Politecnico di Torino

From Shelter to ~~Symbol~~

Architecture and National Identity in Post-Independence Dakar, 1960–1980

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Dedicated to all those who strive.

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Abstract

Between 1960 and 1980 the Senegalese state treated architecture in its capital, Dakar, as an instrument of national self-definition, commissioning or endorsing the museums, exhibition grounds and hotels that were to present the newly independent republic as at once modern and African. This thesis asks three questions: what that instrumentalisation actually consisted of and in which part of a building the national claim came to rest, what work President Léopold Sédar Senghor's doctrine of parallélisme asymétrique performed in relation to the buildings raised under it, and who has narrated this period, with what omissions, and whether the apparatus that argues for these buildings today reproduces the same division. Its position is that the doctrine did not produce the architecture attributed to it. The study rests on documentary research rather than on fieldwork. Its sources conflict constantly, having been produced in large part by parties with an interest in what they describe, and that disagreement is reported as evidence rather than silently resolved. Chapter 2 reconstructs the political conditions at three scales, the national doctrine, the capital and its housing programmes, and professional practice, and finds at each the same distance between what was declared and what could be done. Chapter 3 examines who has written this history, from its long neglect through its recovery under the label "African Modernism" to the decolonial critique of that recovery, and finds a literature divided by domain: doctrine and aesthetics narrated almost entirely by African authors, the reconstruction of what was planned and built almost entirely by European and North American ones. Chapter 4 argues from that divided record to a method, setting out three criteria of selection and seven analytical categories applied uniformly to every case. Through those categories Chapter 5 reconstructs three buildings in the order in which they were commissioned: Musée dynamique (1963–66), FIDAK / CICES fairground (1969–74) and Hôtel Indépendance (1973–77). Chapter 6 sets these against one another and against three further reference points from the same years, one of them never built and one an institution rather than a building, and reaches the central finding: in no case did the doctrine precede the design. *Parallélisme asymétrique* was named in 1974 at the review of a privately financed hotel, in front of a study model already made, and it appears nowhere in the enacted articles of the 1978 law said to carry it. The doctrine legitimated, it named, and after 1978 it regulated procedure; what it did not do was generate a form. Chapter 7 follows that finding into the present, where the applied surfaces carrying whatever national reference these buildings made have been the first elements removed, and asks who argues for these buildings now, and on what terms. Chapter 8 answers the three questions in the terms the introduction poses them and states two results usable outside this study: a procedure for comparing buildings whose archives differ in density, since for a period documented as unevenly as this one a difference between two buildings and a difference between two archives look identical until they are deliberately told apart; and the proposition that where a national reference is applied rather than structural, the meaning of a building has a shorter life expectancy than the building.

Soroush Taheri

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In 1974 the Conseil national de l'urbanisme was convened in Dakar to authorise a privately financed hotel on the principal square of the capital. A study model of the scheme had already been made and stood on the table. Léopold Sédar Senghor, President of the Republic of Senegal since 1960, looked at it and supplied a phrase: parallélisme asymétrique, asymmetrical parallelism. The architect who had made the model was in the room. Fifty years later he described the phrase as an improvisation, a clever remark addressed to lay decision-makers in order to justify a composition and a derogation, that is, an exemption from a planning rule.[1]

The phrase did not stay in the room. It became the name under which the architecture of Senghor's Senegal is discussed today, in the scholarship, in the heritage literature, and in the one law that the Senegalese state ever passed on the orientation of its architecture. What that scene means for the buildings the phrase is supposed to explain is the subject of this thesis. Describing it does not settle it, and this introduction does not attempt to. The evidence is assembled in Chapter 6.

The title of this study names a movement rather than a subject. Shelter is what building does before anything is asked of it. Symbol is what a state asks of building when it needs its capital to say what kind of country it now is. Between 1960 and 1980 the Senegalese state asked for the second, and it asked in a city that had been built to do something else entirely. Dakar had been the capital of French West Africa since 1902, the administrative seat of a federation of eight territories.[2] What independence produced in 1960 was not a new city and not a new country. It was a sovereign state, inheriting a capital designed to govern an empire rather than to represent a nation.

The distance that follows from that inheritance can be measured, and this thesis begins from a measurement rather than from a claim. In the decade in which the state's principal housing programme built 3,426 houses for some 30,000 people, the population of Dakar grew by roughly 150,000, and the authorities carried out some 80,000 forced evictions.[3] In the same years, and in the same city, the state commissioned a museum, an international fairground and a hotel, and presented all three as evidence of what an independent African republic was. Neither fact explains the other. But a study of what a state did with architecture cannot begin from the buildings it chose to photograph without noticing what it was not building at the same time, and that observation, more than any question of style, is where this thesis started.

1. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11, and fig. 5.
2. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 361; on the date of the transfer from Saint-Louis and the extent of the federation, "French West Africa," Encyclopædia Britannica.
3. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 361–62, and 378, citing Seck, Dakar, 131, and Diallo, "La SICAP," 15.

1 /A SUBJECT THAT LOOKS SETTLED

The Reading This Thesis Sets Out to Test

Senghor was a poet before he was a president, and he remained one afterwards. He was the first head of state of independent Senegal, in office from 1960 until his resignation at the end of 1980, and the two decades of his presidency supply this study with its period. He was also, with Aimé Césaire and Léon-Gontran Damas, one of the founders of négritude, and the author of a doctrine of cultural encounter that he called the civilisation de l'universel: not a return to an African past, but a contribution of African values to a common human civilisation. Chapter 2 sets out what these positions consisted of and where they came from. What matters here is that Senegal, alone among the states of the region, had a president who wrote aesthetics, and that his writings have therefore been available ever since as an explanation of what was built under him.

Parallélisme asymétrique is the term through which that explanation runs. In the account of the Senegalese scholar of aesthetics Abdou Sylla, who drew on conversations with Senghor, asymmetrical parallelism is a category already present in the traditional African statuette, where a central axis appears to divide the figure into halves that are in fact never identical.[4] Transferred to architecture, the term promises a compositional principle: a building organised on a manifest order that is never quite regular. In 1978 the state gave the doctrine a legal form. Loi n° 78-43, portant orientation de l'architecture sénégalaise, directs architectural creation to take its inspiration principally from the values of Negro-African, and singularly Sudano-Sahelian, civilisation.[5]

From these materials a reading assembles itself almost without effort, and it is the reading this thesis was written to test. In it, a president formulated an aesthetic doctrine, the doctrine became state policy, and the buildings of the period are its realisation. The direction of explanation runs downward, from the writings to the fabric, as though a president's aesthetics constituted a brief and the architects had received it. The reading is not confined to one place. It underlies the way the period was recovered for an international readership by African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, the 2015 volume that did more than any other single publication to return this material to circulation.[6] It supplies the vocabulary of the heritage platforms that now argue for the preservation of individual buildings. And it is reinforced by the law itself, which is generally cited as the doctrine's legislative expression.

A subject with a named doctrine, a dated law and a set of surviving buildings looks like a subject that has been settled and needs only to be described. Two observations made early in this research suggested otherwise. The first is chronological. The phrase was supplied in 1974, and the buildings usually cited to illustrate it were commissioned in 1963, in 1969 and in 1973. The second is textual. Parallélisme

4. Sylla, "Parallélisme asymétrique," quoted in Ndiaye, "Pluralité et singularité," 173.
5. Loi n° 78-43 du 6 juillet 1978, art. 3.
6. Herz, Schröder, Focketyn and Jamrozik, eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence.

asymétrique appears in the explanatory memorandum of the 1978 law and in none of its seven enacted articles.[7] Neither observation is by itself an argument. Both are enough to make the standard reading a hypothesis rather than a background.

2 /THREE QUESTIONS

What Is Actually Being Asked, and What Would Count as an Answer

The three questions below were posed in the belief that the answers were known and needed only to be assembled from a literature that had already done the work. That belief is worth recording, because it did not survive the assembling, and because the shape of this thesis is the shape of finding out that it would not.

The first question asks what the Senegalese state's instrumentalisation of architecture actually consisted of between 1960 and 1980, and in which part of a building the national claim came to rest. That architecture was instrumentalised is not in question here and no chapter was written to prove it. What is in question is the instrument. A state that wants its capital to make a national argument has several means available and they are not equivalent: it can decide what gets built, where, and on what occasion; it can decide who designs it; or it can prescribe how the result should look. These leave different traces, and the second half of the question follows from the first. If a national claim was made in the fabric of these buildings at all, it was made somewhere in particular, and where it sits determines what can happen to it afterwards. Answering this requires the buildings to be reconstructed decision by decision, which is the work of Chapter 5.

The second question asks what work Senghor's doctrine of parallélisme asymétrique performed in relation to the buildings raised under it. The phrasing is deliberate. It does not ask what the doctrine meant, which is a question about a text and has been answered several times over. It asks what the doctrine did, which is a question about a sequence, and a sequence can be tested. If a doctrine generated a form, it existed before the form did, and something connects the two: an instruction, a brief, a correspondence, a drawing revised after a directive. The test is therefore a test of evidence rather than of interpretation, and it can fail in a way an interpretation cannot; Ch. 6 performs it.

