158–162).

The Faidherbian legacy has continued to imbue Senegal's cultural politics in the aftermath of Senghor's regime. Reaffirming the values of *enracinement* to give free rein to the conflicted play of local memories and traditions, new ideological constructions have revisited the Senegalese past in a light which glorifies its Islamic and Wolof foundations, while downplaying other social contituents. In many respects, the model crystallizes in historical discourse the long-standing processes of economic marginalization, political exclusion, and cultural integration that have shaped Senegal's social landscape since the Atlantic slave trade era: The recentering of historical horizons on the Atlantic littoral, growing urbanization of political and economic life, consolidation of a peanut economy, fast growing Islamization and expansion of Mourid religious and political networks, all have conspired to favor

Wolof populations and place them at the center of historical scrutiny and political control, while simultaneously downgrading the power base and cultural recognition of rural, non-Muslim, non-Wolof communities (Diop and Diouf 1990: 46–47; also Cruise O'Brien et al. 2002). A variation on ethnological exclusionary tactics, the Islamo-Wolof model accords scant importance to the pre-Islamic past, which is set in primitive and ahistorical time, and to geographically remote regions and non-Muslim groups, which are portrayed as culturally alien and hence inferior. As the resources of identity-making were realigned on the Atlantic system and its effects on precolonial kingdoms, or on understanding the transformations triggered by colonial domination (Thioub 2002: 133–140), an archaeology concerned with the land of protohistory had apparently little to contribute to an understanding of the historical roots of the nation. But there is a more complex twist to this relationship: If the state provided indigent financial support and incentive for archaeological research, and while archaeology did not effectively participate in the making of national memory, archaeological practice, the pasts it produced, and how they were perceived were all shaped by a resolutely nationalist politics of difference, that finds its roots in the colonial period (cf. Thiaw 2003a: 223; and Bocoum 2002: 192–201, for different readings of Senegalese archaeology's relationship to nationalism). In tacitly conspiring with the Muslim/non-Muslim morality play, archaeologists were content to reaffirm the material past as a place apart, effectively separating history from what came before, and continued to sit comfortably on empiricist positions falsely free of political implications.

Post-Independence Archaeology: The Persistence of Empiricism (1960's–1980's)

While the post-1960 period was the stage of a general internationalization of Francophone archaeology, resulting in fruitful scholarly exchange in Mali, Mauritania and Guinea, such changes were long to develop in Senegal, whose archaeological agenda mirrored that of France in its insularity, normative approach to culture and historical particularism (Audouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1981; Devisse 1981; Scarre 1999). These concerns were reflected in the use of the 'aire culturelle' (cultural area) to re-arrange and re-organize the Senegalese archaeological landscape so as to delineate regional cultural traditions (Mauny 1957b, 1961). Four broad protohistoric provinces were thus identified (Fig. 2): (1) A zone of earthen tumuli loosely covering the northwestern corner of the country; (2) a megalithic belt spread across central Senegal and the Siin-Saalum area; (3) vestiges of villages and metallurgical production dotting the Middle Senegal Valley; and (4) a vast sheet of anthropic shell mounds extending along the littoral between the Senegal and Gambia Rivers (Descamps 1979).

Cultural area classification has provided the template orienting all archaeological research in Senegal, and is still relatively unquestioned today (e.g., Bocoum 2000a, 2000b). It can be argued, however, that the concept of archaeological province acted more as an obstacle than a helpful tool in the development of regional archaeology. Particularly problematic has been the compartmentalization of past realities into neatly bounded 'islands of prehistory,' whose different archaeological make-ups reflected the different ethnic identities of their makers. Thus, drawing from oral traditions, the

Fig. 2 Senegal's "traditional" protohistoric provinces (adapted from Descamps 1979)
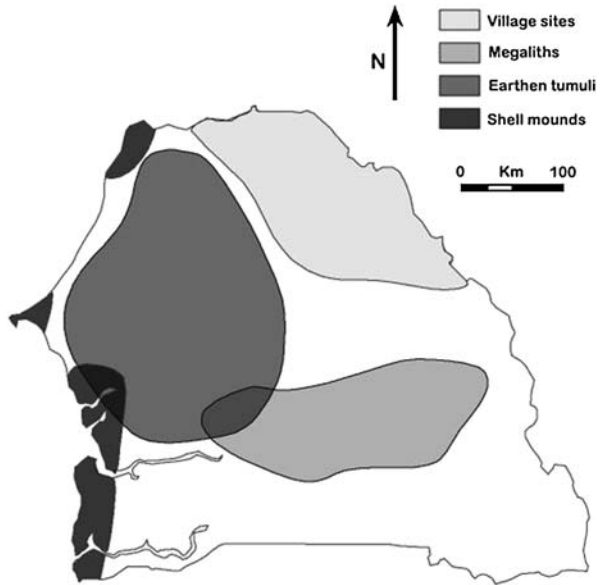
Senegal River sites were attributed to the Sereer (Chavane 1985), while in the Siin, the Sereer claimed smaller tumuli (*lomb*) as ancestrally theirs and identified the larger ones (*podom*) as being of Sosé origin (Martin and Becker 1974: 405; Gravrand 1983: 42–43). Unfortunately, the tendency to correlate particular types of remains with particular ethnicities largely excluded a nuanced consideration of change, culture contact, exchange or appropriation of material objects, resulting instead in a synchronic painting of the past in the ethnographic present, an imaginary still-life of protohistoric lifeways bound in time and space. Although a number of authors opted for a more dynamic, multi-ethnic origin of archaeological phenomena (e.g., Becker and Martin 1982a; Fall 1982), the homogenizing authority of the cultural area schema was felt in other ways: (1) Provinces were examined independently, with no systematic investigation of the historic interactions between them; and (2) within provinces, variability was generally glossed as unimportant, or explained as the manifestation of different cultures. Most alarming, perhaps, in the end, is the fact that each functional type of remains essentially determined the kind of archaeological knowledge produced for any particular area, causing an objectification of regional histories. In the Siin-Saalum, for instance, the confinement of archaeological horizons to the excavation of tumuli and megaliths fostered a complete disinterest in other evidence of past cultural expression, such as habitation or production sites. Even within specific locales, the emphasis remained on individual monuments, with no consideration of the larger material ensembles or social contexts to which they could belong. No effort was made to examine excavated monuments in relation to cemetery complexes, ritual places and practices, or the functional and chronological differentiation of space within sites. It was as if no Iron Age past could be conceptualized outside of that individually embedded in monumental structures. Such narrow focus on funerary structures bequeathed a severely amputated portrait of the pre-contact past — one in which people seem never to have lived but within the confines of their tombs (Thiaw 1999: 83; Bocoum 2000a: 32).

The idea of 'aire culturelle,' however, fitted nicely with some of the broader pre-occupations of the time. Mapping and bounding Senegal's cultural patrimony appeared as a foremost priority, as spreading urbanization and infrastructural developments conjured ominous prospects of site destruction and monumental degradation (de Barros 1990: 169).[1] The most remarkable outcome of this pressing situation was a national inventory of protohistoric remains carried out in the 1970's and 1980's, which compiled, recorded, and mapped extensive survey data, and also refined and officialized the boundaries of the different archaeological provinces (e.g., Martin and Becker 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1984). Although a timely and monumental accomplishment, the survey suffered from a number of limitations, not the least of which was a lack of explicitness about survey methodology and mode of recording. The prospection was not systematic and stuck to zones of greater acccessibility, leading to an underestimation of the actual number, distribution and location of sites (Thiaw 1999: 83; see also McIntosh 1993b: 501; McIntosh et al. 1992: 57). Also researchers concentrated on the most visible vestiges, at the expense of less obtrusive but equally important habitation sites (McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b).

The inventory, on the other hand, incited much of the archaeological work that took place in the Siin-Saalum at the time, suggesting interesting or endangered sites for excavation (e.g., Thilmans et al. 1980). As with earlier periods, megalithic circles and earthen mounds were primarily targeted (Thilmas and Descamps 1974, 1975, 2006), as well as a number of shell tumuli at Faboura (Descamps et al. 1977; Dieng 1980), Dioron Boumak (Descamps et al. 1974), and in the Saalum islands (Descamps and Thilmans 1979; Thilmans and Descamps 1982). By and large, these excavations present a close degree of continuity with the empirical-descriptive tradition inherited from the colonial period. The research was site-specific, meticulous in its attention to the formal and stylistic attributes of imported artifacts, and generally aimed at the retrieval of skeletal information. The significant developments experienced in French excavation techniques (de Barros 1990: 164–166; cf. Audouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1981), however, were only partially felt in Senegal, probably because local excavation strategies were largely orchestrated by Belgian coopérant Guy Thilmans, and bore the stamp of his physical anthropological training. If a marked improvement was seen in horizontal spatial control — grids for instance became a mainstay of protohistoric research — similar attention did not translate to vertical recording strategies. Sites were generally excavated in arbitrary layers, with little concordance with natural strata, and stratigraphic profiles were often minimalist in their information. Like the aire culturelle, such choices were informed by a normative approach to archaeological processes, which assumed that each type of remains was the product of fairly uniform depositional and cultural episodes (S. McIntosh 2002, personal communication). Hence, a small sample drawn from

---

[1] Interestingly, these concerns have rapidly resurfaced in Senegal over the past decade, and matters of cultural conservation and heritage protection have been brought back to the fore by the unprecedented rate of urban growth, explosion of large-scale 'development projects,' and intensification of extractive industries (mining, oil prospecting) all over the country (Thiaw 2007). The Siin-Saalum has not been spared by this dramatic alteration of the national landscape. The archaeological community in Senegal has offered varying responses to these imminent challenges. One reaction, mirroring the 1970s strategy, has involved the launching of a nationwide inventory of cultural resources, currently underway; another has raised the need to make good on the cultural heritage legislation and international conventions adopted by the country but rarely implemented, and made a strong case for developing a state-backed.

across a site or within a population of remains was seen as a satisfactory approximation of the whole (see Bocoum and McIntosh 2002: 115–120, 121–129, for a critical discussion of the problems generated by a normative view in the context of Sinthiou Bara's formation history).

The period's penchant for description was also matched by an evident discomfort regarding the commitment to historic interpretations, that is, beyond middle-range issues of depositional sequences, rates of edification, architectural typologies, or basic dating (see, however, Descamps et al. 1977, for an unusual incorporation of ecological dynamics). Ironically, the most substantive account of Siin-Saalum's prehistoric past still derived from the sensitive exegetic reading of Sereer oral traditions carried out by missionary-ethnographer Henri Gravrand (1981, 1983, 1990), or from Paul Pélissier's (1966) geographic study of agrarian societies in Senegal. Equally insightful, was the research of demographer-anthropologists Charles Becker and Victor Martin (1972, 1981, 1982a; Martin and Becker 1974, 1977, 1979), who used historical sources, ethnographic observations, oral testimonies, and site inventory data, to discuss such diverse topics as regional demographic changes over the past millennium, prehistoric migration flows, and the cultural diffusion of funerary practices and architecture in Senegambia. Often, these authors purposely looked to archaeology for evidence that would support or reject their suggestions regarding regional history.

The closest that 'traditional' archaeologists came to a regional synthesis was in postulating a model of centrifugal diffusion for the Senegambian megalithic phenomenon based on monument typology — emerging from a central facies in Kodiam and Tiékène-Boussoura, and subsequently flowing to a western and eastern facies (Thilmans et al. 1980: 156). Such conclusions, however, were somewhat premature, considering that only four sites formed the basis of the respective 'facies,' a number clearly insufficient to be considered representative of the vast landscape of unexamined monuments (Bocoum 2000b: 279; Holl and Bocoum 2006). Similarly troubling was the unquestioned equation of formal variability with temporal change, again, a premise which cannot be evaluated in light of limited regional evidence. The apparent support afforded by chronometric dates should be critically regarded, given the reliance on tenuous chronologies, isolated radiocarbon estimates, and uncalibrated results (Thiaw 1999: 82–83) — all of which were compounded by an inattention to correlating excavated materials with artificial or natural stratigraphies.

The great deal of faith placed in radiocarbon dating likely hindered the development of alternative dating techniques. In a move reminiscent of Bordesian classification (cf. Audouze and Leroi-Gourhan 1981: 112; Scarre 1999), ceramics were not used as chronological landmarks, but placed in 'families' defined by a few vague morphological criteria, which were made to represent 'archaeological cultures' (e.g., Thilmans and Ravisé 1980: 126–134; Chavane 1985; or more recently, Ba et al. 1997; see de Barros 1990: 169; and McIntosh et al. 1992, for a critique of this approach). Surface ceramics collected in the vicinity of sites, particularly in the Middle Senegal Valley, were also identified with present-day ethnic groups — Tukulor or Sereer — on the basis of their material affinities with contemporary pottery crafts, leading to comparisons between archaeological provinces (Chavane 1985; Cissé and Thilmans 1968; Thilmans and Ravisé 1980). A similar, albeit more sophisticated, inclination toward 'ethnic essentialism,' that is, correlating archaeo-

logical ceramics with contemporary ethnic groups, still persists in Senegal, particularly in ethnoarchaeological studies (Guèye 1998, 2002a; Sall 2001). The danger of such an enterprise has been brought out by recent ethnohistoric and ethnoarchaeological research documenting the highly fluid quality of ethnic identities in West African settings (Amselle and M'Bokolo 1985; Amselle 1990; Conrad and Frank 1995; Wright 1999). The continual negotiation and transformation of cultural categories make it enormously difficult to capture ethnic dynamics in the present, so it is unrealistic that we may be able to do so for more remote times, particularly if we consider that material culture tends to be an ambiguous marker of ethnicity (David et al. 1991; DeCorse 1989; Sterner 1991; David 1992: 346–347; MacEachern 1994, 1998).

Processual Influences and Post-1980's Archaeology in the Siin-Saalum

Up until the 1980's, archaeological information in Senegal had been presented either in the form of regional typologies or particularistic site studies. However, the enduring legacies of the 'aire culturelle' perspective stood at increasing odds with the processualist effervescence which diffused across much of West Africa, and remodeled regional archaeological orientations. As research frameworks widened to encompass more regional outlooks, these influences began to be felt in Senegal as well, and, even though they remained peripheral at first, processualist agendas began to carve into 'traditional' archaeology's conceptual territory. While early processualist research, particularly in its New Archaeology garb of the 1960's, clung to rather stuffy progressivist views (Trigger 1989), the context of processualism in post-independence Africa was informed by a distinct blend of processual orientations and methodologies, political concerns reflecting the wider social and intellectual milieu of the 1970's, and historiographic debates surrounding the emergence of complexity in the African Iron Age (Stahl 1999b, 2004a; also Trigger 1989: 329–369; 1990: 315). These various threads of influence, and their crystallization in the work of Susan and Roderick McIntosh (1984, 1993b; McIntosh 1995) at Jenné-Jeno, and later in the Middle Senegal Valley, were seminal in defining the identity and directions of archaeological research in the region.

In its Senegalese incarnation, 'processualist' influences merged with a rejection of traditional neo-evolutionary scenarios of political development, as these largely failed to adequately account for the variability of social trajectories exhibited in African contexts (McIntosh 1999b). In the face of data that often markedly deviated from evolutionist expectations of increasing organizational hierarchy over time, archaeological work took up the explanation of diversity as its central research focus — a focus which today still provides much of the impulse for archaeological work in Africa (e.g., McIntosh 1999d). To counter the suffocating exclusionism and progressivism of available models of complexity, this research sought to cultivate a positive appreciation for the variety of arrangements collectively devised by African societies, celebrating their creative departure from accepted canons of evolution (Stahl 2004a: 254–255). Indeed, where northward-looking historiography had traced the source of African complexity to the Muslim world, archaeologists embarked on a quest for the pre-Islamic roots of the state (e.g., McIntosh and McIntosh 1984,

1993a). These explicitly political efforts to rehabilitate the Senegambian past thus stood in sharp contrast with the uncommitted empiricism that had characterized postindependence archaeology thus far.

At the same time, Africanist research firmly held onto the methodological and conceptual panoply developed under processualism. Researchers couched their analyses in comparative terms, centered on broad anthropological questions of state formation, origins of food production, advent of metallurgy, and urban growth. By placing sites in their broader ecological contexts, they examined the development of communities in relation to changing environmental dynamics. This expansion in the scale of inquiry also required a re-sizing of methodological frameworks towards regional perspectives, the new research questions calling for the examination of assemblages harnessed from individual sites to entire regions. The need for temporal and spatial control in regional context encouraged the development of ceramic chronologies, an increased attention to formal sampling strategies, both at the site and survey level, and a close monitoring of vertical and horizontal contexts in excavation (de Barros 1990: 197; Holl 1990: 305–306). The most dramatic conceptual shifts brought about by the processualist current included explicit research designs and *problématiques*, a greater attention to scale and change, a move away from a concern for objects per se rather than objects as sources of cultural and temporal information, all of which were unfamiliar to archaeologists schooled in the francophone paradigm, Holl's work in Mauritania being a notable exception (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984; Holl 1985a, 1985b, 1994; cf. Devisse 1981).