The third question asks who has narrated this period, with what omissions, and whether the apparatus that argues for these buildings today reproduces the same division. This is a historiographical question and it is not an appendix to the other two. Almost nothing was written about this architecture at the time; what exists was compiled long afterwards, by institutions and scholars with positions of their own. Any answer to the first two questions is therefore assembled from material produced by interested parties, and the composition of that material is part of the evidence rather than a caveat attached to it. Chapter 3 counts who wrote this history; Chapter 7 asks whether the institutions that now decide what of it is kept are divided the same way.

7. Loi n° 78-43, exposé des motifs vs. arts. 1–7.

The position this thesis argues can be stated now, in advance of the evidence for it, and it is stated in full at the end of this chapter. It is that the doctrine did not produce the architecture attributed to it (fig. 1.1).

THE QUESTION	**THE DEFAULT ANSWER** (what the literature offers)	CHAPTER
Q1 / What did the state's instrumentalisation of architecture consist of, and in which part of a building did the national claim come to rest?	A stylistic policy, expressed in the appearance of the buildings.	2, 5
Q2 / What work did the doctrine of parallélisme asymétrique perform in relation to the buildings raised under it?	It generated their form. The doctrine is read as a brief the architects received.	6
Q3 / Who has narrated this period, with what omissions, and does the apparatus arguing for these buildings today reproduce the same division?	A Western recovery of a neglected African modernism, since corrected by decolonial critique.	3, 7

Fig. 1.1. The three research questions, the answer the existing literature offers by default, and the chapter in which each is taken up. The middle column states the reading this thesis sets out to test rather than any position held here. Table produced by author.

3 /GROUND AND SCOPE
Two Decades, One City, and What Is Left Out

The period is bounded by a presidency. It opens in 1960, when Senegal became a sovereign state, and closes in 1980, when Senghor resigned. The boundary is not a convenience. It is the span within which the state that commissioned these buildings and the man who supplied their vocabulary were the same authority, and outside it the question of what a doctrine did to a design cannot be posed in the same terms.

One departure from that boundary is admitted and its principle is stated in advance. Chapter 7 works entirely after 1980, and it does so on a single ground: a doctrine may leave no mark on a form and still leave one on the language used about that form, and language of that kind reveals its speaker faster than anything else does. Everything that chapter examines, including the repeal of the 1978 law in 2021, is evidence about the period rather than an extension of it.

The city is Dakar, and the choice is not merely a matter of the capital being where the buildings are. Dakar was the only place in Senegal where the state's power to commission was concentrated enough to be studied as a policy rather than as a series of occasions.

Three buildings carry the argument, and they are taken in the order in which they were commissioned rather than the order in which they opened. The Musée dynamique, decided in 1963 and delivered in 1966, was a state art museum built for a festival. The Foire internationale de Dakar, later the CICES fairground, went to competition in 1969 and opened in 1974 as a permanent exhibition ground on open land north of the city. The Hôtel Indépendance, designed in 1973 and 1974 and completed in 1977, was a privately financed hotel on the principal square of the capital, carrying the name of the event that produced the state.[8] A museum, a fairground and a hotel: three programmes, three clients, three relations to the state.

Chapter 6 introduces three further reference points from the same years, and they are comparators rather than case studies. ENAM – École nationale d'administration et de magistrature is there to show what the same practitioners did when public display was not the point. The Musée des civilisations noires, designed in the late 1970s and never built in that form, is there to show what happened where execution never arrived. The École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme is there because it is an institution rather than a building, and because the question of whether the doctrine could pass into Senegalese authorship cannot be asked without it.

Three exclusions should be named here rather than defended later. The Assemblée Nationale, the most conspicuous public building on the Plateau, is excluded because it was inherited: a colonial structure of 1954 to 1956 cannot test a doctrine that postdates it, and Chapter 4 sets out the reasoning in full. Housing is treated as context in Chapter 2 and not as a case, because the argument here concerns buildings the state commissioned to be looked at. And no building discussed in this thesis has been visited by its author. The study rests on documentary research, and Chapter 8 states exactly what that costs it.

4 /SOURCES, METHOD AND TOOLS
What This Thesis Reads, and How It Was Assembled

The sources of this period conflict constantly. They were produced in large part by parties with an interest in what they describe: the architects who designed the buildings, the heritage organisations that later adopted them as causes, the recovery literature that made them a subject, and the state that commissioned them. The method that follows from this is triangulation rather than verification. No account is treated as testimony to be believed. Independently motivated accounts are set against one another and against surviving physical fabric, and where they fail to agree the failure is reported as evidence rather than silently resolved. Chapter 4 argues the point properly. What matters at this stage is that disagreement in this thesis is a finding and not an embarrassment.

The bibliography is organised in three parts rather than the conventional two, because two independent questions have to be answered about every item. What does the source stand in relation to, and how did this thesis reach it? Six items are primary, produced within the period or by someone who took part in the events they describe. Twenty-seven are secondary and were read in full. Twenty-six more are cited at second hand, known only through another scholar's footnotes, and they are kept in a

8. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47; Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 18; Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," figs. 3–4.

visible list rather than folded into the second, because what they establish is that a body of coverage exists, not what is in it. The reason for the third list is itself part of the argument, and Chapter 3 develops it.

Tools: Three uses of artificial intelligence shaped how this thesis was assembled rather than what it argues, and each was bounded by a procedure designed to prevent a tool from producing anything that was not checked against a source.

1. The first was an instrument built for this project rather than borrowed. Chapter 8 offers a procedure to research beyond this study: establish how fully each building is documented, and in which respects, before setting any two of them side by side. At the scale this thesis reached, 354 notes across seven chapters and 465 citations distributed among 59 bibliographic items in three lists, a map of that kind cannot be held in a notebook. A purpose-built research dashboard was therefore written for this project with the assistance of a large language model (LLM), and it is the one methodological innovation this study claims for itself. It is a single self-contained file of 1,758 lines of code: 1,279 of JavaScript, 325 of CSS, and the remainder markup. It carries four working sections. A chapter tracker records the status, the word count and the note count of each chapter as it was drafted. A log holds the record of each supervision meeting against the chapter it concerned. A source ranking reports what proportion of the citations actually placed in drafted text each source carries, resolving every Ibid. to its antecedent and applying one rule throughout: where a note reports that one author is quoted in another, the citation is counted toward the source actually consulted, since that is the source this thesis can be said to have read. And a flag library holds material surfaced while drafting one chapter that belongs in a later one, so that a finding made early is not lost by the time the chapter that needs it is written. 49 such flag items were raised and carried forward over the course of the work, 22 of them for Chapter 7 alone, which was written last and depended most on evidence gathered while other chapters were in draft.

What that ranking makes visible is the shape of the record rather than a limit on the reading. Across the roughly 28,600 words of Chapters 2 to 8 this thesis places 465 citations in 354 notes, one referenced statement for every 81 words. The two counts differ because a note and a citation are not the same unit. A note is a position in the text; a citation is a source called on at that position, and 76 of these notes call on more than one. That surplus is the triangulation described above, appearing as a count: where a claim rests on a single account the note carries one source, and where independently motivated accounts had to be set against one another the note carries them together. Those citations are carried by 33 sources, and the load among them is not even. The interview with Thierry Melot carries 76 of them, 16.3% of the total; the conservation management plan of the fairground carries 63, or 13.5%; Lucia Allais's study of the museum carries 56, or 12.0%. Three sources therefore account for 41.9% of everything cited here, and ten account for 77.4% (fig. 1.2). The heaviest single concentration falls inside Chapter 5, where the CICES CMP supplies 42 of that chapter's 125 notes. This distribution is a property of what has been written about these buildings and not of what was consulted for them: for two of the three case studies there is no second survey to set beside the first, because none exists. A study cannot correct a distribution of that kind, and pretending to a wider evidentiary base than the field offers would be the worse error. What it can do is measure the distribution before it argues from it, which is what this one did, and which is what allowed Chapter 6 to tell a difference between two buildings apart from a difference between two archives.

SOURCE	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8	total	share
1. Berankova and Melot, interview with Melot (2026)	10	1	3	22	32	8	–	**76**	**16.3%**
2. Chaouni, Gueye & Salama, CICES CMP (2023)	–	–	1	42	9	8	3	**63**	**13.5%**
3. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre" (2025)	15	–	3	31	6	–	1	**56**	**12%**
4. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Musée dynamique" (2019)	–	–	1	21	5	6	–	**33**	**7.1%**
5. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism (2015)	–	1	1	21	6	–	2	**31**	**6.7%**
6. Loi n° 78-43 du 6 juillet 1978	7	1	1	–	6	6	1	**22**	**4.7%**
7. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads" (2024)	–	–	1	13	6	–	1	**21**	**4.5%**
8. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U." (2023)	9	–	–	1	6	5	–	**21**	**4.5%**
9. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard" (2014)	7	11	–	–	1	1	1	**21**	**4.5%**
10. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism (2016)	–	11	–	3	1	1	–	**16**	**3.4%**
The remaining 23 sources	34	12	5	24	12	16	2	**105**	**22.6%**
total citations	**82**	**37**	**16**	**178**	**90**	**51**	**11**	465	**100%**

Fig. 1.2. The ten sources carrying the largest share of the 465 citations placed in this thesis, with the remaining twenty-three grouped. Columns give the number of notes in each chapter citing that source; a note citing more than one source is counted once for each, so column totals exceed the number of notes. Counted from the note lists of Chapters 2 to 8, with every Ibid. resolved to its antecedent, works cited at second hand excluded, and citations in "X quoted in Y" notes counted toward the source consulted. Table produced by author.