While the most substantial contribution to Senegalese archaeology was unquestionably made by the McIntoshes since the late 1980's, it was actually Linares de Sapir (1971) who blazed one of the first processual trails across the West African landscape, in her work on shell mounds in Casamance. Linares de Sapir's research departed from contemporary concerns in two major ways: (1) it was framed by a clear agenda, aiming at building a regional chronology and recovering baseline information about regional settlement systems and subsistence strategies; (2) radiocarbon dates were not ends per se, but combined with careful metrical stratigraphy and shifts in material culture to produce Senegal's first well-anchored ceramic sequence, which stretched from the late Neolithic (BC 200) to the 18th century AD. The analysis eschewed the common tendency to use independent dating techniques "to focus on sites of particular ages and generate chronology independent of what preceded or followed the site" (Stahl 1999b: 48–49). And (3) Linares de Sapir drew connections between her data and materials excavated in shell middens across coastal Senegal (Bessac 1953; Joire 1947; Mauny 1957a, b; 1961: 150–162), to formulate hypotheses about prehistoric population movements and trade routes. Her sites were no longer examined in a cultural-historical vacuum, but situated in the wider context of regional political-economic evolution.

Although not directly processualist, the work of Gallay and colleagues (1982) displayed some affinities with Anglo-American research. The originality of their study at Mbolop Tobé (Santhiou Kohel), a multi-component Iron Age site, rested in a meticulous excavation of both an earthen tumulus flanked with menhirs and a megalithic circle. Careful stratigraphic control enabled the authors to compare the respective ceramic assemblages, thereby providing the first attempt to shed light on the historical ties between the two monumental forms. Flowing from the study were

a number of valuable insights into the chronology and function of the monuments. Ceramic similarities showed that megaliths and tumuli at Santhiou Kohel and the nearby site of Sine-Ngayène belonged to the same 'cultural complex,' within which skeletal materials alluded to the prospect of functional, and possibly temporal, differentiation, megalithic circles having been the stages of mass ritual sacrifices, and peripheral tumuli places of inhumations and sacrifices (Gallay et al. 1982: 252–253). These results also seemed to support earlier depictions of sacrificial victims accompanying deceased élites in their richly ornamented graves, which identified the megalith- and tumulus-building populations as stratified societies with endogenous roots in the first millennium AD (Thilmans et al. 1980; cf. McIntosh and McIntosh 1988b: 117–118; McIntosh 2001: 24–25).

Although processual worldviews had clearly begun to permeate the work of Senegalese archaeologists, leading, in one case, to an insightful weaving of oral traditions and metallurgical analysis (Bocoum 1990, 2000a), or in another, to a large scale comparative analysis of pottery traditions (Thiam 1991), the break with the historical particularist legacy materialized with the long-term research program established by the McIntoshes in the Middle Senegal Valley. Methodologically, their research highlighted the importance of regional surveys, complemented by localized excavations, to begin to produce synthetic perspectives on the pre-colonial past (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984, 1993b; McIntosh 1995, 2001). To realize such goals, however, it was necessary to develop material culture sequences that would enable fieldworkers to make chronological assessments in the absence of radiocarbon dates, and ascribe surface deposits to relative time-periods (McIntosh et al. 1992). In turn, these methodological concerns reflected broader theoretical interests, revolving around large-scale and long-term social, cultural and economic developments, as well as the comparative study of sociopolitical complexity (McIntosh 1998b, 1999a, 2001). These new emphases not only announced the death of 'ceramic traditions' and 'ethnic essentialism,' replaced by chronometrically bracketed ceramic sequences, but also promoted the introduction of new models of political evolution, calling for attention to heterarchical arrangements at the expense of the progressivist narratives of earlier periods (McIntosh 1994, 1999a, 1999c; McIntosh and Bocoum 1998, 2000; Bocoum and McIntosh 2002). The taken-for-granted association of markers of civilization with the Arab world would no longer do, but was replaced by the contextual investigation of political complexity over time (McIntosh 1999b).

Putting words into action, and combining the temporal insights derived from the Middle Senegal Valley 1,500-year ceramic sequence with regional survey data gathered in 1988, the McIntoshes (1993b) produced the first 'holistic' look at the Senegambian tumulus phenomenon. Rather than framing their investigation around putative ethnic groups or historically known polities, they opted to use a set of small geographic areas as units of analysis. For the first time, researchers not only compared southern tumuli with their northern counterparts but also sought to establish chronological and cultural connections between monuments and past settlements (see, however, Diop 1985, for a pioneering look at habitation sites). While preliminary, their comparison of surface finds with pottery from dated contexts yielded a number of important regional implications (McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b: 104–105): (1) ceramics from recent village occupations segregated away from older tumulus/settlement assemblages; (2) tumuli may have developed first in

southern Senegambia before spreading to more northerly latitudes; (3) megaliths appear somewhat older than tumuli; and (4) northern and southern tumuli were erected at a period of sustained contact with the North African world.

As the authors point out, a number of methodological and practical limitations underline the tentative character of the tumulus survey conclusions (McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b: 77–78, 99–101). Because the project was a short, three-week affair, the ceramic data supporting the analysis constitute a small sample, collected from a limited number of sites probably not representative of the full range of regional variation. Further, the palimpsest nature of protohistoric surface material in the regions studied, suggesting a long record of short-term, shifting occupations, made systematic survey assessments difficult and labor-intensive within the available time frame. Instead, the authors opted to look for habitation sites in the vicinity of well-known, large mound clusters, a strategy which compounds the problem of regional representativeness and gives a monument-centric flavor to the study, despite its focus on habitation sites. The paucity of surface materials frustrated one of the research's main objectives, which was to shed light on the relative chronology of regional remains. Instead the absence of well-established sequences for most of Senegal, and poorly understood relationships between monument and surface artifacts led to the definition of only very broad assemblages confined to wide time-blocks, thus masking potential axes of variability in ceramic data. The shortness of fieldwork and limited research goals also precluded complementing surface assemblages with excavated materials from regional sites. In the absence of stratigraphically bracketed, well-contextualized deposits, the chronology of the ceramic sequence rested on extrapolation from the better documented Middle Senegal Valley, and comparison with collections from earlier excavations that produced radiocarbon dates. A number of factors suggest treating the chronological placement of local assemblages with caution: (1) There is scant evidence of *demonstrated* historical ties between the Middle Senegal area and the Siin-Saalum (although oral traditions abound with narratives of Sereer migrations between the two regions; see Richard 2007); (2) assemblages excavated in the 1960's and 1970's offer problematic baselines for comparison, because they are often dated through single estimates, with generally unspecified contexts of recovery (Thilmans and Descamps 2006); and (3) it is also likely that the block-excavations and artificial stratigraphies favored at the time allowed a fair degree of uncontrolled mixing between materials from different periods.

In spite of these limitations, in expanding the scope and insights of earlier research, at Mbolop Tobé in particular, the McIntoshes' survey made a number of lasting achievements in the analysis of Siin-Saalum's past: (1) it positively refuted the earlier perceptions of tumuli and megaliths as largely invariant phenomena or bounded cultural zones; (2) it set the tone of subsequent research by examining variability within the regional archaeological record and considering funerary remains in relation to the broader social landscapes of the societies that made them; and (3) it inaugurated the application of a long-term perspective to the regional past, by studying 'protohistoric' and 'historic' remains in relation to each other along a temporal continuum, rather than as disciplinary isolates. Collectively, these advances demonstrated the potential of habitation sites for charting regional complexity.

The Middle Senegal Valley initiative has been a wealth of opportunity, spinning new research threads and orientations in Senegal, encouraging students to move in

the direction of ethnoarchaeology (Guèye 1998, 2002b; Sall 2001), historical archaeology (McIntosh 2001; Thiaw 1999, 2000, 2002, 2003b), or political complexity (Dème 1998, 2002, 2003), while retaining an overall commitment to rigorous field methodology, regional perspectives, and analysis of the *longue-durée* (Guèye 2002c). Among its many contributions, the research program promoted an integrated approach to issues of chronology, by encouraging experimentations with new techniques, such as archeomagnetic dating, to complement and verify radiocarbon-derived sequences for the Senegal Valley (Thiaw 1999: 314–325). The project, and associated research, generated an impressive corpus of baseline archaeological information (ceramic sequences, settlement distributions, material culture inventories) for several regions in Senegal, offering an invaluable comparative resource for future research, regionally and beyond. Finally, the McIntoshes' survey of the tumulus zone stimulated a geographic expansion of the analysis of regional social complexity, to encompass the megalithic and habitation remains of the Gambia River Valley (Lawson 2003), and encouraged further work in the Siin-Saalum (Richard 2002, 2005).

With the growing importance of the Senegal River Valley as a center of research and fountainhead of sociopolitical development in Senegambia, however, the 1980's and 1990's saw a drastic thinning of archaeological interest in the history and protohistory of other areas. While the shell mounds of the Saalum Delta have continued to generate archaeological attention (e.g., Ba et al. 1997; Descamps and Thilmans 2001), this interest has seldom materialized in the field, probably due to the limited availability of funding (although see Mbow 1997). Although it did not result in new excavations, Garenne-Marot's (1993) innovative dissertation marked another step towards the dismantling of 'aire culturelle' conceptual geography. Rather than framing her research around a site or province, she chose to examine a category of material culture — copper-based artifacts — drawn from a number of Senegambian Iron Age sites, and applied metallographic and typological insights to their analysis. Her work sheds light on the place of copper in Senegambia's past cultural and economic networks, although the small sample of available compositional analyses and wanting characterization data for the region temper many of her insightful hypotheses. In the Siin, tellingly, beside the survey conducted by the McIntoshes in 1988, and my own research begun in 2001 (Richard 2007), very few sites have been examined archaeologically since 1980: Massamba Lame excavated a post-contact tumulus at Yenguélé in the context of a salvage operation (Lame 2001, personal communication), and Pradines (1996: 28) recorded a handful of historic sites during a four-day reconnaissance. Working from existing archaeological, historical and oral sources, Pradines (1996, 1997) has produced an excellent historical synthesis of the tumulus phenomenon in Senegal, yet many of his insights remain provisional, requiring further archaeological evidence, and left more questions than answers. The main obstacle, of course, remains the absence of a ceramic typology for the region, and the near complete absence of archaeological information regarding past settlements and habitation sites (McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b; Pradines 1997).

In the Saalum, by contrast, the strong megalithic presence has maintained its enigmatic allure and recently reignited archaeological interest in the region. Gallay (2006), for instance, has revisited and expanded the hypotheses derived from his earlier work at Santhiou Kohel in light of a synthetic corpus of archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic information. Drawing on transcultural data on

mortuary rites, particularly on linkages between hierarchical, stratified societies and the practice of *accompanying burials* (individuals put to death to serve or join deceased elites in the after-life), Gallay ponders the implications of these findings for megalithic circles. Now identifying circles as burial places, he associates the ubiquitous presence of accompanying burials in Saalum funerary structures with chiefdom-level societies, interpreting the appearance of transitional monuments such as tumuli with flanking stones and the ultimate disappearance of megalithism as evidence of historical rupture, perhaps the development of state-level polities in the region (Gallay 2006: 221–222).

In a more revisionist vein, the University of Michigan and IFAN-Cheikh Anta Diop have partnered since 2002 to launch an original program of survey and excavations designed to shed fresh light on megalithic societies in southern Senegal (Holl and Bocoum 2006; Holl et al. 2007). While centrally focused on Sine-Ngayène (Diallombere), possibly the most spectacular funerary complex in Senegambia, this project has adopted a resolutely regional, holistic, and diachronic approach to Iron Age cemeteries (e.g., Lawson 2003), by contextualizing the site in the long-term archaeological landscape of the Petit-Bao-Bolong drainage, a study area displaying an interdigitated record of small-scale shifting settlements, quarries, iron-smelting sites, and fortified strongholds. The research is also strongly committed to an anthropological reading of funerary practices, and concerned with switches in 'mortuary codes' to track the social and ritual dynamics that shaped southern Senegal's megalithic landscape. After several seasons of excavations, initial findings are now gradually making their way into print. Although preliminary, they reveal an unanticipated degree of complexity in regional mortuary practices, and promise radical alterations in conventional interpretations of megalithic constructions.

For instance, excavations at Sine-Ngayène have uncovered a great deal of variability (formal, functional, ritual, and temporal) within and between monumental types (double-circle, monolith circles, tumuli), exploding the long-held belief that funerary structures represented single events and depositional episodes associated with primary burials (Holl and Bocoum 2006). Instead, and re-working Gallay et al's hypothesis (see above), the evidence distinguishes between *tumuli* associated with the primary inhumation of high-ranking individuals (with possible material differentiation indexing sex or status) and *megalithic circles* which are seen as 'open structures,' marked by a series of secondary inhumations denoting cycles of use and reuse associated with different 'funerary programs.' Particularly notable is Monument 27, the double-megalithic circle at the center of the site, which presents four depositional cycles associated with different phases of construction and cemetery history, spanning the (calibrated) 8th through 14th centuries. The excavators identified three successive cycles of intense secondary burials (structured by different mortuary grammars, variable modes of bone selection, deposition, and distribution) and a later cycle of low-intensity burial activity, marked by different ceramics, and post-dating the erection of the internal ring of monoliths (Holl et al. 2007: 136–146). Due to the increased presence of pottery and long-distance trade items, decreased occurrence of bones, and temporal hiatus, the authors attribute this ritual program to a new functional stage in the life-history of the monument. Now centrally located in the evolving geography of the cemetery, Monument 27 may have grown into disuse as a burial concession to become a more publicand communally oriented space, possibly

a ceremonial area. This scenario seems supported by the excavation of a 'ritual-ceremonial' space flanking the western part of the double-circle, a specially configured area where ritual preparations and propitiatory practices may have been conducted (Holl et al. 2007: 146). Clearly, these are preliminary hypotheses that only cover a small subset of the Diallombere funerary complex, and preliminary results will doubtlessly be amplified or emended by future work. Of special significance is the ongoing extensive excavation at Ngayène II, which targets the *whole* cemetery, and will offer unique insights on intra- and inter-site variability in ritual practices, spatial configuration, patterns of growth and use, as well as temporality.

Discussion: Learning from the Past, Charting Future Directions

In the Siin-Saalum, the progressivist obsession with tumuli and megaliths as monumental signposts to complexity, and the implicit view that Africans had been passively enduring their history as opposed to actively living it, have long determined which remains were worth excavating and which explanatory labels should be pinned on them (Stahl 1999b). From one set of *deus ex machina* scenarios (evolutionism-diffusionism) to the next ('historical particularist' approach, underdevelopment theory), our tableaus of the past have effectively effaced the possibility of a purposeful role for Africans in the production of their history (Thiaw 2000: 130–131). This legacy is still palpable in those assessments of the European impact on local societies as one of destructive devolution and disruption, viewing Africa as the victim of a debilitating loss of historic initiative at the hand of capitalist accumulation and its colonial ramifications (e.g., Barry 1972, 1998; Bathily 1989; see critique in Mbodj and Diouf 1986: 212–213; also Thioub 2002). Once overlaid, these historical maps tended to homogenize the course of Siin-Saalum's pre-colonial past, emphasizing continuity at the expense of process, while perceiving of change as a one-way relation controlled from the outside.

   The endurance of developmentalist assumptions in archaeological models of the past is perhaps the most striking feature of the trajectory of Siin Saalum complexity prior to the late 1980's, and encourages reflection on the factors that may be responsible for ensuring its longevity. On one level, the negative imagery of Africa in relation to history persisted in archaeological discourse because of researchers' overwhelming focus on the first moment of practice — the production of knowledge about the past. This was not any kind of knowledge, however, but a value-free, neutral, *additive* knowledge, inherited from the modernist search for order and the French Paleolithic tradition, whose empiricist sensibilities precluded an engagement with theory and epistemology, and a questioning of historiography or the assumptions that underpinned research. Earlier works and finds were appraised, but it was generally on methodological and empirical grounds (e.g., Thilmans et al. 1980: 14–25; Becker and Martin 1982b). The absence of self-critical and political introspection in many ways shaped Senegalese archaeology's cold reception to the celebratory rhetoric of African achievement which surged in the wake of independence and structured revisionist views of continental histories. Its retreat behind a façade of methodological

aloofness in the 1960's to the 1980's, belies deeper ideological positions and sociopolitical implications. In its contempt for regional generalizations, this meticulous empiricism enshrined the past in inventories, descriptive typologies, ethnic analogies, and isolated site reports (de Barros 1990: 169–172), that perpetuated timeless perspectives of African societies similar to those born of colonial ethnography a century earlier (e.g., Boilat 1853; Lasnet et al. 1900; see Diop and Diouf 1990: 270). In this respect, archaeological research in Senegal has been distinctly unrelational in stressing the surface forms of the past (typologies, aire culturelle, monuments) at the expense of the processes underlying them.

The construction of evidence and knowledge in Senegalese archaeology, however, unfolded in dialectical relationship with popular perceptions of the pre- and protohistoric, pre-Islamic past (Thiaw 2003a). That the deep past archaeologists were interrogating lay relatively unclaimed largely spared them the troubles of confrontation and contestation that could have heightened disciplinary awareness to issues of historiography and the constructed quality of the past. The lack of affective ties connecting local populations to the archaeological patrimony permitted the extraction of ancient vestiges from their historical contexts and their freezing into baselines of enduring structures that could be used as a foil for assessing the progressive changes wrought by Islamic and European contact. While post-independence historians made it their task to unravel the historical roots of the present, waging their political and ideological battles on the turf of history (Thioub 2002), prehistoric and protohistoric pasts were reentrenched as the realm of science, not memory or identity, and set apart as places out of history, freed from the gravity of power, politics, economy, society, or indeed, the present. This established concrete temporal boundaries for the 'circle of the We.' A consideration of the 'walls' and 'passageways' between and within community and academic constructions of the past (Cohen 1994: 245) further highlights the 'overdetermined' quality of temporal difference and evolutionist distancing in Senegal, pointing to the nuanced causalities and mutual influences that framed their production: (1) how, for instance, 'indigenous' and colonial perceptions of the past mingled and informed each other, and how their transcription in the works of Faidherbe or Delafosse influenced later generations of scholars and popular imaginings (Manchuelle 1995: 343–346); (2) how processes of Wolofization and Islamization set in motion a dialectics of amnesia and remembering that may have redefined local groups' relationship to their material past, erasing claims and memories as pledges were made to new religious or ethnic identities; (3) how the State's cultural politics helped shape the production and (lack of) public consumption of archaeological representations; (4) how rigid disciplinary boundaries between history and archaeology (Bocoum 2002: 201–202) helped to naturalize the qualitative divide between historical time and longue-durée, and Islamic and pre-Islamic pasts; or (5) how a long institutional history of separation between the practice of archaeology, which takes place at the IFAN, and its teaching (generally in the form of prehistory) which is delivered at University of Dakar's History Department (Thiaw 2003a: 216), prevented the development of a theoretical reflection on the archaeological past, and fostered the reproduction of the history/prehistory divide so central to Senegalese historians' imagination.

From colonial times to the 1980's, this complex articulation of social, intellectual, institutional and material forces gave a strikingly fractured texture to Senegal's archaeological landscape. Temporally split along typological lines — colonial/precolonial, prehistory/protohistory/history, Islamic/pre-Islamic — it was geographically parceled into ethnically tagged provinces and ceramic families. Finally, it was institutionally rifted, with a divorce between practice, critique and action, between history and archaeology. The net result was the production of a disarticulated picture of complexity, a mosaic of times, populations and vestiges, with few processual connections between them or with the broader fabric of society.

The recent developments in Senegalese archaeology present a radical departure from earlier orientations. This research has made significant contributions to a relational understanding of the regional past, by developing tools, concepts and orientations for the study of complexity in African contexts. Recognizing the social-ideological construction of knowledge, contemporary trends have stressed the need for the development of self-reflexive, critical perspectives, encouraging archaeologists to examine the evolutionist assumptions underlying our models of social change. They have explicitly rejected the colonial assumption that Iron Age complexity had been externally induced, and shown that classic evolutionary schemas centered on hierarchy and centralized authority fail to capture the distinctive social dynamics and power arrangements that structured ancient African societies (McIntosh 1999b). To extricate the Senegambian past from its progressivist and homogenizing straitjacket, they have instead argued for the need to produce situated understandings of African sociopolitical complexity, that focused on retrieving diversity and variability in its forms and pathways (McIntosh 1999c; Stahl 1999b).

The focus on diversity has been salutary in a number of respects: (1) It has debunked the use of Polynesian and European models as evolutionary standards, to show that societies do not require monuments, vertical stratification, or centralized decision-making to be complex (McIntosh 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). Rather than demonstrating societies' *degree of complexity*, inquiries should investigate the *nature of complexity* (e.g., McIntosh 1998a); (2) Directing our attention to contingency and context has encouraged the retrieval of particular historicities and cultural pathways through empirically robust studies at specific localities. The emphasis is now placed on tracking process, expanding archaeological analysis to account for long-term changes, regional systems dynamics and their involvement in trans-Saharan and Atlantic networks (McIntosh 1995). Spatial-temporal variability in material culture has been examined in conjunction with oral, historic, and ethnographic information to understand changes in subsistence, long-distance trade, craft production, technology and settlement patterns (Bocoum and McIntosh 2002; McIntosh and Bocoum 2000; Thiaw 1999, 2000); (3) At the same time, archaeologists have sought to expand local insights and use the lens of complexity to frame comparative perspectives on regional development. Specifically, McIntosh (1998b, 1999a) has examined how differences in floodplain morphology in the Middle Senegal Valley and Inland Niger Delta have had differential impact on the dynamics of development in these regions. The florescence of work along the Senegal River is also yielding comparative insights into different social

trajectories across the region (Dème 1998, 2003; McIntosh et al. 1992; Thiaw 1999).[2] While more modest in its scope, the tumulus project has raised new questions about the circulation of people, diffusion of ideas and practices attached to monumental architecture, and impact of long-distance commerce on political organization and state formation; (4) Processual work has also stressed the relevance of African case material for broadening our analysis of complexity worldwide, making it more inclusive of variations in the forms and developmental logics of human social organization (McIntosh 1999b: 1, 22–23). Indeed materials from the Middle Senegal Valley or Inland Niger Delta have forced us to rethink our ideas of complexity, and look to ethnography or ethnohistory for models of political organization (loose federations bound by ritual authority, integration through specialization and functional interdependence, 'village republics,' shared power arrangements among various segments of society, heterarchy) that might account for regional settlement configuration (McIntosh 1993a, 1998a; McIntosh 1999a, 1999c); (5) At the same time, researchers have reminded us that, although ethnographic examples may be 'good to think with' and draw our theoretical imaginations to the salient variables of social organization, these have limitations and must be reinforced by *archaeological* analogs that consider how various heterarchic arrangements might be expressed in the archaeological record (McIntosh 1999b, 1999c; cf. Stahl 2004a).

While striving to translate archaeological work into productive disciplinary critique and social action, and the commitment to democratic revisionism represent impressive contributions, this body of work has not been impervious to the various social forces that have framed archaeological research in Africa. Stahl (2004a: 253–256; 2005b), for instance, has recently encouraged us to look more closely at how the broad context of African historiography in the wake of political independence — its insistence on dispelling the myth of Africa as a stagnant backwater and fostering respect for its past cultural achievements, particularly — may have taken the investigation of African ancient societies along very specific paths, with implications for our research priorities, theorization of complexity, selection of evidence and analogies, and promotion of the African past. One of her concerns is that, in trying to empirically counter the negative imagery built into previous perceptions of African evolution, historians and archaeologists have continued to privilege the themes that structured evolutionist scholarship (Stahl 2004a: 255; 1999b: 45). As we have been at pains to show that African societies too could be complex, we have tended to examine those dimensions of the past that elevate respect for Africa's past: new tools and perspectives have been forged, yet we have largely relied on the same data (large sites, urban communities, states and kingdoms, political centers) and similar foci

---

[2] Of particular note here is Dème's pathbreaking dissertation work at Walaldé, which has redefined what we know of the history of occupation in the Middle Senegal Valley and ancient metallurgy in northern Senegambia (Dème 2003; Dème and McIntosh 2006). His findings suggest a settlement of the floodplain by a group of iron-using agropastoralists between 800 and 550 cal BC, sharing ceramic affinities with pottery found in the Senegal River delta and southwestern Mauritania. While no signs of metallurgical production were found, and while the evidence sheds no definitive light on the debate over the origins of iron technology in Africa, it supplies an important additional case to the handful of sites that have produced iron in well-stratified, contextually sealed first millennium cal BC deposits.

(long-distance trade, metallurgy, state formation) as those that framed developmentalist research (e.g., McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b; McIntosh 1995).

Thus, interests in interregional trade (with North Africa, in particular), the emergence of large-scale societies, and regional ties to the patterns of complexity documented for the Inland Niger Delta (Bocoum and McIntosh 2002: 15, 18, 21) have funneled Middle Senegal Valley research toward large sites and mounds (Thioubalel, Siouré, Sinthiou Bara, Walaldé) loosely associated with historic kingdoms (Tekrur, Silla, Gajaaga, Bundu) (e.g., McIntosh et al. 1992; Thiaw 1999; Bocoum 2000a; McIntosh and Bocoum 2000; Dème 2003), and maintained the existing focus on tumulus and megalith clusters in Siin-Saalum, despite the fresh perspectives brought on habitation sites (Gallay et al. 1982: 227; McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b: 74; Holl and Bocoum 2006; Holl et al. 2007). To be fair, these choices also mirror the endemic absence of basic culture-historical data bequeathed by previous generations of scholars, which drew excavators to those most visible and deeply stratified sites, allegedly bearers of the richest information on chronology and material culture change through time (McIntosh et al. 1992: 48). Likewise, the need to develop regional baselines oriented analysis towards the recovery of basic data — trade, metal production, subsistence economy, environment, technology, ceramic chronology, settlement information. A point to remember, however, is that what we define as 'basic data' has been shaped by universal criteria of civility — long-distance commerce, complex craft production, 'advanced' technology — and specific processualist concerns with comparative questions, ecological dynamics, regional outlooks, and so on.

These trends, in turn, have tethered our understandings of political development and variability to a subset of data and questions revolving around larger sites, state-level polities, or monumental vestiges. By contrast, interstitial societies (frontiers); peripheries; hamlets and villages; intermeshing societies at different scales of organization; the collapse of complexity; historical situations resulting in transition from more to less complex arrangements; the articulation of production, consumption and exchange, have not been emphasized (Stahl 1999b: 48; 2004a; also Kopytoff 1987, 1999; David and Sterner 1999; LaViolette and Fleisher 2005). In some respect, this tendency has been compounded by a relative lack of integration between our scales of inquiry: While we have informed views of change at particular sites and growing data on regional settlement patterns (McIntosh et al. 1992; Dème 1998; Thiaw 1999; Bocoum and McIntosh 2002), we need a better sense of the manifold relations between regions and the sites that compose them (although see Guèye 1998, for a more integrated perspective). Discussing the past in terms of particular localities or synthetic regional maps may result in rather one-sided views of complexity that disconnect our notions of political organization (region-level) from our views of daily life and civil society (site-level), and overlook variability in the structure of past social systems (Stahl 1999b).

More encompassing understandings of past social dynamics can emerge from a spatial perspective which broadens our scales to encompass not only sites and the various ensembles they form, but also the many levels at which they intersect — "the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information" among villages and settlements (Lefèbvre 1991: 77), between different types of sites, between community clusters, between the various parts of a region.

Concretely, such an analysis must be built on "a regional approach that is sensitive to variability within regions through time" paired with "excavation programs that target different types of sites in a region both through time and in particular temporal contexts" (Stahl 1999b: 47–48; also de Barros 1988; Robertshaw 1994, 1999; Denbow 1999). Yet, to animate the links between the various components of past social systems, it is necessary to go beyond organizing our facts into regional survey maps and site-bound pictures, to imagine novel ways of parsing our data universes: for example, we can break open site boundaries to explore the signatures of community-based, regional or global relations embedded at particular localities; or we can dissolve our regional blocks into plural configurations, by comparing and contrasting the different levels of patterning (site distribution, size, and social-spatial associations; functional differentiation; material culture distributions; proximity to natural/spiritual resources; center versus hinterland; etc.) within surveyed areas through time. Such multi-scalar readings can open a number windows into African complexity: (1) they permit us to capture variability within large-scale sociohistorical formations and begin to interrogate the diverse relations (economic interdependence, social conflict, commercial exchange, political tutelage or parity, ritual integration) that tied cultural groups or polities over time (MacEachern 1993, 1998, 2001b; also Clark and Hietala 2002; Kusimba and Kusimba 2003; Stein 2002); (2) by linking intra- and inter-site patternings, we reinforce how the political and social structures that sustain a polity are built on a substrate of cultural practices and social relations (e.g., McCaskie 1995; also McIntosh 1993a, 1998a). In other words, our historical models must pay closer attention to how 'complexity' unfolded in relation with daily life and everyday practices (Stahl 2002; also Pauketat 2001, 2004; Holl 2004: 148–184); and, (3) by pointing to disjunctures and similarities in material culture organization at different levels of the regional spectrum through time — i.e., how the same processes can be felt differently at the levels of the household and settlement system; how structural contradictions may emerge between political centers and their dependencies, or within the hinterland; or how what is hierarchically organized on one scale may be heterarchically organized at another (Crumley 1995; Marquardt and Crumley 1987). Thus, we open the way for truly multi-scalar appreciations of process, and in particular, of the differential impacts of global encounters on local communities and the patterns of social responses these incited (e.g., Orser 1996; Denbow 1999; Stahl 1999a; Mitchell 2005).

As recent agendas have shaped our approach to space, they have also influenced the temporal framework of complexity in Senegal. Key interest in the pre-Islamic roots of trade and cultural organization tied early understandings of past political-economies to the period preceding and encompassing the crux of the trans-Saharan trade, at the expense of later periods. Early work in the Middle Senegal Valley has not really addressed the transition period to, and immersion into, Atlantic economic networks. Surely this temporal parsing has been conditioned by recovered evidence, with frustrating gaps in regional sequences for the 1200–1500 period (Guèye 1998; Thiaw 1999), and discrete human occupations interrupted before or by AD 13th century at the main excavated sites. The consequence has been that, until recently, 'historical' occupations were not subjected to the same degree of analysis or engaged with the same intensity as pre-contact periods, and that the *processual* investigation of complexity and Iron Age dynamics was not actively pursued into the European-

contact period. Incidentally, in the absence of a well-established tradition of historical archaeological studies, 'traditional' approaches to ceramic analysis, time and analogy have provided a reference frame for how subsequent research has examined historic period contexts and their evidential sources.

In Senegal, the presence of 'recent sites' was increasingly acknowledged in the 1970's and 1980's, as excavation and survey work along the Middle Senegal Valley began to turn up ceramic assemblages that differed from protohistoric pottery (Thilmans and Ravisé 1980: 133–134; Chavane 1985). The study of historic contexts, however, remained largely confined to an analysis of their ceramic assemblages, which generally consisted in describing the pottery and placing it in a broad 'subactuel' (referring to the 'recent' or 'historic' past) category, dated to the 16th to 19th centuries, on the basis of resemblances with modern pottery, consistent association with tobacco pipes, and radiocarbon estimates (Chavane 1985). Growing interest for 'historic' pottery in the past 15 years has resulted in comprehensive studies (Guèye 1991, 1998, 2002a; also McIntosh and McIntosh 1993b, for an early analysis). Researchers have emphasized the homogeneity of subactuel ceramics both in time and space in the Middle Senegal Valley and a drastic decline in the quality of pottery in relation to previous periods, which has been partly associated with the unsettling effects of the slave trade (Guèye 1991, 2002a). While they have rejected earlier visual identification of the pottery with Halpulaar and Sereer populations (e.g., Thilmans and Ravisé 1980; Chavane 1985), they have left largely unchallenged the typological and temporal foundations of the classification.