2. The second use was verification of the citations themselves, and it was run in two directions. Forward, from the body to the list: every note number in the text was checked to have exactly one anchor, with no unmatched numbers and no duplicates. Backward, from the list to the body: every note was checked to correspond to a real anchor. Separately, every page number, section name and within-source reference was checked against the extracted text of the source file rather than against memory, and re-checked wherever a passage was revised, since deletions and merges strand notes that were correct in an earlier draft. The procedure reduces a class of error at a scale where manual checking degrades. It does not abolish error, and where an item could not be resolved it is held open in the tracker rather than quietly closed.

3. The working languages are English and French. The third use was translation. Several of the sources of this period exist only in French, and a number of the Sen-

egalese texts reach this thesis through French intermediaries. Machine translation was used to produce first passes, and every passage relied on in the argument was then read against the original before it was cited. Where a translation carried interpretive weight, the French is given.

Images were treated under a separate protocol, which the Appendix sets out in full and which every affected caption records individually. Alterations are of three kinds and no others: enhancement of resolution where a scan was too degraded to print clearly, adjustment of colour and lighting, and the addition of a red highlight to direct attention. No image has been altered in a way that changes what it shows. Nothing has been added, removed or moved.

Language-level assistance was also used, in the ordinary sense in which a writer working outside their first language uses it: checking grammar, adjusting register toward academic English, and keeping terminology consistent across chapters written weeks apart.

5 /HOW THE ARGUMENT IS BUILT

Seven Chapters, Each Made Necessary by the One Before

These seven chapters are not seven views of one subject. They form a sequence, and the sequence is not reversible: what each chapter establishes is what makes the next one necessary.

Chapter 2 asks what had to be in place before a building could carry a national claim, and finds three preconditions: a doctrine, a capital, and architects. It examines each in turn and finds the same failure repeated at all three, and the failure is always a failure of hands rather than of intent. That leaves a question the chapter cannot itself answer, about who has been permitted to narrate a period whose origins are all disputed.

Chapter 3 turns that into a historiographical question and answers it with a tally. It traces the writing on this period across three phases, from silence to recovery to the critique of that recovery, and finds a field split along subject matter rather than ruled by any one party. It ends in difficulty rather than in a result, because the sources it has just audited are the same sources every later chapter must work from.

Chapter 4 answers that the argument has to be made from buildings, and argues the point negatively, by ruling out the alternatives. From there it derives three criteria of selection, seven analytical categories applied uniformly to every case, and a map of how densely each category is evidenced for each building, drawn before any comparison is attempted.

Chapter 5 fills that frame. Twenty-one positions are reconstructed across the three buildings, and they fill to conspicuously unequal depths. The inequality is not a defect in the reconstruction. It is the first thing the next chapter has to account for.

Chapter 6 takes the archives before it takes the buildings, and only then compares. It sets the doctrine's dates against the designs', follows the channels through which each architect was appointed, and locates precisely where in each building the national reference sits. It reaches the central finding of this thesis and leaves one consequence open: if the part of a building that carries its meaning is also the part that comes away first, who argues for it now?

Chapter 7 carries that question into the present. Chapter 8 then gathers the answers, sets out what this study leaves behind for other research, and states the limits of a method built on documents alone.

Read in sequence, these seven chapters do not accumulate. They narrow. Each one closes a route that had been open before it, and the argument that reaches Chapter 8 is smaller than the one this study set out with. Chapter 8 sets out what that leaves standing.

6 /POSITION

What This Thesis Argues, Stated Before It Is Argued

The position of this study is that the doctrine did not produce the architecture attributed to it.

That is a claim about sequence and not about quality, and it can be stated precisely enough to be wrong. If a doctrine generated a form, the doctrine existed first and something connects it to the drawing. The claim here is that in none of the cases examined does such a connection survive, that the phrase was supplied in 1974 to describe decisions taken earlier and elsewhere, and that the law said to carry it regulates procedure rather than appearance. What the doctrine did instead was legitimate, name, and after 1978 regulate. All three effects are real, and all three are administrative.

Two things would displace this argument. A document showing a doctrinal instruction attached to any of these designs before it was drawn would end it outright. A sustained architectural criticism in the Senegalese press of the period, which this thesis has not been able to consult, would change what can be said about who has narrated this period and with what omissions. Both are named again in Chapter 8, where the limits of a documentary method are set out in full.

This is not a debunking argument. The buildings are not diminished by it and Senghor's project is not made less serious. What changes is where the seriousness is located: not in a set of aesthetic instructions issued from the presidency, but in the ordinary machinery of deciding what a young state would build, on which ground, and for which occasion. That machinery is the subject of the chapters that follow.

"The buildings came first. The doctrine arrived to explain them."



DAKAR, SENEGAL

CHAPTER 2

Historical and Political Context

INTRODUCTION

Architecture does not become an instrument of nation-building on its own. It requires a doctrine that assigns it that role, a territory on which the doctrine can be inscribed, and a body of practitioners able and willing to draw. This chapter reconstructs those three conditions in Senegal across the two decades following independence, and takes them in that order: first the cultural politics formulated at the level of the nation, then the capital city in which such politics had to acquire physical form, then the offices, commissions, and training institutions through which buildings were actually produced.

The ordering is methodological rather than merely expository. This thesis argues from buildings, and the buildings examined later cannot be read without knowing what they were asked to mean, where they were permitted to stand, and who was authorised to design them. Each scale establishes the terms within which the next operated; each also exposes the limits of the one before it.

What emerges across the three is less a tidy descent through scales than a single recurring problem: the distance between what was declared and what could be done. A cultural doctrine was elaborated in abstract and universalising terms. A capital inherited from colonial administration proved only partially redirectable by the state that took it over. The practice of building remained, for most of the period, in the hands of architects trained and licensed elsewhere, even as that same state legislated a national architecture into existence. This gap is not offered here as a claim to be defended in advance of the evidence. It is what the sources, read at each scale in turn, repeatedly show. What those sources are, and why almost all of them were written long after the events they describe, is the subject of the chapter that follows. Here they are read for what they establish; there, for what they leave out.

1 /NATIONAL SCALE

Culture as Sovereignty: Senghor’s National Project

Senegalese sovereignty arrived on terms largely set in Paris four years before it was declared. The loi-cadre of 1956 made French withdrawal from direct administration in French West Africa conditional on the fragmentation of the federation into separate states governed as such, a requirement that was constitutive of independence and that narrowed the future capacity of the former colonies to act. Senghor, long a partisan of decolonisation, opposed this particular settlement, dismissing the auton-

omy it granted as illusory and accusing France of balkanising West Africa.[1] The episode matters for a history of architecture because it identifies the register in which sovereignty could still be claimed after 1960. If the container of the state had been designed elsewhere, then culture became the domain in which a specifically Senegalese future might still be authored. Senghor drew precisely that conclusion: in the years following the loi-cadre he began to theorise state-building as a pedagogical undertaking, with himself in the role of teacher.[2]

The content of that pedagogy was *négritude*, a concept Aimé Césaire coined but Senghor made into a system. Kahiudi Mabana's account traces a definition that hardened over decades (*négritude* as the ensemble of cultural values of the black world as they are expressed in the life and works of black people) and that Senghor later compressed into something closer to a stance than a category, "rien que la volonté d'être soi-même," a weapon for decolonisation.[3] Senghor's own retrospective testimony describes the movement's origins in the mid-1930s as a stripping away of the borrowed clothes of assimilation in order to affirm an African being; the same testimony concedes, with unusual candour, that in its Parisian years *négritude* functioned as a moral ghetto.[4] That concession is worth registering. Senghor was not a naïve theorist of authenticity, and the buildings commissioned under his presidency inherit an ambivalence already present in the doctrine.