The key difficulty lies in the concept of 'subactuel' pottery itself, which compresses 400 years of dramatic changes into one material culture phase, and has been extended to the whole of Senegal. While the concept has been purged of its ethnic connotations, and duly temporized, it remains an heirloom of 'aire culturelle' thinking. Just as cultural areas were handy classificatory devices, the subactuel provides a widely applicable relative chronology for surface assemblages. Retaining the concept, however, does not help us confront its developmentalist undertones or its rooting in protohistoric/historic typological time. A second problem is the homogenizing quality of the subactuel. Stahl (1994) has warned us against assuming continuity in African material practices through time, and we should indeed not presume that Senegalese ceramics went unchanged for four centuries, despite their apparent homogeneity. Issues of variations and persistence in the material record are empirical questions, best pursued through an examination of well-stratified assemblages. Nor should we rely on historical assumptions of a 16th century introduction of tobacco pipes or isolated, and possibly contaminated, 14C dates to bracket the subactuel chronologically (Thiaw 1999: 178). A 400-year range is not very useful in contexts that can be dated much more accurately through other classes of material culture (e.g., Thiaw 1999: 211–222, 227–228, 347–369; DeCorse et al. 2003). Thus careful cross-examination of well-contextualized European artifact assemblages and associated local ceramics can produce chronological insights into geographic and temporal variation in ceramic production over the past four centuries, when wide statistical margins and other 'two-sigma limits' make radiocarbon estimates often uninformative. Recent data from the Falemme suggest that, in addition to showing a great deal of variability, most of the 'historic period' pottery dated to the 18th and 19th century (Thiaw 1999: 178). 'Historic period' ceramics from the Siin also present some

subregional variability, and ongoing analysis has identified three chronologically distinct assemblages: a recent group associated with 20th machine-made bottleglass, plastic beads, and modern trash; an assemblage associated with 18th and 19th century European imports; and an earlier, stylistically-related group showing no association with European imports, which predates the 17th century and may date back to 1400's (Richard 2007: Ch. 8).

'Subactualism' has left an indelible imprint on archaeological studies of the post-15th century period. By collapsing several centuries into a time-capsule, it has promoted a false image of immobility and homogeneity in past material practices which has molded our relationship to non-archaeological sources, our use of analogy to model the past and our historical reconstructions. Methodologically, as we have looked to the ethnographic and historic records to inform on aspects of daily life (Stahl 2004a), our analogical gazes have been colored by an assumption of historical continuity between past and present cultural practices. For instance, based on technological and stylistic similarities with vessels made by contemporary Halpulaar potters, ethnoarchaeological research has attributed subactuel pottery to a largely Halpulaar ceramic tradition introduced in the Senegal Valley during the Peul invasion of the late 15th century (Guèye 1998, 2002a). Combined with the assumption that 'traditional' craft production remained relatively unchanged over time, this association has authorized the projection of present-day social dynamics onto the archaeological record to resurrect patterns of consumption, organization of ceramic production, and local modes of exchange in the past. Although ethnographic models can shed invaluable light on archaeological contexts,[3] and although historic pottery may well have been made by Tukolor/Peul potters (a sparse historic record does not contradict it), "[w]e should anticipate that ancient economic practices and arrangements varied from historically and ethnographically documented ones. . . — that even though potting, weaving and smithing continue to be vital crafts in many areas, the organization for these pursuits was likely altered as villagers were incorporated in a colonial, capitalist political economy. . . In this sense, we need to embrace a *comparative* approach, one that explores the points of similarity and divergence between our diverse lines of evidence — ethnographic, historical, and archaeological" (Stahl 2004a: 260–261; see also Stahl and Cruz 1998: 221–223). The value of ethnographic data lies precisely in that they can *independently* support or confront other sources of information, and such insights are lost when we assume that contemporary arrangements adequately reflect past practices.

Subactualism has also had theoretical consequences that can be seen in the tendency to link an invariant material record with fairly uniform historical causes and inscribe the 16th–19th century period in fairly homogeneous trajectories of change. Recent research, influenced by dependentist models of the Dakar School of History (Thioub 2002: 136–137), has portrayed the post-15th century as a long period of drastic loss of African autonomy in all compartments of social life, and tended to attribute all material culture patterns at historic sites to the destabilizing

---

[3] See, for instance, Guèye's (1998) creative use of the ethnographic record to define parameters (proximity to clay sources, site size, presence/absence of metal and thread production, variability in vessel types/ decorations) for discerning production from consumption units in the archaeological record and inferring the nature of exchange between them.

effects of the Atlantic economy. For example, the dense blanket of *gents* (abandoned village sites) covering the west-central part of Senegal has been interpreted as a material testimony of the climate of violence unleashed by the slave trade (Diop 1996–1998, 1997a, 1997b, 2000). Although this is a valid interrogation, the model rests on a fragile assumption of temporal uniformity in the material record. Village sites are viewed as coextensive in time and contemporary with the Atlantic era, on the basis of surface assemblages of subactuel pottery and European materials. It is likely, however, that not all sites were occupied or abandoned at the same time, and that a significant number could predate or post-date the period of the slave trade. As we struggle with the issue of equifinality — i.e., when different conditions produce similar archaeological patterns — we will need to closely consider the effects of climatic pejoration, conflicts over resources or the long-term social legacies of the Saharan slave trade in our historic models (McIntosh 1999b: 12; 2001: 29). Only careful excavations and attention to material variability (trade imports, in particular) will shed empirical light into the effects of the Atlantic economy on local societies (DeCorse 2001; McIntosh 2001).

Rather than forcing archaeological data into underdevelopment straitjackets, perhaps we had better use material culture as an independent line of evidence to assess the validity of these models. As a growing body of work in West Africa is increasingly showing, continental trajectories of change cannot be taken for granted, and long-term involvements with distant networks of peoples, objects and ideas had rather different effects from one setting to another. Indeed, our special contribution to the study of complexity derives from the material and local qualities of archaeological data to produce insights into how global interconnections reshaped the political economies of African societies of varying scales (e.g., DeCorse 2001).

For example, Philip de Barros (1988, 2001) has chronicled temporal changes in the organization and output of iron production in Bassar (northern Togo) as the vagaries of the slave trade variably reshaped the contours of regional politics. As Bassar was responding to increased demand for iron products and fluctuating levels of slave raiding from its powerful neighbors, a dynamic picture of intensifications and reversals in levels and organization of production, technological capacity and political arrangements through time emerges, which evades the grasp of documented history. de Barros's research offers a powerful reminder that Africa's immersion into global networks cannot be seen as a *de facto* synonym of technological perdition for the continent (cf. Bocoum 2000c). Ann Stahl's (1999a, 2001, 2002, 2004a; Stahl and Cruz 1998) long-term research in the Banda area of west-central Ghana) illustrates how a multiscalar view of locality can inform nuanced readings of shifting complexity in past societies. Combining excavated materials from three neighboring village sites occupied at different periods over the past 700 years with historic accounts, this research documents how daily life (settlement patterns, subsistence economy, production and consumption practices) in Banda was reshaped in its shifting involvement with inter-regional and international commercial networks, and a gradually eroding political climate leading to formal colonization in the 1890's. A particularly salient outcome of recent analysis has been to chronicle how entanglements between traded objects and local practices, and between variably distant manufacturing centers and local arenas of consumption can influence the

organization of craft production. As new items flowed in, and as imported and locally produced beads, pipes and cloth came to be imbued with different social properties (distinction), changes in the organization and output of local crafts production and regional trade flows ensued. In the early 19th century, for example, the growing taste for cotton cloth and European textiles as insigniae of prestige caused cloth production to shift 'downward' from a regionally specialized activity to small-scale household production. In the same period, increasing popularity in mass-produced ball clay pipes altered the 'politics of value' associated with smoking, leading to a contraction and ultimate extinction of regional pipe-making tradition (Stahl 2002, 2004a). While this 'cartography of taste' remains partial (Stahl 2002: 841) — it does not yet account for social variability in consumption or the power-laden nature of taste-making practices, nor does it examine the mutual shaping of histories of production and consumption in Africa and Europe — 'taste' is used as an innovative, multiscalar lens for articulating the cultural encounter between localities and more distant worlds. By pointing to cultural pathways that may not be historically recorded, the analysis charts a comparative baseline for assessing later changes associated with colonialism (Stahl 2004a). It also demonstrates how, as they framed the reception of foreign objects, embodied preferences and the regimes of value they supported also influenced larger-scale patterns of organization — in other words, how social complexity is made in the encounter between political-economic forces and cultural practice.

Research in the Falemme and ongoing work at Gorée Island are likewise beginning to bring corrective lenses to our understanding of Senegambia's engagement with the world-system over the past 1,500 years. While historical scripts have claimed that the Gajaaga polity was an urbanized landscape in the early second millennium AD that was decimated by the Atlantic trade (Bathily 1989), survey work in the Falemme has demonstrated low site density between AD 500 and 1500, and a dramatic increase in settlements in the post-1500 period (Thiaw 1999). Using contemporary historic accounts, Thiaw (2000) associates this demographic explosion with (1) increasing mobility and outmigration in an atmosphere of political violence, where new settlements were frequently founded and briefly occupied by refugee populations, or (2) the development of slave-based export agriculture. Moving to the coast, preliminary results from four seasons of excavations at Gorée are helping us to rethink the material impact of Europeans on the island and possibly coastal societies (Thiaw 2003b).[4] While historians (Barry 1998) have argued that the disruptive effects of the Atlantic economy on local societies can be traced to the Portuguese period, the European presence on the island is scarcely visible prior to the mid-18th century, suggesting a pattern of early cultural and economic reliance on African lifeways (Thiaw 2002, 2008). Likewise, the segregation of domestic space between European, free Black, and slave dwellings pictured on 17th and 18th century maps appears to have left few if any traces in the archaeological record, leaving open the

---

[4] While Guy Thilmans (2006) conducted excavations on Gorée, which he supplemented with subtantive original historical research, this early work employed archaeology as a 'handmaiden to history,' that is, to confirm or infirm documentary testimonies, in ways reminiscent of the formative days of American historical archaeology.

possibility that slaves were incorporated into European residential compounds at an early time (Thiaw 2003b: 33–34).

My own research in the Siin hinges on a relational analysis of regional complexity, and explores how multiple levels of scales and process can be accommodated through the concept of 'landscape' (Richard 2007: 59–79). Landscape approaches refocus our analyses not on sites or settlements, but on the stretch of socially shaped space which envelops the remains of past activities, and thus grants us access to the different scales on which historic processes intersected and played themselves out (e.g., Crumley and Marquardt 1990; Fisher and Thurston 1999; Gosden and Head 1994). Oral and historic sources portray the Siin as a vibrant 'frontier' that saw the emergence of a wide array of political arrangements over the past two millennia. As culturally diverse groups came into contact, the region appears to have oscillated between centralized and heterarchic arrangements. Even as the Siin crystallized into a centralized 'kingdom' around the 15th century, village traditions hint at the possibility of considerable fluctuations in regional political integration, with periods of power centralization alternating with phases of greater local autonomy through time. The challenge is to find ways of parsing our material universe to capture these variations in social organization and how they might be inscribed in the material landscape.

Three survey areas spanning the region have been intensively searched for villages, hamlets, political centers, short-term occupations, production sites, tumuli, and ritual places, and combined with small-scale excavations at former capitals and villages occupied at different times, to gain insights into regional variability. Landscape analysis offers a social-spatial framework for integrating these different types of sites, and teasing apart the ways in which they variously combined or interacted over time. It trains our attention to how different parts of the landscape may have been the loci of different social dynamics, economic interactions, political contradictions; how they may have been integrated into shifting or overlapping social ensembles; how they may have been differentially impacted by changes in trade routes, access to regional resources, patterns of political instability, or the introduction of new goods and ideas. In other words, we can obtain a mosaic picture of Siin's social trajectory by looking at similarities and differences in social experiences within the region.

While in their initial stages, survey and excavations indicate significant differences in settlement size, density, distribution, and dispersal/aggregation both *between* and *within* survey areas over time that may represent differences in social arrangements (Richard 2007, n.d.a). Over time, village habitats in the region reveal a complex and shifting blend of continuities with earlier spatial forms and innovative responses to a changing economic landscape. Starting in the 15th century, settlements show a consistent shuffling in demographic and economic gravity towards interior areas, reflecting population movements triggered by state formation and Atlantic processes. At the same time, the existence of a kingdom notwithstanding, villages and the settlement geography during the Atlantic period show few manifest signs of spatial stratification, raising fascinating implications for political organization, landscapes and the spatialization of power in the region. I have suggested elsewhere that royal authority was constrained by ideologies of power and social logics inherited from earlier times, that forced elites to work through relatively dispersed and heterogenous spatial structures, and develop new strategies of materialization of power that

did not involve substantial reshaping of the political landscape (Richard unpublished manuscript; Norman and Kelly 2004; Smith 2003).

Coursing through these changing landscapes were flows of locally produced and imported objects. Material assemblages over time reveal a cascade of tempos and engagements with the outside world, resulting in very different historical trajectories for different classes of objects. Some domains of materiality, such as those nested in commercial textile and iron production, were casualties of the easy access to cheap manufactures, while others (ceramic manufacture, pipe smoking) showed minor alteration, and other forms of craftsmanship still (bead-making) actually emerged during the period (Richard n.d.b). Salient here is the evidence of creative and uneven combinations of objects, practices, and values, that spun different trajectories of experience and material change, raising pointed questions about the idea of a homogeneous global modernity implacably leveling the cultural terrains of African communities and destroying their capacity for production. Despite these promising results, our ability to resurrect past social relations within the Siin remains diminished by limited fieldwork and how much resolution our playing with scales will afford; unfortunately, at present, chronological control and levels of archaeological detail (associated with architectural impermanence) continue to be lacking.

The value of these studies lies in their careful use of archaeological materials alongside other lines of evidence to shed robust light on the mosaic of political trajectories and cultural configurations that emerged at various moments of Africa's long-term involvement with broader economic networks (Stahl 2004b). This research draws 'cartographies of change' that track transformations in settlement patterns, political organization, subsistence practices, production and consumption, long-distance trade, and technology, showing that these do not necessarily co-vary, as evolutionist perspectives earlier had it (also Yoffee 1993; David and Sterner 1999; McIntosh 1999b, 2001; Chapman 2003). It highlights the necessity of incorporating more recent periods into our assessments of African complexity in the *longue-durée*. Such long-term perspectives not only allow us to appraise the manifold effects of processes tied to the expansion of the capitalist world-system in relation to previous periods, but it can also help us appreciate the deeper temporal roots of certain patterns of change visible during the Atlantic era (McIntosh 2001: 31–32). Breaking up the 'subactuel' into subphases attentive to regional or temporal variations may represent a first step toward developing *archaeological* models of change in the post-15th century that can be compared against other sources to assess the 'turbulence and loss' wrought by global political economic interactions (Stahl 2001, 2004a). Combined with a close reading of available archives in their temporal context, this will lessen our reliance on ethnographic models or historic documents for interpretation, and enhance the comparative value of archaeology for the study of African complexity.

Concluding Words: A Road to Cultural Justice?

As we expand our vistas to encompass more nuanced views of the African past, there is one critical dimension of archaeological practice that we will have to engage with particular intensity, namely, the need to view our work in broader context, and

consider the broader effects of our framings of Africa's histories. Although recent archaeology in Senegal has thoroughly explored some of the issues touching on the inner, academic dimensions of knowledge production (theorization of complexity, disciplinary debates) (e.g., McIntosh 1999b, 1999c), it has been less involved in considering those issues operating on the outside of this process (public consumption and appropriation of anthropological knowledge, politics of cultural representation). A few exceptions aside (Sall 2002; Thiaw 2003a, 2008), Senegalese archaeology has not attended to its public side or the responses its finds can trigger among a diversity of audiences. Yet if we are to reclaim a place for 'archaeology' beside 'history' in the making of useful pasts, and if we are to write relevant alternative histories, it is essential that we engage non-archaeological publics, and that we keep in full view what becomes of our images as they get involved in the construction of identity and difference, both in Senegal and in the western popular imaginary.

At the level of Senegal, the failure to engage local audiences has been assisted by the frustrations of a largely unclaimed Iron Age past, and the fact that local populations tend to view our work with amused condescension at best, or reject it as plain absurdity at worst. We have seen, however, that the consignment of 'protohistory' to the margins of popular discourse may have been in part engineered by Senegalese archaeology's long tradition of political absenteeism and its failure to reach out to local audiences (Thiaw 2003a). More significantly, this disinterest in remote times masks the operation of important processes of marginalization at the core of Senegal's national project. Certain populations or regions, the Diola of Casamance, for instance, have long been elided from national historical narratives and political-economic participation on the basis of their assumed cultural particularism (Gasser 2002; Marut 2002). Likewise, the 'Sereer du Nord-Ouest' have been historically stigmatized as savage, tribe-like, bellicose, and backwards. Old 'ethnic' stereotypes with roots in colonial ethnography keep being recycled, featured prominently in the permanent exhibit at the Gorée Island Historical Museum, for instance (Thiaw 2003a: 222–223). 'Ethnic' and cultural difference is here constructed in relation to an imagined pre-Islamic past, one of animist traditions, egalitarian political organization, and 'acephal' republics standing in sharp contrast with the more hierarchically structured, Muslim, Wolof and Halpulaar kingdoms of northern Senegal — those that mark the standard of 'national' historical identity. Historical variability and process are immured in 'ethnic' labels and immobile traditions, and conjugated in the idiom of 'good/bad savage' rhetorics (cf. Trouillot 1991). In other words, developmentalist ideas, with Islamo-Wolof accents, have been nursed right at the heart of Senegal's popular imagination. And in its lack of public involvement, archaeology has not confronted the politics of exclusion embedded in Senegal's historical memory.

Yet, there is an important role for archaeology to play in dismantling these national myths. Africanist research has successfully documented the profound, umbilical enmeshment of societies that earlier models would have placed on different evolutionary rungs (Denbow 1999; Stahl 2004a: 255–256). We can help demonstrate the long-term roots of these exchanges, and that decentralized, egalitarian societies and more hierarchically structured ones represent related threads in a common processual fabric. We can help show that difference is not culturally ordained, but

historically produced (Richard n.d.a). Further, the pasts we uncover cannot remain for academia's sole consumption only but must be exported beyond the ivory tower, which requires developing infrastructures that involve local communities in our research. Archaeology and the messages it carries will not be heard if people do not understand what it is that we do, for what purpose and to what effect. Public outreach programs (through schools, local associations, organic intellectuals, local authorities) can help sensitize populations to the archaeological heritage and its protection, to its potential both as an alternative source of history and avenue of economic development (Hassan 1999; Mapunda and Lane 2004; Sowumni 1997). They may also stimulate interest in the more remote past, and help reenfranchise archaeology — although, realistically, success will probably be more forthcoming in those contexts that are claimed as places of memory and lived history (Thiaw 2003a: 223). Of course, there are many other obstacles on our way to 'public archaeology' in Senegal: archaeology can empower local communities and retrieve silenced voices just as it can subvert public ideas of history, raise sensitive issues that may not want to be heard, challenge certain claims of ownership of the past, or threaten established social orders (Stahl 2001; Thiaw 2008). These power-laden issues, however, offer a compelling incentive for keeping local audiences engaged in the production of archaeological knowledge. They force us to be accountable for our work, and mindful of its repercussions, both foreseen and unintended. They are the guarantors of our engagement to produce relevant histories that confront the roots of difference-making. To avoid them would be akin to claiming a permanent status as a poor man's version of history.

As we pursue Africa's historical trajectories beyond Senegal, there is a final consideration that we will need to confront — its special place in the western imagination. As Stahl (2004a: 254–256, 268–269) has recently argued, negative imagery of the continent as a land of utter otherness and primitive customs has been one of the 'special burdens' with which archaeological research has had to contend since the 1960's, and in relation to which our historical visions continue to unfold, as Africa continues to be marginalized in popular and media representation as a place apart (Lane 2001). In effect, recent archaeological work has sought to respond to such negative portrayals by cultivating an appreciation for continental diversity and the distinctiveness of its cultural history. We have looked in the archaeological past for images of civility, democracy and heterarchy to oppose the clichés of violence, devastation, and barbarism that saturate popular visions of Africa. By supplanting perceptions of the continent as a marginal Other with its recognition as a *bona fide* '*alter ego*,' "a participant in the same humanity and the same contemporaneity" (Amselle 1993: 27), archaeologists have tried to reclaim Africa's right to universality and social justice — the right to possess a vibrant history unfolding on a par with that of Europe; the right to historical agency and cultural autonomy; the right to produce, remember, and interpret the past; and the right to contribute to the story of humanity (Jewsiewicki and Mudimbe 1993). Unlike earlier efforts to demonstrate that Africa's past was just as important as Europe's because it met universal criteria of progress (Neale 1985: 10; 1986: 114; Stahl 2004a: 255), archaeologists have instead argued that "knowledge from Africa is equally as significant and persuasive as knowledge from Europe, no less — and no more" (Bates et al. 1993: xii; McIntosh 1999c). Africa's universality could now be found in its distinctness, which mirrored

the mosaic of divergent historical threads making up the multicultural tapestry of world history.

Stahl's (2004a: 269–270) concern, however, is that, though legitimate and well-meaning, recent arguments about Africa's uniqueness and the celebration of its rich cultural heritage always run the risk of validating the images of otherness that we tried to counter in the first place. For, if the focus on variability and idiosyncracy can help us *turn Hegel on his head* and revert the flows of cultural agency from Africa to the rest of the world, it does not fully *dislodge* Hegelian holdovers from our frameworks — that is, confront the wider structures of oppression that underwrite our concepts and knowledges.[5] In reaffirming Africa's difference and distinctiveness, we tend to encourage romanticized accounts of its past that reinforce rather than challenge views of the continent as the original exotic, and provide historical ammunition for new forms of exclusion. In hailing continental diversity, we are in danger of sedimenting Africa's 'difference' as something that 'simply is,' essential and timeless, rather than confronting the historical mechanisms and bigotry responsible for the continent's problems.

One way to avoid "the old dilemma of countering offensive images with their obverse" (Stahl 2004a: 269–270) requires that we refrain from *moral valuations* of the past. Although advocating Africa's cultural merits can stimulate pride in the achievements of past and present populations, it leads to accounts that lift 'culture' and 'society' out of the turbulent stream of time, historical process, and play of power (di Leonardo 1998: 121, 132). While respectful and empowering, such portrayals often merge with morality plays and politics of valuation that undermine their very democratic aspirations. Only as we probe beneath bounded notions of cultural richness, social civility, exotic habits — the *forms* and *images* of the past — can we begin to historicize difference, and examine how it is made and unmade both in the material entanglement of societies across the globe, and in historical and contemporary narratives (Trouillot 1995, 2003). And as we shed light on how certain places and societies — Europe and Europeans, in particular — stand as universal yardsticks for evaluating the achievements of others and for establishing their difference and associated stigmas, we also begin to challenge those forces that give rise to otherness and exclusion, both in public discourse and in our own research frameworks (Kristiansen and Rowlands 1998: 14, 21–23; Stahl 2004a: 269–270). As Harvey (1996: 363) powerfully reminds us, "[a] politics which seeks to eliminate the processes which give rise to a problem looks very different from a politics which merely seeks to give full play to differentiated identities once these have arisen."

An alternative way to address the quiet progressivism and power plays haunting the production of knowledge may require substituting the concern with the equality of all human pasts with the "radically democratic demand that we consider all human apprehensions and practices in terms of one another across populations" (di Leonardo 1998: 365). Moving from allegedly existing 'cultures' and 'achievements' to relations and process enables us to associate a respect for particular identities, variability, difference and otherness, with the recognition that "though all others may be others, 'some are more other than others'" (Harvey 1996: 362;

---

[5] I am grateful to Ann Stahl for alerting me to these issues and pressing me to reflect on them.

di Leonardo 1998: 57–63). A relational perspective attempts to place the study of African pasts and pursuit of just knowledges within a 'politics of scale' (Mitchell 1996: 293) attentive to those "general underlying processes which simultaneous *unify and differentiate* the phenomena we see in the world around us" (Harvey 1996: 58, original emphasis). Such politics requires us to play at once the idiosyncracy of local histories and the universality of world historical processes, the very orders of scale embedded in the archaeological record. Past cultural development and present-day archaeological narratives are situated in relation to a global historical political economy of difference, to understand how local, particular histories are made in the encounter of societies worldwide, and to retrieve the material processes and power relations that govern these interconnections (Harvey 1996: 358–365). Steering a course between the Charybdis of universalist pretensions and the Scylla of localized essentializations, the objective is to focus instead on the *making* of universality "in dialectic relation with particularity. Each defines the other in such as way as to make the universality criterion always open to negotiation through the particularities of difference" (ibid: 362; also Laclau 1996). Such a political economic reading may offer one answer to the challenge of "recogniz[ing] the distinctive qualities of an African past without further marginalizing the continent and its peoples" (Stahl 1999b: 49).

A dialectical approach to variability and sociopolitical change can very fruitfully carry on the achievements of the past two decades of work in Senegal. Because of their complex history of entanglement with evolutionism, such concepts as 'complexity and 'heterarchy' are never as powerful as when wielded relationally (Crumley 1987, 1995). No longer a tool for ranking the vertical progression of societies, complexity becomes a useful framework for analyzing and comparing social evolution, if recast as 'the degree of intricacy of relations and (vertical and horizontal) differentiation within a system' (McIntosh 1999b: 11, expanding Paynter 1989: 369). Focusing on the internal relations making up a social formation can help us understand the nature and forms of complexity at particular points in time. At the same time, we must also contextualize particular societies within wider networks of political-economic relations, both through time and across space, to begin to bring a diachronic and processual dimension to complexity (Yoffee 1993; David and Sterner 1999: 99; Stahl 1999a). Such insights can also be extended to the concept of heterarchy and help us avoid freezing it into a fixed political order separate from or opposed to hierarchical structures. A more productive view of heterarchy stresses its dialectical interplay with hierarchy in time and space, and its potential for highlighting sociopolitical variability at various scales of organization (Crumley 1995; Ehrenreich et al. 1995; Chapman 2003).

A relational approach thus attunes our analytical eye to the importance of constantly shifting and refining the grain of our scales to capture various levels of relations and dynamics within and between political economic systems. Through a combined attention to scale, variability and political economic relations, we can (1) use material culture to shed light upon the culturally embedded histories of specific localities or regions, and (2) use local insights to give rise to comparative understanding both of global political-economic processes and trajectories of complexity (Stahl 2004a, 2004b). (3) Inseparable from best approximating what the African past may have been, we have to engage in a sociology of the knowledges we produce, both within and outside of

archaeological circles. Thoughtful empirical analyses sensitive to process and context can help to show how Africa's particularities were constructed in dialectical relation with the universal aspirations of larger political economic systems, and thus are as much a product of Europe, Asia, or the Americas as an African one. Understanding the social and economic construction of archaeological places can assist in rooting developmentalist presumptions out of our images of Africa and avoiding unwanted fetishization of difference and culture. Concurrently, it helps us position ourselves in relation to the culture wars that are being waged around the 'idea of Africa,' to show that, far from a cultural birth defect, Africa-the-other is the legitimate child of a global political economy of difference, the exotic object of complex power plays and inequalities. Again, we must remind ourselves that matters of culture are never so porous as when treated as things, essential qualities, and timeless values, and never so analytically insightful as when viewed as processes, power-laden, ever-changing relations (di Leonardo 1998; Mitchell 1995, 1996). Only in attending to the politics of cultural production will the archaeological explanation of diversity become a fulcrum of cultural justice, and will archaeology claim an active role in the fighting of cultural exclusion and oppression. Our narratives of the past, dialectically construed, must become at once instruments of knowledge, media of exposition, and platform for social action (Marquardt 1992: 102; also Wurst 1999).

Such routes may indeed spell out one of the possible futures awaiting the archaeological pasts of Senegal, with the obvious *caveat* that a single archaeological agenda cannot account for the complex realities of an entire region. As social contexts change rapidly, so the ways in which archaeological research is to be applied in contemporary settings, and its relevance therein, will not remain homogeneous over time or space. Still, one may hope that actively promoting the role of African material culture in the writing of world history will continue to grow as a *toile-de-fond*, an overarching theme for the development of Senegalese archaeology in the immediate and longer-term futures. Such an agenda certainly appears to be timely, as it coincides with a recent resurgence of political economic approaches in the wider archaeological literature (e.g., Dietler 1998; Feinman and Nicholas 2004; Kristiansen and Rowlands 1998; Junker 1999; Pauketat 2001, 2004; Sinopoli 2003; Thurston 2001, among others). It would provide a unique opportunity to engage in a dialogue with this diverse corpus of research, by drawing on the continent's rich localized histories to refine and qualify the comparative narratives of sociopolitical development world-wide (McIntosh 1999a, 1999b; Stahl 2004a, 2004b). In this light, we can perhaps try our hands at sensitizing diverse spectra of audiences to the political economic foundations of African diversity, avoiding well-meaning romanticizations and apocalyptic scenarios, to seek the roots of Africa's realities and problems in the complex relations it has woven within and outside the continent over the past centuries.

Coda

In 2003, President George W. Bush made the symbolic pilgrimage to Gorée Island. Like so many heads of state before him, his visit took him to the island's most powerful and emotional icon, the 'House of Slaves.' As he bowed in repentance

before the 'Gate of No Return,' a mythified version of local history was circulated, quiet and unchallenged, to audiences beyond. Gorée's tumultuous past becomes objectified in the 'house of slaves' as an emotional, but unidimensional emblem of trans-Atlantic slavery, and its vibrant political-economic history boiled down to a statistics, a frighteningly large number of people displaced to the New World during the Atlantic era (see Hinchman 2000 and Thiaw 2008, for an insightful discussion of the politics of representation and historical construction on the island; cf. Samb 1997). Although, on one level, elevating Gorée to the status of moral *aide-mémoire* can sensitize public consciousness to the plight of a continent, on another level, it frees just the same processes and images that contribute to the continent's perpetual otherness: Exoticizing Gorée as a historic artifact sliced out of time — the slave island — is just another way of denying the island's own history and marginalizing the experiences of the populations who took part in its making (Thiaw 2008). It commoditizes history and memory into facilely consumable representations that effectively absolve scholars and lay people from responsible, critical reflection over the historical making of Africa. Left out in passing is a serious political-economic analysis of social relations within the island, and of the complex ties, influences, and changes that have shaped its history into the 20th century (Thiaw 2003b).[6] Gorée is only one of many 'sites' at which African history is made and unmade and images of Africa become packaged for public consumption. As we are beginning to shed more robust light on Africa's enmeshment with global processes, it is also our role to attend to the politics of history both locally and beyond, and the power structures that underpin them. Fighting these culture wars will surely force us to embrace novel research vistas questions, and formalize our agendas — and politics — for the few years to come.

---

[6] At the other side of the spectrum of representations we find Nicolas Sarkozy's recent, and inflammatory, at the University of Dakar. While the speech articulates a different set of moral tropes and a decidedly different message, it rests on similar notions of the unquestioned dominance of Atlantic and colonial processes as primary forces of historical change in Africa (see analysis in Richard forthcoming b).

References

Amselle, J.-L. (1990). *Mestizo logics: Anthropology of identity in Africa and elsewhere*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Amselle, J.-L. (1993). Anthropology and historicity. *History and Theory, 32*, 12–31.

Amselle, J.-L., & M'Bokolo, E. (eds). (1985). *Au coeur de l'ethnie: Ethnies, tribalisme et état en Afrique*. Paris: Éditions La Découverte.

Andah, B. W. (1995a). European encumbrances to the development of relevant theory in African archaeology. In P. Ucko (Ed.), *Theory in archaeology: A world perspective*, pp. 96–109. New York: Routledge.

Andah, B. W. (1995b). Studying African societies in cultural context. In P. R. Schmidt & T. C. Patterson (Eds.), *Making alternative histories: The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*, pp. 149–181. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Appadurai, A. (ed). (1986). *The social life of things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Arnold, J. (ed.) (1996). *Emergent complexity: The evolution of intermediate societies*. International monographs in prehistory, Archaeological series 9, Ann Arbor.

Asad, T. (1973). Introduction. In T. Asad (Ed.), *Anthropology and the colonial encounter*, pp. 9–19. New York: Humanities.

Audouze, F., & Leroi-Gourhan, A. (1981). France: A continental insularity. *World Archaeology, 13*, 170–189.

Ba, M., Descamps, C., & Thilmans, G. (1997). Fouille d'un tumulus à Ndiamon-Badat (Îles du Saloum, Sénégal). *Saint-Louis, Lille, Liège, 3*, 1–14.

Barry, B. (1972). *Le royaume du Walo, 1659–1859: Le Sénégal avant la conquête*. Paris: Maspéro.

Barry, B. (1998). *Senegambia and the Atlantic slave trade*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bates, R. H., Mudimbe, V. Y., & O'Barr, J. (1993). Introduction. In R. H. Bates, V. Y. Mudimbe & J. O'Barr (Eds.), *Africa and the disciplines: The contribution of research in Africa to the social sciences and humanities*, pp. xi–xxiii. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bathily, A. (1976). Aux origines de l'Africanisme: Le rôle de l'oeuvre ethno-historique de Faidherbe dans la conquête du Sénégal. *Cahiers Jussieu, 2*, 77–105.

Bathily, A. (1989). *Les portes de l'or. Le royaume de Galam (Sénégal) de l'ère musulmane au temps des négriers (VIIIe–XVIIIe siècle)*. Éditions l'Harmattan, Paris.

Becker, C., & Martin, V. (1972). Notes sur les traditions orales et les sources écrites concernant le royaume du Sine. *Bulletin de l'IFAN (B), 34*(4), 732–777.

Becker, C., & Martin, V. (1981). Essai sur l'histoire du Saalum. *Revue Sénégalaise d'Histoire, 2*(1), 3–24.

Becker, C., & Martin, V. (1982a). Rites de sépulture préislamiques au Sénégal et vestiges protohistoriques. *Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale, 46*, 261–293.