What makes *négritude* consequential for architectural history is that Senghor formulated it through a vocabulary of form rather than of politics. Its axiom, stated in "Ce que l'homme noir apporte" in 1939, is that the ordering force which produces the black style is rhythm: "*Cette force ordinatrice qui fait le style nègre est le rythme*".[5] Babacar Mbaye Diop shows how Senghor, reworking Frobenius, Kjersmeier, and Guillaume and Munro, extended this from poetry into sculpture and painting, where rhythm is defined operationally as repetition at intervals, contrast of colour and mass, variation within recurrence.[6] El Hadji Tafsir Baba Ndao Diouf pushes the same logic further in his account of Senghor's aesthetics of curves, in which the curve stands as the counter-term to the straight line (the latter being the emblem of geometric, analytic, imitative reason inherited from Greek antiquity), and disproportion becomes evidence of creative genius rather than of technical failure.[7] Repetition, interval, asymmetry, the curve set against the right angle: this is already a language in which built form can be described. Yet Senghor's own aesthetic writings address the statuette, the mask, the painting, the poem, not the building. The translation into architecture was performed by other hands, and it can be dated. Writing in Éthiopiques in 1977, the architect Thierry Melot opened his genealogy of a Senegalese architecture from Senghor's characterisation of Black African civilisations as civilisations of "l'idée incarnée," the embodied idea, and turned on Senghor's definition of the carved object

1. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Décrets," nn. 59–60.
2. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Décrets," nn. 61–62.
3. Mabana, "Civilisation *de l'universel*," 4, citing Senghor, Liberté 3, 90–91.
4. Senghor, quoted in Ndiaye, "Pluralité et singularité," 172–73.
5. Senghor, "Ce que l'homme noir apporte" (1939), quoted in Diop, "Théorie du rythme," 1.
6. Diop, "Théorie du rythme," 1, 5–6.
7. Diouf, "Esthétique des courbes," 119–21.

as a system of signs, "une image symbolique et rythmée," both taken by Melot from Michel Leiris and Jacqueline Delange rather than directly from Senghor.[8] From this Melot derived an argument of some consequence: because European modernism had itself been formed by contact with that system of signs, passing from Vlaminck and Picasso through Cubism to Gropius, Mies, and above all Le Corbusier, a contemporary Senegalese and Sudano-Sahelian architecture would not be an artificial graft on the social body but a homecoming, the return of a plastic language that had travelled to Europe and been transformed there.[9] The corollary was a warning: to copy the outward forms of the Sudano-Sahelian mosques without grasping the spatial sense that produced them would yield work that later criticism would rightly condemn as "pastiches folkloriques."[10] Whatever one makes of the diffusionist art history it assumes, this text supplies the missing term. It shows a practising architect, in the very year the state was drafting its architecture law, converting rhythm and asymmetry from slogan into design method.

The second pillar of Senghor's cultural politics, the civilisation *de l'universel*, has a more compromised genealogy than its later use suggests. Nancy Jachec has established that the phrase was not Senghor's invention but that of Umberto Campagnolo, general secretary of the Société Européenne de Culture, who intended it to describe a new internationally valid culture emerging from postwar reconstruction. Senghor regarded Campagnolo's version as synonymous with neo-colonialism and set about redefining it.[11] He had arrived at the 1960 Rome Roundtable between African and European intellectuals as the obvious keynote figure, describing himself at that moment as "a Eurafrican cultural hybrid" and bringing two decades of French parliamentary experience with him (fig. 2.1).[12] Within two years he had abandoned Eurafricanism for an Africanist position, exchanging close cultural relations with Europe for an exclusively African route to a universal civilisation.[13] By 1966 he was arguing that a Eurafrican culture was in essence neo-colonialist, in an article whose publication coincided with the opening of the World Festival of Black Arts in Dakar.[14] Mabana reads the resulting doctrine as a fusion of Teilhard de Chardin's Omega point with a theory of cultural métissage, secularised into the formula of a meeting of giving and receiving.[15]

This trajectory has direct implications for the argument of this thesis. A doctrine that begins as a European term, is captured and inverted, and is then deployed to justify the very cultural exchange it once denounced, cannot be treated as a stable measure against which buildings are judged either authentic or derivative. Nor was it uncontested at the time. Mabana catalogues the attacks (Towa's charge that Senghor invited Africans to bow before European superiority, Adotevi's dismissal of him as a négrologue, Soyinka's ridicule, Mphahlele's accusation of empty rhetoric) and adds

8. Senghor, in Leiris and Delange, quoted in Melot, "Filiations," nn. 1, 5–6, 12.
9. Melot, "Filiations," sec. "Le fait plastique nègre."
10. Ibid, sec. "L'influence de l'Islam."
11. Jachec, "Senghor and the Cultures," 195–96.
12. Ibid., 196.
13. Ibid., 196.
14. Ibid., 204.
15. Mabana, "Civilisation *de l'universel*," 7, 9.



Fig. 2.1. Léopold Sédar Senghor (seated, far left) at the Roundtable Cultures de l'Afrique noire et de l'Occident, Rome, February 1960. Archivio della Società Europea di Cultura, Venice (ASEC19). Reproduced in Jachec, "Senghor and the Cultures," 203. Resolution enhanced with AI, red highlight added by author.

his own repudiation of Senghor's 1951 apologia for Belgian colonisation in Congo.[16] The ideological framework that would legitimate the commissioning of French architects for Senegalese national monuments was, in other words, already under attack from African intellectuals while those monuments were being built.

Doctrine became statecraft through legal instruments. Lucia Allais's reading of the February 1966 decree that created the Musée dynamique shows an institution defined not as a museum but as a public service of artistic education and cultural exchange, a formulation that made culture an organ of the state rather than an ornament of it.[17] More significant for the national scale is the pattern this inaugurated:

16. Mabana, "Civilisation *de l'universel*," 11–12.
17. Décret n° 66-123, JO du Sénégal, 5 Mar. 1966, 241–42; see Allais, "Joyau," n. 56.

Senghor governed cultural production by decree, inheriting from the loi-cadre a politics of exception in which international norms are applied through deliberately loose definitions and multiform utility.[18] In 1974 he adopted an official architectural doctrine under the name *parallélisme asymétrique*.[19] The law of 6 July 1978 on the orientation of Senegalese architecture then converted preference into obligation, though more narrowly than its reputation suggests. Its first article declares the quality of architecture to be of public utility and public interest throughout the national territory; the third directs that architectural creation draw its inspiration principally from the values of Negro-African, and singularly Sudano-Sahelian, civilisation, together with the demands of modernity; the fifth makes recourse to a qualified architect compulsory for new building and for the alteration of old, above a cost threshold to be fixed by decree.[20] No article prescribes a style, and the explanatory memorandum states plainly that imposing a precise one would obstruct creative evolution; no article allocates a share of the budget.[21] Asymmetrical parallelism appears nowhere among the seven enacted articles, only in that memorandum, which asserts that architectural creation is underpinned by its principles.[22] Between 1966 and 1978 a poetics did become a building code. But the code legislated procedure and inspiration, not form.

The doctrine at the centre of that code has two irreconcilable origin stories, and the discrepancy is more useful to this thesis than either account alone. In Senegalese art criticism, asymmetrical parallelism is a descriptive category: Abdou Sylla, drawing on conversations with Senghor, locates it in the traditional statuette, where a central vertical axis appears to divide the work into equal halves that are never in fact identical, an illusory symmetry, or as he puts it, "C'est au fond une symétrie asymétrique."[23] The term also circulates as an aesthetic principle opposed to the monotonous symmetrical parallelisms of European versification, and Babacar Mbaye Diop treats it as the governing ideology of the modern Senegalese arts and of the École de Dakar.[24] That a demand for a national architecture was issued from the presidency directly to the French practitioners then working in Dakar is corroborated from the Senegalese side: Birahim Niang, of the first cohort trained at the École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme de Dakar, recalls Senghor assembling the French architects of the day and telling them, "I want a Senegalese architecture, I want a Senegalese school. Because the rhythm expressed by Vitruvius is in our architecture."[25] Against this stands the firsthand recollection of Thierry Melot, who dates the phrase itself to a single meeting of the Conseil national de l'urbanisme in 1974, at which he presented a study model in black and white plexiglass; Senghor, he recalls, seized on the black and white plates, intended only as a didactic device, and declared them the doctrine of the Senegalese architecture he dreamed of, "*le parallélisme entre nos deux cultures,*

18. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," concluding sec.
19. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," nn. 71–72.
20. Loi n° 78-43 du 6 juillet 1978, arts. 1, 3, 5.
21. Ibid., *exposé des motifs*.
22. Ibid., *exposé des motifs* vs. arts. 1–7; cf. Allais, "Joyau," n. 73.
23. Sylla, "*Parallélisme asymétrique*," quoted in Ndiaye, "Pluralité et singularité," 173.
24. Diop, "Théorie du rythme," 7–8.
25. Niang, in Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "History and structure."

nos deux civilisations, la noire et la blanche."[26] Melot's verdict on the concept is unsparing: "*une supercherie, une valise vide,*" a clever remark that acquired doctrinal weight without ever receiving a theoretical foundation. He further claims to have drafted the principal articles of the 1978 law himself, as vice-president of the Ordre des architectes du Sénégal, and states that the reference to asymmetrical parallelism was inserted by the presidency.[27] The primary text is at least consistent with that account: the phrase occurs in the explanatory memorandum alone and in none of the articles.[28] This is oral history recorded some fifty years after the fact by a participant with an evident interest in the question of authorship, and it should not be weighed equally against the peer-reviewed reconstructions cited above. But it does not need to be true in every detail to be historically productive: it establishes that the state's official architectural doctrine was contested by the architect closest to its formulation, and it locates the doctrine's origin in a procedural negotiation over a planning derogation rather than in aesthetic theory.