Becker, C., & Martin, V. (1982b). *Vestiges, peuplements, et civilisations protohistoriques de la Sénégambie. historiques des recherches sur la protohistoire sénégambienne*. Kaolack: C.N.R.S.

Bernault, F. (1999). L'Afrique et la modernité des sciences sociales. *Annales de la Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 29*, 73–87.

Bessac, H. (1953). Contribution à l'étude des buttes à coquillages du Saloum (Sénégal). *Notes Africaines, 57*, 1–4.

Bocoum, H. (1990). Contribution à la connaissance de Takrour. *Annales de la Faculté de Lettres et Sciences Humaines, 20*, 159–178.

Bocoum, H. (2000a). *L'Âge de Fer au Sénégal: Histoire et archéologie*. Nouakchott: CRIAA.

Bocoum, H. (2000b). Les cultures protohistoriques. In R. Vernet (Ed.), *L'archéologie en Afrique de l'Ouest. Sahara et Sahel*, pp. 277–292. Nouakchott: CRIAA.

Bocoum, H. (2000c). Stagnation économique et traite atlantique (l'exemple de la sidérurgie). In D. Samb (Ed.), *Saint-Louis et l'esclavage*, pp. 51–66. Dakar: IFAN-Cheikh Anta Diop.

Bocoum, H. (2002). Trajectoires archéologiques au Sénégal. In M.-C. Diop (Ed.), *Le Sénégal Contemporain*, pp. 184–213. Paris-Amsterdam: Karthala-Sephis.

Bocoum, H., & McIntosh, S. K. (2002). *Fouilles à Sincu Bara, Moyenne Vallée du Sénégal. Excavations at Sincu Bara, Middle Senegal Valley (Senegal)*. Dakar: CRIAA, Université de Nouakchott-IFAN/Cheikh Anta Diop.

Boilat, P.-D. (1853). *Esquisses Sénégalaises*. Paris: Bertrand.

Chapman, R. (2003). *Archaeologies of complexity*. New York: Routledge.

Chavane, B. (1985). *Villages de l'ancien Tekrour. Recherches archéologiques dans la Moyenne Vallée du Sénégal*. Paris: Éditions Karthala.

Cissé, G., & Thilmans, G. (1968). À propos de la datation des mégalithes. *Notes Africaines, 117*, 13–17.

Clark, M., & Hietala, H. (2002). Complexity at the periphery: A spatial analytic approach to understanding settlement organization represented by nucleated site clusters, Inland Niger Delta, Mali. Paper presented the 2002 Conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists, Tucson, Arizona.

Cleuziou, S., Coudart, A., Demoule, J.-P., & Schnapp, A. (1991). The use of theory in French archaeology. In I. Hodder (Ed.), *Archaeological theory in Europe: The last three decades*, pp. 91–128. New York: Routledge.

Clos-Arceduc, A. (1962). Les tumulus de la région de Mbaké (Sénégal). *Notes Africaines, 95*, 88–91.

Cohen, W. (1980). *The French encounter with Africans: White responses to Blacks, 1530–1880*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Cohen, D. W. (1994). *The combing of history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Conklin, A. L. (1997). *A Mission to civilize: The Republican idea of the Empire in France and West Africa, 1895–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Conrad, D. C., & Frank, B. E. (eds). (1995). *Status and identity in West Africa: Nyamakalaw of Mande*. Bloomington: Indiana Press University.

Cooper, F. (1993). Africa and the world economy. In F. Cooper, A. F. Isaacman, F. E. Mallon, W. Roseberry & S. J. Stern (Eds.), *Confronting historical paradigms: Peasants, labor, and the capitalist world system in Africa and Latin America*, pp. 84–201. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Cooper, F. (2005). *Colonialism in question: Theory, knowledge, history*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Corbeil, R., Mauny, R., & Charbonnier, J. (1948). Préhistoire et protohistoire de la presqu'île du Cap-Vert et de l'extrème ouest sénégalais. *Bulletin de l'IFAN, 10*, 378–460.

Crowder, M. (1972). *Senegal: A study in French assimilation policy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cruise O'Brien, D., Diop, M.-C., & Diouf, M. (2002). *La construction de l'État au Sénégal*. Paris: Éditions Karthala.

Crumley, C. L. (1987). A dialectical critique of hierarchy. In T. C. Patterson & C. W. Gailey (Eds.), *Power relations and state formation*, pp. 155–169. Washington: American Anthropological Association.

Crumley, C. L. (1995). Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies. In R. M. Ehrenreich, C. L. Crumley & J. E. Levy (Eds.), *Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies*, pp. 1–5. Arlington: American Anthropological Association.

Crumley, C. L., & Marquardt, W. H. (Eds.) (1987). *Regional dynamics: Burgundian landscapes in historical perspective*. San Diego: Academic Press.

Crumley, C. L., & Marquardt, W. H. (1990). Landscape: A unifying concept in regional analysis. In K. M. S. Allen, S. W. Green & E. B. W. Zubrow (Eds.), *Interpreting space: GIS and archaeology*, pp. 73–79. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Curtin, P. D. (1964). *The image of Africa: British ideas and actions, 1780–1850*. Madison: University of Wisconsin.

David, N. (1992). Integrating ethnoarchaeology: A subtle realist perspective. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, 11*(4), 330–359.

David, N., & Sterner, J. (1999). Wonderful society: The Burgess shale creatures, Mandara polities, and the nature of prehistory. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Paths to complexity in Africa*, pp. 97–109. New York: Cambridge University Press.

David, N., Gavua, S., MacEachern, A. S., & Sterner, J. (1991). Ethnicity and material culture in North Cameroon. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology, 15*, 171–177.

de Barros, P. (1988). Societal repercussions of the rise of large-scale traditional iron production: A West African example. *African Archaeological Review, 6*, 91–113.

de Barros, P. (1990). Changing paradigms, goals & methods in the archaeology of francophone Africa. In P. Robertshaw (Ed.), *A history of African archaeology*, pp. 155–172. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

de Barros, P. (2001). The effects of the slave trade on the Bassar ironworking society of Togo. In C. R. DeCorse (Ed.), *West Africa during the Atlantic slave trade: Archaeological perspectives*, pp. 59–80. London: Leicester University Press.

DeCorse, C. R. (1989). Material aspects of Limba, Yalunka and Kuranko ethnicity: Archaeological research in Northeastern Sierra Leone. In S. Shennan (Ed.), *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity*, pp. 125–140. London: Unwin Hyman.

DeCorse, C. R. (ed). (2001). *West Africa during the Atlantic slave trade: Archaeological perspectives*. London: Leicester University Press.

DeCorse, C. R., Richard, F. G., & Thiaw, I. (2003). Toward a systematic bead description system: A view from the Lower Falemme, Senegal. *Journal of African Archaeology, 1*(1), 77–109.

Delafosse, M. (1900). Sur des traces probables de civilisation égyptienne et d'hommes de race blanche à la Côte d'Ivoire. *L'Anthropologie, 11*, 677–683.

Delafosse, M. (1912). *Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Volume II*. Paris: Larose.

Delafosse, M. (1922). *Les Noirs de l'Afrique*. Paris: Payot.

Delafosse, M. (1924). Le Gâna et le Mali et l'emplacement de leurs capitales. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 7*, 479–542.

Dème, A. A. (1998). Archaeological investigation of long-term socio-political process in the Middle Senegal Valley. Paper presented at the 1998 Conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists, Syracuse, New York.

Dème, A. A. (2002). New archaeological research on social complexity and regional organization in the Middle Senegal Valley: Preliminary results from Walaldé (Senegal). Paper presented at the 2002 Conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists, Tucson, Arizona.

Dème, A. (2003). *Archaeological investigations of settlement and emerging complexity in the middle Senegal Valley*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Rice University.

Dème, A., & McIntosh, S. K. (2006). Excavations at Walaldé: New light on the settlement of the Middle Senegal Valley by iron-using peoples. *Journal of African Archaeology, 4*(2), 317–347.

Denbow, J. (1999). Material culture and the dialectics of identity in the Kalahari, 700–1700. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Pathways to complexity in Africa*, pp. 110–123. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Descamps, C. (1979). Sites protohistoriques de la Sénégambie. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines de Dakar, 9*, 303–313.

Descamps, C., & Thilmans, G. (1979). Les tumulus coquilliers des îles du Saloum (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA, 54–55*, 81–91.

Descamps, C., & Thilmans, G. (2001). Fouille de tumulus coquillier à Djouta (îles du Saloum, Sénégal). Paper presented at the XIème Congrès UISPP, Liège, September 3–8 2001.

Descamps, C., Thilmans, G., & Thommeret, Y. (1974). Données sur l'édification de l'amas coquillier de Dioron Boumak (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA, 41*, 67–83.

Descamps, C., Thilmans, G., Thommeret, J., Thommeret, Y., & Hauptman, E. E. (1977). Données sur l'âge et la vitesse d'édification de l'amas coquillier de Faboura (Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'ASEQUA, 51*, 23–34.

Devisse, J. (1981). La recherche archéologique et sa contribution à l'histoire de l'Afrique. *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture, 55*, 2–8.

Devisse, J. (ed). (1983). *Tegdaoust III: Recherches sur Aoudaghost. Campagnes 1960–1965. Enquêtes générales*. Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations.

Dieng, S. (1980). *Contribution à l'étude des amas coquilliers de Joal-Fadiout*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Université Cheikh-Anta Diop, Dakar.

Dietler, M. (1998). Consumption, agency, and cultural entanglement: Theoretical implications of a Mediterranean colonial encounter. In J. Cusick (Ed.), *Studies in culture contact: Interaction, culture change and archaeology*, pp. 288–315. Carbondale: Center of Archaeological Investigation.

di Leonardo, M. (1998). *Exotics at home: Anthropologies, others, American modernity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Diop, C. A. (1973). Introduction à l'étude des migrations en Afrique Centrale et Occidentale: Identification du berceau nilotique sénégalais. *Bulletin de l'IFAN (B), 35*, 769–792.

Diop, C. A. (1979). *Nations nègres et culture*. Dakar: Nouvelles Éditions Africaines.

Diop, B. (1985). *Les sites archéologiques du Baol. Approche ethnographique. Sites dits protohistoriques, villages désertés ou gents*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar.

Diop, C. A. (1987). *L'Afrique Noire pré-coloniale* (Secondth ed.). Paris: Présence Africaine.

Diop, B. (1996–1998). Habitats et occupation du sol dans l'espace sénégambien (Ier-XVIIIe siècles). Évolution des recherches et perspectives. *Revue Sénégalaise d'Histoire*, Nouvelle Série, 2–3, 45–71.

Diop, B. (1997a). Les villages désertés de l'espace sénégambien. Contribution à l'histoire de l'habitat et de l'occupation du sol. *Archéoafrica, 1*(2), 35–44.

Diop, B. (1997b). Traite négrière, désertions rurales, et occupation du sol dans l'arrière-pays de Gorée. In D. Samb (Ed.), *Gorée et l'esclavage*, pp. 137–153. Dakar: IFAN-Cheikh Anta Diop.

Diop, B. (2000). L'impact de la traite négrière sur l'habitat en pays Wolof. In D. Samb (Ed.), *Saint-Louis et l'esclavage*, pp. 177–195. Dakar: IFAN-Cheikh Anta Diop.

Diop, M.-C., & Diouf, M. (1990). *Le Sénégal sous Abdou Diouf. État et société*. Paris: Éditions Karthala.

Dirks, N. B. (1996). Is vice versa? Historical anthropologies and anthropological histories. In T. J. McDonald (Ed.), *The historic turn in the human sciences*, pp. 17–51. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Duchemin, M. L. C. (1905). Les mégalithes de la Gambie. *L'Anthropologie, 16*, 633–638.

Duchemin, M. L. C. (1906). Tumulus de la Gambie. *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, 7*, 25–64.

Duchet, M. (1971). *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières*. Paris: François Maspéro.

Ellison, J., Robertshaw P., Gifford-Gonzalez, D., McIntosh, R. J., Stahl, A. B., DeCorse, C. R., et al. (eds.) (1996). The future of African archaeology. *African Archaeological Review, 13*(1), 5–34.

Ehrenreich, R. M., Crumley, C. L., & Levy, J. E. (eds.) (1995). *Heterarchy and the analysis of complex societies*. Arlington: American Anthropological Association.

Fabian, J. (1983). *Time and the other: How anthropology makes its other*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Fall, Y. (1982). Silla: La problématique d'un site de la vallée du fleuve du Sénégal. *Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale, 46*(2), 199–216.

Fall, Y. (1988). L'histoire et les historiens dans l'Afrique contemporaine. In R. Rémond (Ed.), *Être historien aujourd'Hui*, pp. 180–218. Paris: UNESCO.

Feinman, G. M., & Nicholas, L. M. (eds.) (2004). *Archaeological perspectives on political economies*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Ferguson, J. (2006). *Global shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Filipowiak, W. (1979). *Études archéologiques sur la capitale médiévale du Mali*. Szcecin: Museum Narodowe.

Fisher, C. T. & Thurston, T. L. (eds.) (1999). Special section. Dynamic landscapes and socio-political process: The topography of anthropogenic environments in global perspective. *Antiquity, 73*, 630-688.

Fuglestad, F. (1992). The Trevor-Roper trap or the imperialism of history. An essay. *History in Africa, 19*, 309–326.

Gallay, A. (2006). Le mégalithisme sénégambien: Une approche logiciste. In: Descamps, C., and A. Camara (eds.), *Senegalia. Études sur le patrimoine ouest-africain. Hommage à Guy Thilmans*. Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: Éditions SÉPIA, pp. 205–223.

Gallay, A., Pignat, G., & Curdy, P. (1982). Mbolop Tobé, Santhiou Kohel (Sénégal): Contribution à la connaissance du mégalithisme sénégambien. *Archives Suisses d'Anthropologie Générale, 46*, 217–259.

Gamble, C. (1993). Ancestors and agendas. In N. Yoffee & A. Sherratt (Eds.), *Archaeological theory: Who sets the agenda?*, pp. 39–52. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gard, J., & Mauny, R. (1961). Découverte de tumulus dans la région de Diourbel (Sénégal). *Notes Africaines, 89*, 10–11.

Garenne-Marot, L. (1993). *Archéologie d'un métal: Le cuivre en Sénégambie entre le Xe et le XIVe siècle*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Gasser, G. (2002). "Manger ou s'en aller:" Que veulent les opposants armés casamançais? In M.-C. Diop (Ed.), *Le Sénégal contemporain*, pp. 459–498. Paris: Éditions Karthala.

Gledhill, J. (1994). *Power and its disguises: Anthropological perspectives on politics*. London: Pluto Press.

Gosden, C. (1994). *Social being and time*. London: Blackwell.

Gosden, C., & Head, L. (1994). Landscape: A usefully ambiguous concept. *Archaeology in Oceania, 29*, 113–116.

Gravrand, H. (1981). Le Gabou dans les traditions orales Sereer et Guélwar. *Éthiopiques*, No Spécial, 40–59.

Gravrand, H. (1983). *Cosaan: Les origins*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines du Sénégal.

Gravrand, H. (1990). *Pangool: Le génie religieux Sereer*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Éditions Africaines du Sénégal.

Grosz-Ngaté, M. (1988). Power and knowledge: The representation of the Mande world in the works of Park, Caillié, Monteil, and Delafosse. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 28*(3–4), 485–511.

Guèye, N. S. (1991). *Étude de la céramique subactuelle et de ses rapports avec la céramique de Cuballel*. Unpublished Masters Thesis, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar.

Guèye, N. S. (1998). *Poteries et peuplements de la Moyenne Vallée du Fleuve Sénégal du XVIe au XXe siècle: Approche ethnoarchéologique et ethnohistorique*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Université de Paris X, Nanterre.

Guèye, N. S. (2002a). Ethnoarchéologie, ethnohistoire et interprétation de la distribution des poteries de la moyenne vallée du fleuve Sénégal du XVe au XXe siècle. *Nyame Akuma, 57*, 21–32.

Guèye, N. S. (2002b). Female handicraft and globalization: Change and resistance in ceramic production. The case study of the Middle Senegal River Valley (XVI–XX centuries). Paper presented at the SEPHIS Conference on "Globalization and its Discontents, Revisited," Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, June 2002.

Guèye, N. S. (2002c). Les datations du site de Thiélel: Évaluation des implications sur la question du peuplement de la moyenne vallée du fleuve Sénégal. Paper presented at the 2002 Conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists, Tucson, Arizona.

Hall, M. (1984). The burden of tribalism: The social context of southern African Iron Age studies. *American Antiquity, 49*, 455–467.