Senghor himself understood the temporality of what he was attempting. He described the construction of a state as resembling the building of medieval cathedrals, a long labour demanding centuries of effort and patience, and distinguished the state from the nation by a further architectural analogy: "*L'État est à la Nation ce que l'entrepreneur est à l'architecte.*"[29] The figure is revealing in both directions. It confirms that Senghor thought about political formation in architectural terms, and, since it assigns the state the contractor's role of realising and making permanent a will formed elsewhere, it makes building the instrument by which a national intention is given duration. Yet a doctrine articulated at the scale of a civilisation had to be realised in a single city, and that city had been built, very deliberately, as a colonial capital.

2 /URBAN SCALE

The Inherited Capital: Dakar as Colonial Project

Doctrine, decree, and law all presuppose a territory on which to act, and in Senegal that territory was overwhelmingly a single city. Dakar in 1960 was not an unmarked site awaiting a national architecture; it was a recently completed colonial project, still warm. Between 1945 and 1960 the city was transformed by what Lucia Allais describes as a building fever: an old fishing settlement, already enlarged before the war by a downtown and a growing belt of housing, became a landscape of streets, avenues, and roundabouts, its centre formalised into an administrative quarter of public squares and monumental modernism, with tall buildings punctuating the Plateau and the seafront.[30] This was deliberate policy rather than drift. When Dakar was made federal capital of French West Africa in the immediate postwar years, the governor-general Paul Béchard issued an appeal to French architects and engineers to

26. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11.
27. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11–12.
28. Loi n° 78-43, *exposé des motifs* vs. arts. 1–7.
29. Senghor, quoted in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Décrets."
30. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," n. 14.

settle there, and the newly created FIDES channelled state investment into colonial "equipment," on the reasoning that whether or not France kept its colonies, strengthening Dakar strengthened the empire's grip.[31] The capital Senghor inherited had therefore been built, very recently, as an instrument of the power he was replacing.

Nowhere is that inheritance more legible than in housing. Under the slogan of one neighbourhood a year, the Société Immobilière du Cap Vert built 3,426 houses for almost 30,000 people between 1951 and 1960, in a decade when Dakar's population grew by 150,000.[32] Luce Beeckmans reads this mismatch as constitutive rather than accidental. The postwar development discourse did genuinely mark a turning point, since the colonial state for the first time accepted Africans as permanent urban dwellers and invested in housing them; but by selecting which Africans, it also furnished a new legal basis for residential segregation, no longer traced along racial lines alone but now principally along socio-economic ones. This is the mechanism she names the "Development Syndrome," constructed by analogy with the pre-war sanitary pretexts that had produced the Médina and its cordon sanitaire in 1914.[33] SICAP's target was the *évolués*, the group whose political acquiescence mattered most, and a SICAP address rapidly became a marker of status.[34] The counterpart to that selection was expulsion: between 1951 and 1960, alongside the SICAP programme, some 80,000 *déguerpissements* were carried out, with the evicted rehoused on a grid laid out in 1951 at Dagoudane-Pikine, roughly fifteen kilometres out on the Rufisque road.[35]

The dating matters for this thesis. Beeckmans argues that the shift from racial to socio-economic segregation, usually attributed to the postcolonial era, in fact predated independence and may be the single most significant thing the postwar development programmes actually turned.[36] Nor did it pass unchallenged at the time. Lébou dignitaries sitting in the Senegalese parliament petitioned the colonial government and the federal assembly, demanding land titles, compensation, and a wholesale revision of the Plan Directeur du Cap Vert; they supported modernising Dakar but objected that the plan had made them "nomads" in their own city.[37] A politics of urban dispossession, and an articulate local critique of it, were already in place before Senghor took office.

What happened after 1960 was continuity dressed in new language. Senghor promoted the SICAP schemes rather than dismantling them, and the vocabulary examined in the preceding section was applied directly to them: in a 1962 SICAP brochure he wrote that improving housing demands an effort of civilisation, and that in the SICAP neighbourhoods "*on y crée une nouvelle civilisation négro-africaine et moderne.*"[38] Beeckmans traces the institutional side of that continuity precisely:

31. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," nn. 12–13.
32. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 361.
33. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 361–62.
34. Ibid., 362.
35. Ibid., 378, citing Seck, Dakar, 131, and Diallo, "La SICAP," 15.
36. Ibid., 362.
37. Ibid., 381, citing ANS 1P 3199.
38. Senghor, SICAP brochure, 1962, quoted in Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 383.

the French investment bank CCCE replaced its colonial predecessor without altering its function, so that the Development Syndrome slid into what she calls a Cooperation Syndrome, while the déguerpissements were renamed *recasements* and, under Senghor, carried out more violently than before, sometimes with bulldozers and soldiers.[39] The claim that a Negro-African civilisation was being created was thus attached to a programme that served roughly a third of Dakar's workforce at most and expelled a good many of the rest (fig. 2.2).[40]

Gregory Valdespino's account complicates any purely top-down reading, and does so from the residents' side rather than the institutional one. SICAP's postcolonial durability, he argues, rested on the fact that its residents wanted what it offered and made it their own. Senghor took official visitors on walks through the SICAP gardens, and residents interviewed decades later credited him with founding the programme

39. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 383, citing Dulucq and Vernière, Dakar et son double, 236.
40. Valdespino, "The Cité Is Yours," 855.



Fig. 2.2. "*Cette cité est à vous, soyez aimable de la tenir propre*": sign at a SICAP estate, Dakar, 1950s. SICAP archives, Fann-Hock album. Reproduced in Valdespino, "The Cité Is Yours," 854. Resolution enhanced with AI, red highlight added by author.

outright, an erasure of its colonial origins that measures how thoroughly his regime absorbed these neighbourhoods into a narrative of national promise.[41] The synthesis was elaborated domestically rather than architecturally. In a 1960 special issue on the modern home, the editors of the Dakar magazine Bingo told readers that "our political evolution must accompany a parallel evolution in our everyday lives," urging them to adopt refrigerators and washing machines without renouncing their traditions.[42] The women's magazine AWA praised a reader's interior for melding the sober lines of modern furniture with African art objects into what it called a completely African harmony.[43] A reconciliation of the modern and the African was being performed in living rooms, by residents and magazine editors, in a register with no connection whatever to the doctrines the state was formulating for its monuments, and it reached far more Dakarois. Yet it too depended on exclusion: by concentrating on salaried workers, SICAP consistently passed over the city's most precariously housed.[44] Only in 1978 did the state accept a statutory housing obligation toward the majority, when the architecture law offered free architectural assistance to individuals building modest dwellings in rural communes and certain urban quarters.[45]

The state did commission a plan for the city as a whole, and the fate of that plan is instructive. In 1963 Senghor appointed Michel Ecochard urban planning consultant to the Senegalese government: a French architect and CIAM member who had headed the planning service in Morocco under the protectorate between 1946 and 1952 and had since worked in Lebanon, Pakistan, Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, and Kuwait. His post was funded by the French *Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération* through the SMUH, and his brief extended beyond the capital to Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Kaolack, Diourbel, Louga, and Thiès, on the hope that improving conditions in secondary cities would slow migration to Dakar.[46] After three years of demographic and socio-economic survey work, the Plan Directeur de Dakar was presented in July 1966 and approved on 19 July 1967 under the revised title Plan Directeur du Cap-Vert (fig. 2.3).[47] Ecochard had defined the city's difficulty from the outset as a problem of the greatest number, echoing the CIAM IX congress of 1953 and the Moroccan project he had presented there with Candilis; he attacked the Senegalese government's housing policy for favouring the wealthier classes, and condemned the recasements for depositing their victims in Pikine with no infrastructure at all: one relocated neighbourhood, he wrote, saw six thousand inhabitants scattered into the bush at kilometre 14, sitting on the boards of their dismantled houses.[48]

Whether this amounted to a break with colonial planning is precisely what Beeckmans declines to settle. On one side, Ecochard refused to ignore the bidonvilles, which distinguished him from contemporaries then planning Kinshasa and Dar es

41. Valdespino, "The Cité Is Yours," 867.
42. Bingo, "Votre foyer," May 1960, quoted in Valdespino, "The Cité Is Yours," 863.
43. AWA, June 1964, in Valdespino, "The Cité Is Yours," 864.
44. Valdespino, "The Cité Is Yours," 872.
45. Loi n° 78-43, art. 7.
46. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 852, and her n. 16.
47. Ibid., 852, citing ANS and SIAF, Fonds Ecochard, Plan Directeur de Dakar, 1967.
48. Ibid., 852–53, 858, citing SIAF, Fonds Ecochard, reports of 1963 and 1964.

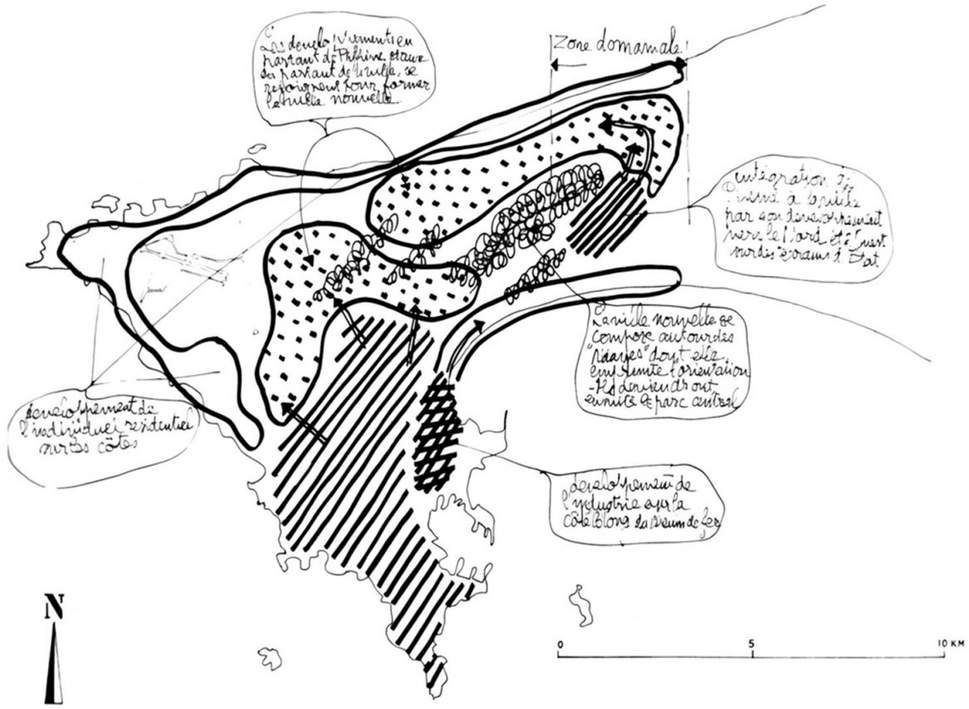


Fig. 2.3. Michel Ecochard, "Principes de l'extension," concept diagram for the Plan Directeur de Dakar, 1967. © Jean Ecochard. Archives Nationales du Sénégal, Fonds STAGD 1364. Reproduced in Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 853.

Salaam; he recast Pikine as a new town intended to merge with Dakar over fifteen years rather than a satellite for absorbing migrants, as the 1946 colonial plan of Lambert, Gutton, and Lopez had conceived it; and his *urbanisme évolutif*, which laid down roads, plots, and services first and left inhabitants to complete their dwellings as their means improved, anticipated the sites-and-services programmes of later decades.[49] On the other, that method was recycled from the Trame Ecochard he had devised in Morocco under the protectorate, implying a rather generalising conception of African society; the plan rested substantially on the Athens Charter; and its justification read, in Beeckmans's assessment, more like a political manifesto than a planning report, proposing educational television to teach Africans the modalities of modern urban life and urging the cultivation of civic responsibility among them, a moral register she reads as reminiscent of colonial paternalism and as fitting comfortably inside Senghor's discourse on African socialism, an alignment Ecochard was well placed to exploit.[50] The plan was approved and barely implemented. Ecochard withdrew in February 1967, months before its formal adoption, after protracted conflict with an Urban Planning Department itself headed by a French technical assistant and preoccupied with SICAP's return on investment.[51]

49. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 854–55.
50. Ibid., 855–57.
51. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 857–58, n. 63, citing Ecochard to Diouf, 1967.

One institution did attempt to close the gap between doctrine and inhabited city, and it arrived late. When the École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme opened in 1973 it offered a diploma stream in urban studies alongside architecture, taught sociology through analysis of rural and urban ways of life, and ran a third-year module on housing, family, and society that examined traditional dwellings and the socio-spatial organisation of neighbourhoods; the professor Patrick Dujarric took students on survey trips across Senegal to record rural housing types.[52] The first graduating thesis, by Abib Djenne in 1979, proposed a restructuring of Hann-Pêcheurs, a Lébou settlement inside Dakar, and approached it ethnographically, studying the population's way of life and the morphology of the neighbourhood before proposing any architectural response.[53] It is a striking inversion of the state's own method, and it appears at the very end of the period this thesis covers, largely on paper. The deeper pattern is one of division rather than absence. Ecochard's plan concentrated so heavily on Pikine that it left the Plateau, the former European centre, almost entirely untouched, a neglect that, by Beeckmans's account, irritated the Senegalese authorities considerably.[54] Comprehensive planning and architectural representation were therefore pursued at opposite ends of the same city: the plan addressed the periphery where the majority of Dakarois were being resettled, while the state's representational effort concentrated on a handful of buildings on and around a Plateau whose principal axes had been laid out by a French colonial administrator and whose central square remained governed by an inherited architectural regulation,[55] and where the arcaded, honorific idiom that Jacques Bugnicourt read as France's ceremonial elevation of Dakar was taken over intact by the new administration, to the point that a 1963 civics textbook illustrated its lesson on government with a photograph of an administrative building of 1953–54.[56]

3 /BUILDING & INSTITUTIONAL SCALE - MECHANISM OF TRANSFER

Who Drew: The Transfer of Architectural Practice to Dakar

A doctrine can be proclaimed and a master plan approved without anyone having drawn a wall. The question this chapter has been circling reaches its sharpest form at the level of the office and the commission: who actually held the pencil in Senghor's Senegal, on whose authority, and through what channel. For most of the period the answer is French practitioners, reaching Dakar through three channels of markedly unequal weight: one inherited intact from the colonial administration, one invented by the president himself, and one (competition) that carried far less traffic than its formal status implies.

The inherited route is best seen in the office of Michel Chesneau and Jean Vérola, established in Dakar in 1947. They were among the first to answer Béchard's appeal,

52. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," secs. "History and structure" and "Vernacular condition."
53. Ibid., sec. "Vernacular condition."
54. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," n. 30, citing ANS, CNUE report, 1 Mar. 1976, 7.
55. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 8.
56. Bugnicourt, "Dakar Without Bounds," and Fofana and Terrisse, L'Éducation civique, in Allais, "Joyau," nn. 49–50.

arriving precisely when the colonial state abandoned its prewar reliance on the market and began constructing public-private partnerships financed through FIDES.[57] Chesneau went further than building: he took a leading part in professionalising this new milieu of French architects overseas and inaugurated the regional council of the Ordre des architectes for French West Africa and Togo.[58] The office's early work served a new class of French and African salaried staff, including a housing scheme at Bopp Ouagou Niayes completed in 1955.[59] What matters for the argument is the absence of a caesura. Their Dakar production runs continuously from the Hôtel Croix du Sud of 1952 and the Hôtel Ngor of 1953 through the Chapelle Saint-Dominique of 1961 to an unrealised arts quarter designed in 1965, and it was to this same office that Senghor's government turned for the museum built for the 1966 festival.[60]

> "Independence changed the client, the flag, and the rhetoric;
> it did not change the drawing board."

The second route was personal and presidential. Thierry Melot arrived in Senegal in December 1970 not as a private practitioner but as a French military *coopérant*, posted as technical adviser to Dakar's director of urbanism; a recommendation from university teachers secured him an audience with Senghor on 1 March 1971, after which the president introduced him to Prime Minister Abdou Diouf as a man capable of launching a Senegalese architecture, and thereafter telephoned him every four to six weeks to canvass his views.[61] Henri Chomette advanced the funds to establish the Dakar office of his bureau d'études, and the practice of Chomette, Melot, and Depret went on to build much of the young state's institutional infrastructure, from the Directorate of Urbanism in 1972 to the university auditoria, the national school of administration, and the agronomic institute at Thiès.[62] The doctrine underwriting this arrangement is worth registering, because it is an argument against importation made by importers. Chomette waged a campaign against what he called "l'architecture par avion" (architecture flown in) and against the "architecture de papier" that commercial aviation had made possible, holding that building remained authentic only while it travelled on foot, on horseback, and by ship; his remedy was to found offices staffed by architects rooted in each country.[63] Melot defends his own position by analogy with Primatice at the court of François I, an Italian who laid the foundations of a French Renaissance and trained French masters.[64] The analogy is self-serving, and it is also the clearest available statement of how the transfer was understood by those performing it.

Competition, the mechanism one might expect to have distributed work impersonally, appears in the sources as the weakest of the three. Melot recalls winning the competition for the Gaston-Berger university at Saint-Louis and then seeing the commission reassigned to Fernand Bonamy because he was already occupied elsewhere.[65] Where an open international competition was held, as for the Dakar fairground campus, it sat alongside direct presidential commissions and private ones rather than replacing them.[66] Allocation remained discretionary. The 1978 law added one formal filter to these arrangements: every public monument required authorisation from an ad hoc commission chaired by the minister responsible for urbanism.[67]

Against these channels the state built a counter-mechanism, and did so late. Writing in 1977, Melot could open an article by observing that architecture had lately be-

57. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," nn. 11–13.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., n. 16.
60. Ibid., figs. 4 and 9.
61. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 3–4.
62. Ibid., 5–6, and editorial bio., 31.
63. Ibid., 1–2.
64. Ibid., 25.
65. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 24.
66. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," n. 71.
67. Loi n° 78-43, art. 6.