Hall, M. (1990). 'Hidden history': Iron Age archaeology in southern Africa. In P. Robertshaw (Ed.), *A history of African archaeology*, pp. 59–77. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Hamy, E. T. (1904). Quelques observations sur les tumulus de la Vallée de la Gambie présentées à l'occasion d'une exploration récente de M. le Capitaine Duchemin. *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres — Compte-Rendu des Séances* 1904, 560–569.

Haraway, D. J. (1991). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. In D. J. Haraway (Ed.), *Simians, cyborgs, and women: The reinvention of nature*, pp. 183–201. New York: Routledge.

Harding, S. (1987). *The science question in feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature & the geography of difference*. London: Blackwell.

Hassan, F. (1999). African archaeology: The call of the future. *African Affairs, 98*, 393–406.

Hegel, G. W. F. (1956). *The philosophy of history*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.

Hinchman, M. (2000). *African rococo: House and portrait in eighteenth-century senegal*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago.

Holl, A. (1985a). Background to the Ghana Empire: Archaeological investigations on the transition to statehood in the Dhar Tichitt Region (Mauritania). *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology, 4*, 73–115.

Holl, A. (1985b). Subsistence patterns of the Dhar Tichitt Neolithic, Mauritania. *African Archaeological Review, 3*, 151–162.

Holl, A. (1990). West African archaeology: Colonialism & nationalism. In P. Robertshaw (Ed.), *A history of African archaeology*, pp. 296–308. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Holl, A. (1994). The cemetery of Houlouf in northern Cameroon (AD 1500–1600): Fragments of a past social system. *African Archaeological Review, 12*, 133–170.

Holl, A. (1995). African history: Past, present, and future. The unending quest for alternatives. In P. R. Schmidt & T. C. Patterson (Eds.), *Making alternative histories: The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*, pp. 183–211. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Holl, A. (2004). *Holocene Saharans: An anthropological perspective*. London: Continuum.

Holl, A., & Bocoum, H. (2006). Variabilité des pratiques funéraires dans le mégalithisme sénégambien: Le cas de Sine-Ngayène. In: Descamps, C., and A. Camara (eds.), *Senegalia. Études sur le patrimoine ouest-africain. Hommage à Guy Thilmans* (pp. 224–234). Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: Éditions SÉPIA.

Holl, A., Bocoum, H., Dueppen, S., & Gallagher, D. (2007). Switching mortuary codes and ritual programs: The double-monolith-circle from Sine-Ngayène, Senegal. *Journal of African Archaeology, 5*(1), 127–148.

Hubert, H. (1922). Objects anciens de l'Afrique Occidentale. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 5*, 382–399.

Hubert, H. (1925). Description d'objets néolithiques de l'Afrique Occidentale française. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 8*, 262–297.

Insoll, T. (2003). *The archaeology of Islam in sub-Saharan Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jewsiewicki, B., & Mudimbe, V. Y. (1993). Africans' memories and contemporary histories in Africa. *History and Theory, 32*, 1–11.

Joire, J. (1947). Amas de coquillages du littoral sénégalais dans la banlieue de Saint-Louis. *Bulletin de l'IFAN, 9*(1–4), 170–340.

Joire, J. (1955). Découvertes archéologiques dans la région de Rao (Bas-Sénégal). *Bulletin de l'IFAN (B), 17*(3–4), 249–333.

Jouenne, P. (1916). Les monuments mégalithiques du Sénégal. *Annuaire et Mémoires du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF* 1916–1917, 27–36.

Jouenne, P. (1917). Les monuments mégalithiques du Sénégal (suite). *Annuaire et Mémoires du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF* 1916–1917, 311–327.

Jouenne, P. (1918). Les monuments mégalithiques du Sénégal. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 1*, 57–86.

Jouenne, P. (1920). Les roches gravées du Sénégal. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 1*, 1–42.

Jouenne, P. (1930). Les monuments mégalithiques du Sénégal, les roches gravées, et leur interprétation cultuelle. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 3*, 309–399.

Junker, L. L. (1999). *Raiding, trading, and feasting: The political economy of Philippine chiefdoms*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kankpeyeng, B., & DeCorse, C. (2004). Ghana's vanishing past: Development, antiquities and the destruction of the archaeological record. *African Archaeological Review, 21*(2), 89–128.

Karady, V. (1982). Le problème de la légitimité dans l'organisation historique de l'ethnologie française. *Revue Française de Sociologie, 23*, 17–35.

Kibunjia, M. (1997). The management of archaeological collections and resources in Africa. *African Archaeological Review, 14*(3), 137–141.

Kopytoff, I. (1987). The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture. In I. Kopytoff (Ed.), *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies*, pp. 3–84. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kopytoff, I. (1999). Permutations in patrimonialism and populism: The Aghem chiefdoms of Western Cameroon. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Paths to complexity in Africa*, pp. 88–96. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kristiansen, K., & Rowlands, M. (1998). *Social transformations in archaeology: Global and local perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

Kusimba, C. M., & Kusimba, S. B. (eds). (2003). *East African archaeology: Foragers, traders, potters, smiths, and traders*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Laclau, E. (1996). Universalism, particularism, and the question of identity. In E. N. Wilmsen & P. McAllister (Eds.), *The politics of difference: Ethnic premises in a world of power*, pp. 45–58. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Laforgue, P. (1925). État actuel de nos connaissances sur la Préhistoire en Afrique Occidentale française. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 8*, 105–171.

Laforgue, P., & Mauny, R. (1938). Contribution à la préhistoire du Cap-Vert. *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 31*, 523–543.

Lane, P. (2001). African archaeology today. *Antiquity, 75*, 793–796.

Lasnet, Dr., Cligny, A., Chevalier, A., & Rambaud, P. (1900). *Une mission au Sénégal: Ethnographie — Botanique — Zoologie — Géologie*. Augustin Challamel, Éditeur, Paris.

LaViolette, A., & Fleisher, J. (2005). The archaeology of sub-Saharan urbanism: Cities and their countrysides. In A. B. Stahl (Ed.), *African archaeology: A Critical introduction*, pp. 327–352. Malden: Blackwell.

Lawson, A. (2003). *Megaliths and Mande states: Sociopolitical change in the Gambia Valley over the past two millennia*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Leclerc, G. (1972). *Anthropologie et colonialisme: Essai sur l'histoire de l'Africanisme*. Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard.

Lefèbvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.

Levins, R. (1990). Toward the renewal of science. *Rethinking Marxism, 3*(3–4), 101–125.

Linares de Sapir, O. (1971). Shell middens of Lower Casamance and problems of Diola prehistory. *West African Journal of Archaeology, 1*, 23–54.

Mabulla, A. Z. P. (2000). Strategy for cultural heritage management (CHM) in Africa: A case study. *African Archaeological Review, 17*(4), 211–233.

MacEachern, A. S. (1993). Selling the iron for their shackles: Wandala-Montagnard interactions in northern Cameroon. *Journal of African History, 34*, 247–270.

MacEachern, A. S. (1994). 'Symbolic reservoirs' and intergroup relations: West African examples. *African Archaeological Review, 12*, 205–223.

MacEachern, A. S. (1998). Scale, style, and cultural variation: Technological traditions in the Northern Mandara Mountains. In M. T. Stark (Ed.), *The archaeology of social boundaries*, pp. 107–131. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

MacEachern, A. S. (2001a). Cultural resource management and Africanist archaeology. *Antiquity, 75*, 866–871.

MacEachern, A. S. (2001b). State formation and enslavement in the southern Lake Chad basin. In C. R. DeCorse (Ed.), *West Africa during the Atlantic slave trade: Archaeological perspectives*, pp. 131–151. London: Leicester University Press.

MacEachern, A. S. (2005). Two thousand years of West African history. In A. B. Stahl (Ed.), *African archaeology: A Critical introduction*, pp. 441–466. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Maës, E. (1924). Note sur les pierres taillées et gravées, sur les pierres alignées et sur une muraille de pierres en ruines situées près du village de Tundidaro (Sudan français). *Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'AOF, 7*(1), 31–39.

Manchuelle, F. (1995). Assimilés ou patriotes africains? Naissance du nationalisme culturel en Afrique française (1853–1931). *Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 35*(2–3), 333–368.

Manchuelle, F. (1996). The 'Regeneration of Africa:' An important and ambiguous concept in the 18th and 19th century French thinking about Africa. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 36*(4), 559–588.

Mapunda, B., & Lane, P. (2004). Archaeology for whose interest—archaeologists or the locals? In N. Merriman (Ed.), *Public archaeology*, pp. 211–233. New York: Routledge.

Mark, P. (1980). Fetishers, 'Marybuckes' and the Christian norm: European images of Senegambians and their religions, 1550–1760. *African Studies Review, 23*(2), 91–99.

Marquardt, W. H. (1992). Dialectical archaeology. *Archaeological Method and Theory, 4*, 101–140.

Marquardt, W. H., & Crumley, C. L. (1987). Theoretical issues in the analysis of spatial patterning. In C. L. Crumley & W. H. Marquardt (Eds.), *Regional dynamics: Burgundian landscapes in historical perspective*, pp. 1–18. San Diego: Academic Press.

Martin, V., & Becker, C. (1974). Vestiges protohistoriques et occupation humaine au Sénégal. *Annales de Démographie Historique, 1974*, 403–429.

Martin, V., & Becker, C. (1977). Sites protohistoriques de la Sénégambie. In R. Van Chi (Ed.), *Atlas national du Sénégal*, pp. 48–51. Paris: IGN.

Martin, V., & Becker, C. (1978a). *Les sites et leur répartition géographique*. Kaolack (roneo): C.N.R.S.

Martin, V., & Becker, C. (1978b). *Sites et monuments protohistoriques de Sénégambie (Données numériques concernant la zone des tumulus et la zone mégalithique*. Kaolack (roneo): C.N.R.S.

Martin, V., & Becker, C. (1979). Documents pour servir à l'histoire des îles du Saalum. *Bulletin de l'IFAN (B), 41*(4), 722–771.

Martin, V., & Becker, C. (1984). *Inventaire des sites protohistoriques du Sénégal*. Kaolack: C.N.R.S.

Marut, J.-C. (2002). Le problème casamançais est-il soluble dans l'État-nation? In M.-C. Diop (Ed.), *Le Sénégal contemporain*, pp. 425–458. Paris: Éditions Karthala.

Mauny, R. (1947). Une route à travers le Sahara Occidental. *Bulletin de l'IFAN, 9*(1-4), 341–357.

Mauny, R. (1953). Les recherches archéologiques en AOF, particulièrement de 1938 à 1952. *Bulletin de l'IFAN, 15*, 859–870.

Mauny, R. (1957a). L'aire des mégalithes "sénégambiens". *Notes Africaines, 73*, 1–3.

Mauny, R. (1957b). Buttes artificielles de coquillages de Joal-Fadioute. *Notes Africaines, 75*, 73–78.

Mauny, R. (1961). *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest Africain au Moyen-Âge d'après les sources 'ecrites, la tradition, et l'archéologie*. Dakar: Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mbodj, M., & Diouf, M. (1986). Senegalese historiography: Present practices and future perspectives. In B. Jewsiewicki & D. Newbury (Eds.), *African historiographies: What history for which Africa?*, pp. 207–214. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Mbow, M.-A. (1997). *Les amas coquilliers du Delta du Sénégal: Étude ethnoarchéologique*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Université Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne.

McCaskie, T. C. (1995). *State and society in pre-colonial Asante*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McGlade, J. (1999). The times of history: Archaeology, narrative, and non-linear causality. In T. Murray (Ed.), *Time and archaeology*, pp. 139–163. New York: Routledge.

McGuire, R. H. (1992). *A Marxist archaeology*. New York: Academic.

McGuire, R. H., O'Donovan, M., & Wurst, L. (2001). Probing praxis: The last eighty years. Paper presented at the 2001 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C.

McIntosh, R. J. (1993a). The pulse model: Genesis and accommodation of specialization in the Middle Niger. *Journal of African History, 34*(2), 181–220.

McIntosh, S. K. (1993b). Archaeological heritage management and inventory systems in Africa. *Journal of Field Archaeology, 20*, 500–504.

McIntosh, S. K. (1994). Changing perceptions of West Africa's past: Archaeological research since 1988. *Journal of Archaeological Research, 2*(2), 165–198.

McIntosh, S. K. (ed.) (1995). *Excavations at Jenné-Jeno, Hambarketolo, and Kaniana (Inland Niger Delta, Mali), the 1981 season. Publications in Anthropology, Volume 20*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McIntosh, R. J. (1998a). *The peoples of the Middle Niger*. Malden: Blackwell.

McIntosh, S. K. (1998b). A tale of two floodplains: Comparative perspectives on the emergence of complex societies and urbanism in the Middle Niger and Senegal Valley. In: P. Sinclair (Ed.), *East African urban origins in world perspective: Proceedings of the second WAC Intercongress*. (http://www.arkeologi.uu.se/afr/projects/BOOK/Mcintosh/mcintosh.htm).

McIntosh, S. K. (1999a). Floodplains and the development of complex society: Comparative Perspectives from the West African semi-arid tropics. In E. A. Bacus & L. J. Lucero (Eds.), *Complex polities in the ancient tropical world*. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association, pp. 151–165.

McIntosh, S. K. (1999b). Pathways to complexity: An African perspective. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Paths to complexity in Africa*, pp. 1–30. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McIntosh, S. K. (1999c). Modeling political organization in large-scale settlement clusters: A case study from the Inland Niger Delta, Mali. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Paths to complexity in Africa*, pp. 66–79. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McIntosh, S. K. (ed). (1999d). *Beyond chiefdoms: Pathways to complexity in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McIntosh, S. K. (2001). Tools for understanding transformation and continuity in Senegambian society. In C. R. DeCorse (Ed.), *West Africa during the Atlantic slave trade: Archaeological perspectives*, pp. 14–37. London: Leicester University Press.

McIntosh, S. K., & McIntosh, R. J. (1984). The early city in West Africa: Towards an understanding. *African Archaeological Review, 2*, 73–98.

McIntosh, R. J., & McIntosh, S. K. (1988a). From *Siècles Obscurs* to revolutionary centuries in the Middle Niger. *World Archaeology, 20*(1), 141–165.

McIntosh, S. K., & McIntosh, R. J. (1988b). From stone to metal: New perspectives on the later prehistory of West Africa. *Journal of World Prehistory, 2*(1), 89–133.

McIntosh, S. K., & McIntosh, R. J. (1993a). Cities without citadels: Understanding urban origins along the Middle Niger. In T. Shaw, P. Sinclair, B. Andah & A. Okpoko (Eds.), *The archaeology of Africa: Food, metals, and towns*, pp. 622–641. London: Routledge.

McIntosh, S. K., & McIntosh, R. J. (1993b). Field survey in the tumulus zone of Senegal. *African Archaeological Review, 11*, 73–107.

McIntosh, S. K., & Bocoum, H. (1998). *An 800-year cultural sequence at Sincu Bara: Evaluating the Implications. Paper presented at the 1998 Conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists*. New York: Syracuse.

McIntosh, S. K., & Bocoum, H. (2000). New perspectives on Sincu Bara, a first millennium site in the Senegal Valley. *African Archaeological Review, 17*(1), 1–43.

McIntosh, S. K., McIntosh, R. J., & Bocoum, H. (1992). The Middle Senegal Valley project: Preliminary results from the 1990–91 field season. *Nyame Akuma, 38*, 47–61.

McIntosh, R. J., McIntosh, S. K., & Togola, T. (1993). People without history. *Archaeology, 42*(1), 74–80. 107.

Meskell, L. (2002). The intersections of of identity and politics in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 31*, 297–301.

Mitchell, D. (1995). There's no such thing as culture. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 20*, 101–116.

Mitchell, D. (1996). *Cultural geography: A critical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mitchell, P. (2005). *African connections: Archaeological perspectives on Africa and the wider world*. New York: Altamira.

Monod, T. (1938). De fameux mangeurs de coquilles. *Notes Africaines, 4*, 11.

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1988). *The invention of Africa: Gnosis, philosophy, and the order of knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mudimbe, V. Y. (1994). *The idea of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Murray, T. (1993). Communication and the importance of disciplinary communities: Who owns the past? In N. Yoffee & A. Sherratt (Eds.), *Archaeological theory: Who sets the agenda?*, pp. 105–115. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Murray, T. (1999). A return to the Pompeii premise. In T. Murray (Ed.), *Time and archaeology*, pp. 8–27. New York: Routledge.

Musonda, F. B. (1990). African archaeology: Looking forward. *African Archaeological Review, 8*, 3–22.

Neale, C. (1985). *Writing "independent" history: African historiography, 1960–1980*. Westport: Greenwood.

Neale, C. (1986). The idea of progress in the revision of African history, 1960–1980. In B. Jewsiewicki & D. Newbury (Eds.), *African historiographies: What history for which Africa?*, pp. 112–122. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Norman, N., & Kelly, K. G. (2004). Landscape politics: The serpent ditch and the rainbow in West Africa. *American Anthropologist, 106*(1), 98–110.