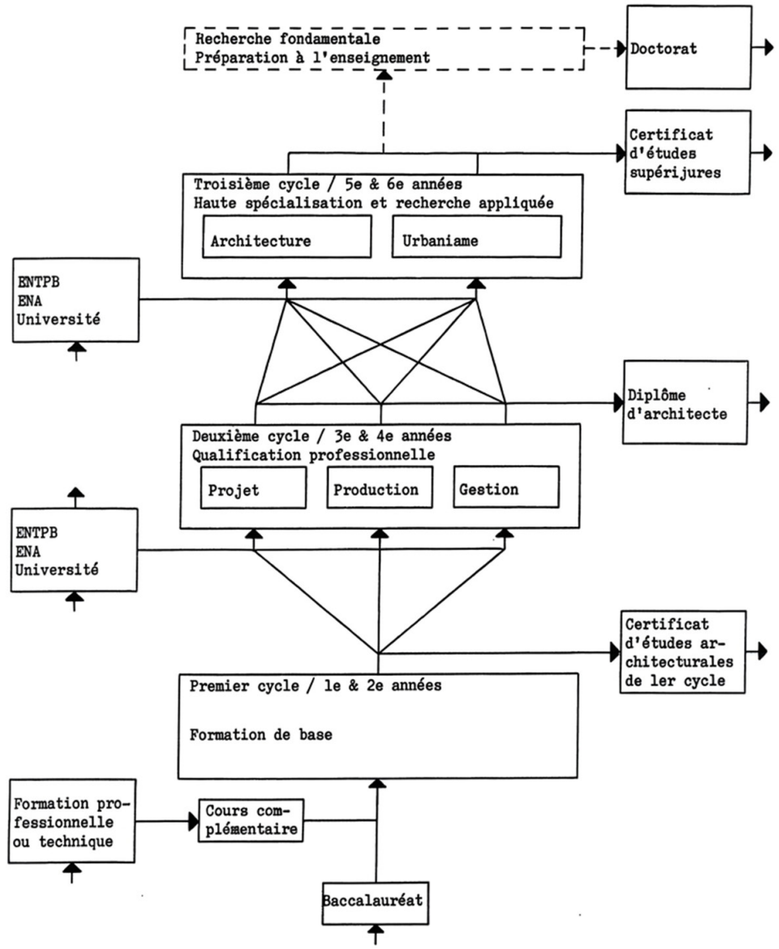


Fig. 2.4. Organisation of teaching at the École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme de Dakar, 1973. Chart by Claude Schnaidt. Reproduced in Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," 2. Resolution enhanced with AI.

come the object of official solicitude in Senegal: a school founded, credits released, new architects permanently established in Dakar, international luminaries consulted, and new legislation under preparation.[68] The school was the École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme, formed in 1973 when the École des Arts was dissolved into a new Institut National des Arts, with separate divisions training architectural assistants and architects (fig. 2.4); it became the leading school in French-speaking Black Africa alongside the EAMAU in Lomé and drew students from across the sub-region.[69] Its pedagogy deliberately inverted the imported model: Patrick Dujarric took students on survey campaigns to record rural housing types across the country, published as *Maisons sénégalaises*.[70] Birahim Niang, of the first cohort, recalls covering the typologies of Senegal's twenty-four ethnic groups, so that "when you graduate from this program, normally you are a Senegalese architect."[71] Who created these institutions is itself disputed in the sources, and the dispute is symptomatic. The biographical note appended to Melot's interview credits him with founding both the Ordre des architectes du Sénégal in 1972 and the school in 1973, where he taught until 1981;[72] elsewhere in the same interview he states that the Ordre was instituted by the law of 1978, which the text of that law does not bear out, since it establishes no professional body and does not mention the Ordre at any point;[73] and the round-table of the school's own graduates attributes its creation to the political will of the president, without naming him at all.[74]

The mechanism had a terminal date. The school closed in 1991 by ministerial decree for want of budget, leaving Senegal without any architectural training institution for more than fifteen years and sending its architects abroad again.[75]

68. Melot, "Filiations," opening para.
69. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "History and structure."
70. Ibid., sec. "Vernacular condition," citing Dujarric, *Maisons sénégalaises*.
71. Niang, in Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "Building a National Infrastructure."
72. Editorial bio. of Melot, in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 31.
73. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11–12; cf. Loi n° 78-43, arts. 1–7.
74. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "History and structure."
75. Ibid.

/ BRIDGE TO CHAPTER 3

Three scales, three bodies of evidence, and at each of them the same difficulty. Who originated the state's architectural doctrine is disputed between a Senegalese aesthetician who reads it as a description of traditional sculpture and a French architect who remembers it as an improvised remark at a planning meeting. Whether the capital's principal housing programme was imposed on its residents or embraced by them divides the two historians who have studied it most closely, the one finding selection and expulsion, the other appropriation and desire. Who founded the institutions meant to produce Senegalese architects is credited to a French practitioner by the editorial apparatus surrounding his interview, contradicted by his own words within that same interview, and attributed to presidential will by the school's graduates, who do not name him at all.

The distance between what was declared and what could be done, announced at the outset of this chapter, turns out at every scale to be a distance between hands. Declaration and execution were seldom the work of the same person, and the sources disagree about whose work each was. Contested authorship is therefore not an incidental feature of these materials but this chapter's most consistent finding. It surfaces wherever credit for the national project is at stake, and it takes a recognisable form: a claim advanced from outside is met by an account from within, or the reverse, and the documentary record seldom adjudicates between them. This matters beyond the individual disputes. If the origins of a doctrine, a housing policy, and a professional institution are all contested along roughly the same line, then the question of who has been permitted to narrate this period cannot be separated from the question of what happened in it.

That is a historiographical question, and it is where the following chapter begins. Chapter 3 turns to how the architecture of these two decades has been written about (through an initial critical silence, a recovery under the heading of African Modernism, and a more recent decolonial critique of that recovery) and asks whose perspectives that body of writing has carried.

1939 N — Senghor, "Ce que l'homme noir apporte": rhythm as the ordering force of black style — 5

1946 U — Dakar becomes federal capital of AOF; Béchard's appeal to French architects; FIDES created; colonial Plan Directeur du Cap Vert — 31, 49

1947 B — Chesneau and Vérola establish their office in Dakar — 57

1951 U — SICAP programme begins; Dagoudane-Pikine grid laid out 15 km from the centre — 32, 35

1951 1960 U — 3,426 SICAP houses for c. 30,000 people; c. 80,000 déguerpissements; 150,000 population growth — 32, 35

1952 1960 B — Chesneau–Vérola's Dakar production continues uninterrupted across independence — 60

1956 N — Loi-cadre; Senghor's charge of "balkanisation" — 1

1960 N — Rome Roundtable, Cultures de l'Afrique noire et de l'Occident — 11

1960 - Independence

1960 1964 U — Dakar magazines (Bingo, AWA) elaborate a domestic synthesis of the modern and the African — 42, 43

1962 U — SICAP brochure: "une nouvelle civilisation *négro-africaine* et moderne" — 38

1962 N — Senghor abandons Eurafricanism for an Africanist position — 13

1963 U — Civics textbook illustrates its lesson on government with the Bâtiment Administratif of 1953–54 — 56

1963 U — Ecochard appointed urban planning consultant to the government (funded through FAC/SMUH) — 46

1966 1967 U — Plan Directeur de Dakar presented (July1966); Ecochard withdraws (Feb1967); approved 19 July 1967 as Plan Directeur du Cap-Vert — 47, 51

1966 N — Décret 66-123 creates the Musée dynamique as a "public service", World Festival of Black Arts, Dakar; Senghor's article declaring Eurafrican culture neo-colonialist — 17, 14

1970 1971 B — Melot arrives as a French military coopérant (December 1970); received by Senghor (1 March 1971) — 61

1972 1973 I — École des Arts dissolved into the Institut National des Arts; École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme opens — 52, 69

1974 N — Senghor declares *parallélisme asymétrique* official doctrine at a meeting of the Conseil national de l'urbanisme — 19, 26

1977 N B — Melot, "Les Filiations d'une architecture sénégalaise," Éthiopiques no. 9 — 68, 8,9,10

1978 N — Loi n° 78-43 on the orientation of Senegalese architecture (adopted by the Assemblée nationale 19 June; signed by Diouf and Senghor) — 67, 20,21,22

1979 I — Djenne's graduating thesis on Hann-Pêcheurs, the first from the E.A.U. — 53

1980 - End of Senghor's presidency

1991 I — E.A.U. closed by ministerial decree; Senegal left without an architecture school for over fifteen years — 74

TIMELINE - CHAPTER 3 / Publications on the architecture of post-independence Dakar

Origin: **FR** French · **SN** Senegalese · **AF** African (other) · **EU/NA** European or North American.
FR is distinguished because in the period itself authorship is not incidental but the mechanism under examination.