Notes Africaines 90 (1960).

Olivier, L. (1999). The origin of French archaeology. *Antiquity, 73*, 176–183.

Olivier, L., & Coudart, A. (1995). French tradition and the central place of history in the human sciences: Preamble to a dialogue between Robinson Crusoe and his Man Friday. In P. Ucko (Ed.), *Theory in archaeology: A world perspective*, pp. 363–381. London: Routledge.

Ollman, B. (1993). *Dialectical investigations*. New York: Routledge.

Orser, C. (1996). *A historical archaeology of the Modern World*. New York: Plenum.

Palmer, S. H. R. (1939). Stone circles in the Gambia Valley. *Journal of the Royal Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 69*, 273–283.

Parker, H. (1923). Stone circles in Gambia. *Journal of the Royal Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 53*, 173–228.

Pauketat, T. (2001). Practice and history in archaeology: An emerging paradigm. *Anthropological Theory, 1*(1), 73–98.

Pauketat, T. (2004). The economy of the moment: Cultural practices and Mississippian chiefdoms. In G. M. Feinman & L. M. Nicholas (Eds.), *Archaeological perspectives on political economies*, pp. 25–44. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Paynter, R. (1989). The archaeology of equality and inequality. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 18*, 369–399.

Pélissier, P. (1966). *Les paysans du Sénégal: Les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance*. Saint-Yrieix: Imprimerie Fabrègue.

Pondopoulo, A. (1996). La construction de l'altérité ethnique peule dans l'oeuvre de Faidherbe. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 36*(3), 421–441.

Pondopoulo, A. (1997). L'étude des sociétés africaines dans le Bulletin du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. In C. Becker, S. Mbaye & I. Thioub (Eds.), *AOF: Réalités et héritages. Sociétés ouest-africaines et ordre colonial, 1895–1960*, pp. 723–732. Dakar: Direction des Archives du Sénégal.

Posnansky, M. (1982). African archaeology comes of age. *World Archaeology, 13*(3), 345–358.

Pradines, S. (1996). Les tumulus funéraires sénégambiens (Sénégal). (http://www.senegalaisement.com/body/tumulus.htm).

Pradines, S. (1997). Céramique en pays Sereer et tumulus sénégambiens. *Internet Archaeology 3*, (http://intarch.ac.uk/issue3/pradines_toc.html).

Pwiti, G., & Ndioro, W. (1999). The legacy of colonialism: Perceptions of the cultural heritage in Southern Africa, with special reference to Zimbabwe. *African Archaeological Review, 16*(3), 143–153.

Raimbault, M. (1981). Les recherches archéologiques au Mali: Historique, bilan, problèmes et perspectives. *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture, 9*, 16–25.

Ranger, T. (1978). Growing from the roots: Reflections on peasant research in Central and Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 5*(1), 99–133.

Reid, A., & Lane, P. (2004). African historical archaeologies: An introductory consideration of scope and potential. In A. Reid & P. Lane (Eds.), *African historical archaeologies*, pp. 1–32. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Richard, F. G. (2007). From cosaan to colony: Exploring archaeological landscape formations and socio-political complexity in the Siin (Senegal), AD 500–1900. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Syracuse University.

Richard, F. G. (n.d.a). Atlantic transformations and cultural landscapes in the Senegambia: An alternative view from the Siin. To appear in *State and Society in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeologies of Landscape and Region*, edited by J. Cameron Monroe and A. Ogundiran.

Richard, F. G. (n.d.b). Re-charting Atlantic encounters: Object trajectories and histories of value in the Siin (Senegal) and Senegambia. *Archaeological Dialogues*.

Robert, D. (1970). Les fouilles de Tegdaoust. *Journal of African History, 11*(4), 471–493.

Robertshaw, P. (ed.) (1990). *A history of African archaeology*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Robertshaw, P. (1994). Archaeological survey, ceramic analysis, and state formation in Western Uganda. *African Archaeological Review, 12*, 105–131.

Robertshaw, P. (1999). Seeking and keeping power in Bunyoro-Kitara, Uganda. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Paths to complexity in Africa*, pp. 124–135. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Roseberry, W. (1989). *Anthropology and histories: Essays in culture, history, and political economy*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Rowlands, M. (1994). The politics of identity in archaeology. In G. Bond & A. Gilliam (Eds.), *Social construction of the past: Representation as power*, pp. 129–143. London: Routledge.

Saitta, D. (1989). Dialectics, critical inquiry and archaeology. In V. Pinsky & A. Wylie (Eds.), *Critical traditions in contemporary archaeology: Essays in the philosophy, history and socio-politics of archaeology*, pp. 38–43. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Sall, M. (2001). *Identités, peuplement et traditions céramiques en Sénégambie. Ethnographie comparée et reconstitution historique*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Bruxelles.

Sall, M. (2002). *Projet Meter (Métiers de la terre): Valoriser et promouvoir l'artisanat 'traditionnel' au Sénégal*. Unpublished Manuscript, Brussels.

Samb, D. (ed.) (1997). *Gorée et l'esclavage*. Dakar: IFAN-Cheikh Anta Diop.

Scarre, C. (1999). Archaeological theory in France and Britain. *Antiquity, 73*, 155–161.

Schmidt, P. R. (1995). Using archaeology to remake history in Africa. In P. R. Schmidt & T. C. Patterson (Eds.), *Making alternative histories: The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*, pp. 119–147. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Schmidt, P. R., & Patterson, T. C. (1995). Introduction: From constructing to making alternative histories. In P. R. Schmidt & T. C. Patterson (Eds.), *Making alternative histories: The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*, pp. 1–24. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Schmidt, P. R., & McIntosh, R. J. (eds). (1996). *Plundering Africa's past*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Senghor, L. S. (1964). *Liberté I. Négritude et humanisme*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Senghor, L. S. (1977). *Liberté III. Négritude et civilisation de l'universel*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Shaw, T. (1989). African archaeology: Looking back and looking forward. *African Archaeological Review, 7*, 3–31.

Shaw, T. (1997). The contemporary plundering of Africa's past. *African Archaeological Review, 14*(1), 1–7.

Shennan, S. (1993). After social evolution: A new archaeological agenda? In N. Yoffee & A. Sherratt (Eds.), *Archaeological theory: Who sets the agenda?*, pp. 53–59. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Shepherd, N. (2002). The politics of archaeology in Africa. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 31*, 189–209.

Simersen, J. (1990). Value orientation in historical research and writing: The colonial period in African history. *History in Africa, 17*, 267–282.

Sinopoli, C. (2003). *The political economy of craft production: Crafting empire in South India, c.1350–1650*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sowumni, M. A. (1997). Beyond academic archaeology in Africa: The human dimension. *African Archaeological Review, 15*(3), 163–171.

Smith, A. (2003). *The political landscape: Constellations of authority in early complex polities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Stahl, A. B. (1993). Concepts of time and approaches to analogical reasoning in historical perspective. *American Antiquity, 58*(2), 235–260.

Stahl, A. B. (1994). Change and continuity in the Banda area, Ghana: The direct historical approach. *Journal of Field Archaeology, 21*(2), 181–203.

Stahl, A. B. (1998). What is the use of archaeology in historical anthropology? Plenary paper presented at the 30th Annual Chacmool Conference, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, November 1998.

Stahl, A. B. (1999a). The archaeology of global encounters viewed from Banda, Ghana. *African Archaeological Review, 16*(1), 5–81.

Stahl, A. B. (1999b). Perceiving variability in time and space: The evolutionary mapping of African societies. In S. K. McIntosh (Ed.), *Beyond chiefdoms: Paths to complexity in Africa*, pp. 39–55. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stahl, A. B. (2001). *Making history in Banda: Reflections on historical anthropology and the construction of Africa's past*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stahl, A. B. (2002). Colonial entanglements and the practices of taste: An alternative to logocentric approaches. *American Anthropologist, 104*(3), 827–845.

Stahl, A. B. (2004a). Comparative insights into the ancient political economies of West Africa. In G. M. Feinman & L. M. Nicholas (Eds.), *Archaeological perspectives on political economies*, pp. 253–270. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Stahl, A. B. (2004b). Political economic mosaics: Archaeology of the last two millennia in tropical sub-Saharan Africa. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 33*, 145–172.

Stahl, A. B. (ed). (2005a). *African archaeology: A Critical introduction*. Malden: Blackwell.

Stahl, A. B. (2005b). Introduction: Changing perspectives on Africa's pasts. In A. B. Stahl (Ed.), *African archaeology: A Critical introduction*, pp. 1–23. Malden: Blackwell.

Stahl, A. B., & Cruz, M. D. (1998). Men and women in a market economy: Gender and craft production in west central Ghana, c. 1775–1995. In S. Kent (Ed.), *Gender in African prehistory*, pp. 205–226. Walnut Creek: Altamira.

Stein, G. (2002). From passive periphery to active agents: Emerging perspectives in the archaeology of interreginal interaction. *American Anthropologist, 104*(3), 903–916.

Sterner, J. (1989). Who is signaling whom? Ceramic style, ethnicity, and taphonomy among the Irak Bulahay. *Antiquity, 63*, 451–459.

Sterner, J. (1991). Who is signaling whom? Ceramic style, ethnicity, and taphonomy among the Irak Bulahay. *Antiquity, 63*, 451–459.

Stocking, G. W. (1968). *Race, culture, and evolution: Essays in the history of anthropology.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Stocking, G. W. (1987). *Victorian anthropology.* New York: Free.

Thiam, M. (1991). *La céramique au Sénégal: Archéologie et histoire.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Université Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Thiaw, I. (1999). *An archeological investigation of long-term culture change in the Lower Falemmé (Upper Senegal Region), A.D. 500-1900.* Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Rice University, Houston.

Thiaw, I. (2000). L'impact de la traite des noirs dans le Haut Fleuve du Sénégal: Archéologie des interactions afro-européennes dans le *Gajaaga* et le *Buundu* aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles. In D. Samb (Ed.), *Saint-Louis et l'esclavage,* pp. 129–137. Dakar: IFAN-Cheikh Anta Diop.

Thiaw, I. (2002a). Archaeological reconnaissance in Gorée (Sénégal): Preliminary results. Paper presented at the 2002 Conference of the Society of Africanist Archaeologists, Tucson, Arizona.

Thiaw, I. (2002b). Every house has a story: The archaeology of Gorée Island, Senegal. Paper presented at the South-South Workshop on "The Trans-Atlantic Construction of Notions of "Race," Black Culture, Blackness, and Antiracism: Towards a New Dialogue between Researchers in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean, CODESRIA/Sephis, Gorée Island, November 2002.

Thiaw, I. (2003a). Archaeology and the public in Senegal: Reflections on doing fieldwork at home. *Journal of African Archaeology, 1*(2), 215–225.

Thiaw, I. (2003b). The Gorée Archaeological Project (GAP): Preliminary results. *Nyame Akuma, 60,* 27–35.

Thiaw, I. (2007). Le cri de coeur d'un archéologiste. Le Quotidien, No. 1351, 9.

Thiaw, I. (2008). Every house has a story. In L. Sansone, É. Soumonni, & B. Barry (Eds.), *Africa, Brazil and the construction of transatlantic black identities,* pp. 45–62. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Thilmans, G. (2006). *La grande batterie de Gorée: Recherches archéologiques et historiques.* Gorée: Éditions du Musée Historique du Sénégal.

Thilmans, G., & Descamps, C. (1974). Les sites mégalithiques de Tiékène-Boussoura (Sénégal). Fouilles de 1973–1974. *Bulletin de l'IFAN (B), 36*(3), 447–496.

Thilmans, G., & Descamps, C. (1975). Les sites mégalithiques de Tiékène-Boussoura (Sénégal). Fouilles de 1974–1975. *Bulletin de l'IFAN (B), 37*(2), 259–306.

Thilmans, G., & Descamps, C. (1982). Amas et tumulus coquilliers du delta du Saloum. In: *Recherches scientifiques dans les parcs nationaux du Sénégal.* Mémoire IFAN No. 92, IFAN, Dakar, pp. 32–50.

Thilmans, G., & Descamps, C. (2006). Fouille d'un tumulus à Ndalane (région de Kaolack, Sénégal). In C. Descamps & A. Camara (Eds.), *Senegalia. Études sur le patrimoine ouest-africain. Hommage à Guy Thilmans,* pp. 235–238. Saint-Maur-des-Fossés: Éditions SÉPIA.

Thilmans, G., Descamps, C. & Khayat, B. (1980). *Protohistoire du Sénégal. recherches archéologiques. Tome I. Les sites mégalithiques.* Mémoire de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire No 91*, IFAN, Dakar.

Thilmans, G. & Ravisé, A. (1980). *Protohistoire du Sénégal. Recherches archéologiques. Tome II. Sintiou-Bara et les sites du fleuve.* Mémoire de l'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire No 91**, IFAN, Dakar.

Thioub, I. (2002). L'école de Dakar et la production d'une écriture académique de l'histoire. In M. C. Diop (Ed.), *Le Sénégal contemporain,* pp. 109–153. Paris-Amsterdam: Karthala-Sephis.

Thomas, N. (1989). *Out of time: History and evolution in anthropological discourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, N. (1991). *Entangled objects: Exchange, material culture and colonialism in the Pacific.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Thomassey, P., & Mauny, R. (1951). Campagne de fouilles à Koumbi Saleh. *Bulletin de l'IFAN, 13*(2), 348–362.

Thomassey, P., & Mauny, R. (1956). Campagne de fouilles de 1950 à Koumbi Saleh (Ghana?). *Bulletin de l'IFAN, 18*(1–2), 117–140.

Thurston, T. L. (2001). *Landscapes of power, landscapes of conflict: State formation in the south Scandinavian Iron Age.* New York: Kluwer Academic.

Todd, J. L. (1903). Notes on stone circles in Gambia. *Man, 3,* 164–166.

Todd, J. L., & Wolbach, G. B. (1911). Stone circles in the Gambia. *Man, 11,* 161–164.

Trigger, B. (1989). *A history of archaeological thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trigger, B. G. (1990). The history of African archaeology in world perspective. In P. Robertshaw (Ed.), *A history of African archaeology,* pp. 309–319. Portsmouth: Heinemann.

Trouillot, M.-R. (1991). Anthropology and the savage slot: The poetics and politics of otherness. In R. Fox (Ed.), *Recapturing anthropology: Working in the present,* pp. 17–44. Santa Fe: School of America Research Press.

Trouillot, M.-R. (1995). *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Trouillot, M.-R. (2003). *Global transformations: Anthropology and the modern world*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Vanacker, C. (1979). *Tegdaoust II. Fouille d'un quartier artisanal*. Paris: Arts et Métiers Graphiques.

Van Hoten, E. (1990). Representing social hierarchy: Administrators-ethnographers in the French Sudan: Delafosse, Monteil, and Labouret. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines, 30*(2), 179–198.

Wilmsen, E. N. (1989). *Land filled with flies: A political economy of the Kalahari*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilmsen, E. N., & McAllister, P. (eds). (1996). *The politics of difference: Ethnic premises in a world of power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wolf, E. (1998). *Europe and the people without history* (2nd ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Wright, D. (1999). "What do you mean there were no tribes in Africa?" Thoughts on boundaries—and related matters—in Precolonial Africa. *History in Africa, 26*, 409–426.

Wurst, L. (1999). Internalizing class in historical archaeology. *Historical Archaeology, 33*(1), 7–21.

Wylie, A. (1985). The reaction against analogy. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, 8*, 63–111.

Wylie, A. (1992). The interplay of evidential constraints and political interests: Recent archaeological research on gender. *American Antiquity, 57*(1), 15–33.

Wylie, A. (1995). Alternative histories: Epistemic disunity and political integrity. In P. R. Schmidt & T. C. Patterson (Eds.), *Making alternative histories: The practice of archaeology and history in non-western settings*, pp. 255–272. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Wylie, A. (1996). The constitution of archaeological evidence. In P. Galison & D. J. Stump (Eds.), *The disunity of science. Boundaries, contexts, and power*, pp. 311–343. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Wylie, A. (1999). Why should historical archaeologists study capitalism? The logic of question and answer and the challenge of systemic analysis. In M. P. Leone & P. B. Potter (Eds.), *Historical archaeologies of capitalism*, pp. 23–50. New York: Plenum Press.

Yoffee, N. (1993). Too many chiefs? (Or, safe texts for the '90s). In N. Yoffee & S. Sherratt (Eds.), *Archaeological theory: Who sets the agenda?*, pp. 60–78. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Yoffee, N. (2005). *The myth of the archaic state: Evolution of the earliest cities, states, and civilizations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.