// THE PERIOD, *1960–1980*

1967	Ecochard, "L'Urbanisme dans les pays en voie de développement," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 132 - Dakar and SICAP unnamed.	FR
1968	*L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, "Tiers Monde" special issue - Ecochard contributes; Dakar absent	FR
1970	Seck, Dakar, métropole ouest-africaine	SN
1977	Melot, "Les Filiations d'une architecture sénégalaise,"	FR
1977	Éthiopiques 9 - programmatic, by a practitioner Vernière, Dakar et son double Dagoudane Pikine	FR
1979	Ecochard writes to Lamine Diack seeking a new commission	FR

// THE GAP, 22 years silence

1985	Ecochard dies	-
1987	Sylla, "Le *parallélisme asymétrique* dans l'art africain," Éthiopiques 46-47	SN
1992	Dione, "Dakar au fils des plans"	SN
1996	SIAF compiles a biographical notice of Ecochard after Monique Eleb	FR
2002	Elleh, Architecture and Power in Africa	AF

// THE RECOVERY, *2010*

2010	Jachec, Third Text	EU/NA
2011	Mabana, Diogène	AF
2013	Beeckmans, "Making the African City" (PhD, Groningen)	EU/NA
2014	Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard"	EU/NA
2015	Herz et al., African Modernism (Park Books)	EU/NA
2015	Diop, "La théorie du rythme"	SN
2016	Shelekpayev, review, Urban History	EU/NA
2017	Beeckmans, "The 'Development Syndrome'"	EU/NA
2018	Elleh, review, African Studies Review	AF
2020	Diouf, "L'esthétique des courbes"	SN
2021	Ndiaye, Éthiopiques 106	SN
2025	Allais, Troubles dans les collections 8	EU/NA
2025	Valdespino, Journal of Urban History	EU/NA
2026	Berankova and Melot, "Entretien"	FR

CHAPTER 3

Historiographical Framing

The previous chapter closed on a question about who has been permitted to narrate this period. This chapter answers it in three movements (why almost nothing was written at the time, how a single volume recovered the period four decades later, and what its earliest readers objected to) and then counts the sources on which this thesis actually rests, and states plainly what such a count can and cannot show.

1 /AN INITIAL CRITICAL SILENCE

Silence and Its Authors: The Missing Contemporary Record

The question of who has been permitted to narrate this period has an unpromising first answer: for roughly two decades, almost no one did. The buildings went up, the doctrine was proclaimed, the law was passed, and none of it generated a sustained body of critical or historical writing of its own. What exists now was assembled long afterwards and from outside the period, largely by historians working in archives. Luce Beeckmans's reconstruction of Ecochard's Dakar mission, published in 2014, rests on holdings in the Archives Nationales du Sénégal and the Service Interministériel des Archives de France, and opens by noting that while Ecochard's work in other non-Western territories has attracted numerous authors, his Dakar episode has "stayed largely off the radar."[1] The one substantial architectural text written inside the period and used in the preceding chapter, Melot's 1977 article in Éthiopiques, is not a counter-example: it is a practitioner's programme, arguing for a doctrine its author had helped to formulate, rather than an assessment of what had been built.[2]

Absence of published criticism is not the same as absence of criticism, and the distinction is where this section's argument begins. Ecochard, the regime's own French planning consultant, disputed Senegalese housing policy from the beginning of his assignment: it favoured the higher classes of society, in his view, and left the majority of the population to fend for itself, while the forced removals a colonial administration had called déguerpissements continued under the new name of recasements.[3] That is contemporary professional criticism, from inside the state apparatus, of precisely the programme the state was describing as a new Negro-African civilisation. It survives because Beeckmans found it in letters, addressed to the head of the Urban Planning Department, to the Minister of Public Works and Urban Planning, to the Governor of Cap Vert, and finally to Senghor himself.[4] It went upward, to the officials it accused, and no further.

1. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 851–52.
2. Melot, "Filiations," opening para.
3. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 852–53.
4. Ibid., 858, and her nn. 45, 48–50, citing SIAF, Fonds Ecochard.

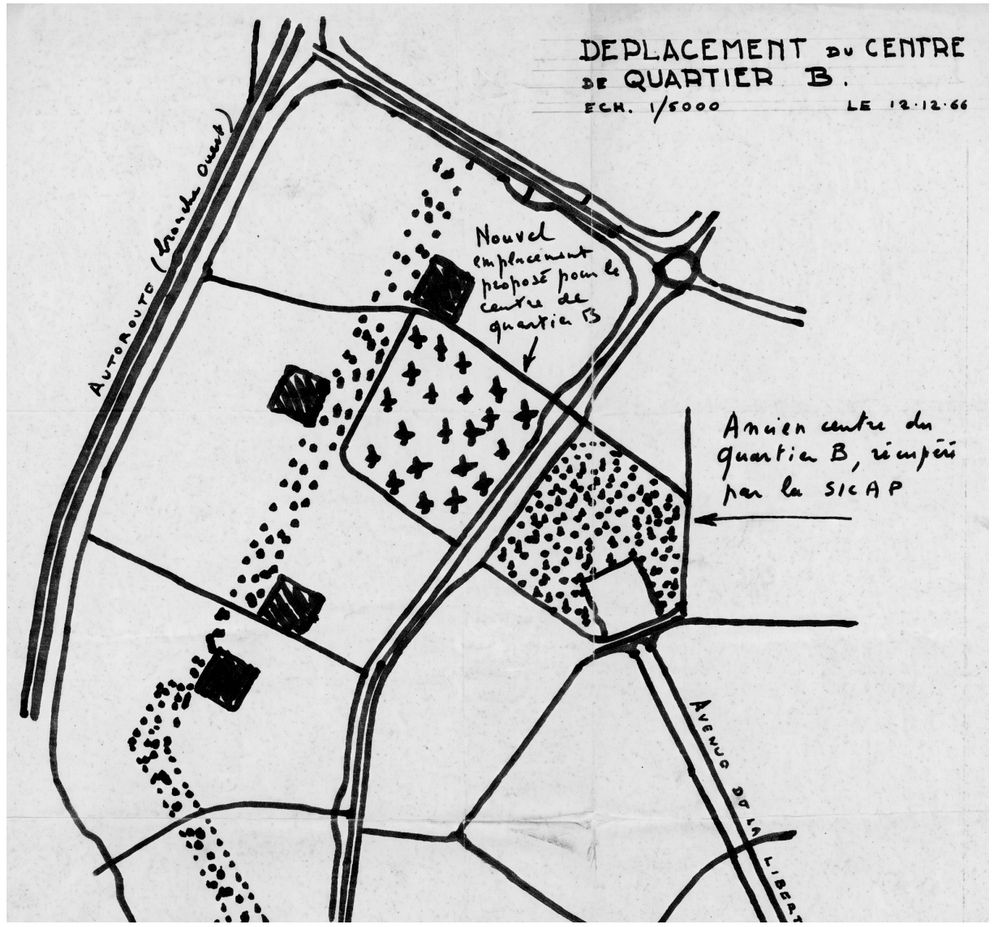


Fig. 3.1. Michel Ecochard, "Déplacement du centre de Quartier B," 12 December 1966. Fonds Ecochard, SIAF/Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Archives d'architecture du XXe siècle. Reproduced in Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 861.

Once, it very nearly went further. In 1967 Ecochard published a short article in *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* attacking the bureaucratic administration of French development planning, the mediocre quality of its technical assistants, its return-on-investment strategy, and the semi-public property agencies he regarded as a colonial legacy. He named neither Dakar nor SICAP.[5] The general indictment was publishable; the case that had produced it was not.

From here the silence acquires an author. Ecochard's condition for completing the master plan, after SICAP suppressed the public centre he had planned for Grand Dakar, was that it should no longer carry his name, and his name was struck from every sheet.[6] He sat on the editorial staff of *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, wrote there

5. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 860, and her n. 55, citing Ecochard, "L'Urbanisme dans les pays en voie de développement et la coopération vue au sens le plus large," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 132 (1967): 105–6.
6. Ibid., 862, and her n. 65, citing SIAF, Fonds Ecochard, Ecochard to Abdou Diouf, 7 Feb. 1967.

on master plans for the Third World including his own, and contributed to the 1968 special issue devoted to the subject; he never published a line on Dakar, the largest urban planning commission of his postcolonial career. Beeckmans reads this as a deliberate attempt to delete the episode from his biography and from planning history more generally, one that failed only because other authors went on attributing the plan to him.[7] Dakar is missing, too, from the standard biographical notice of his career.[8] The management ran in both directions: writing to the president of Dakar's municipal council in 1979 in the hope of a commission to revise the plan, he recalled a collaboration with the municipality and the Senegalese government that had been warm and fruitful, which the correspondence of 1966 and 1967 flatly contradicts.[9]

The silence was therefore not simply neglect. At least one of the period's principal actors worked to produce it, and worked on the surviving record rather than merely declining to add to it, while the plans themselves went onto the shelves where they largely remained.[10] Whatever recovery of this period was to come would have to be conducted archivally, against evidence that had been thinned on purpose.

2 /RECOVERY UNDER AFRICAN MODERNISM

Naming It Afterwards: The 2015 Volume and Its Vocabulary

The recovery did come, and it came late and in an unexpected form: not scholarship accumulating in journals but a single large book of photographs, plans, and commissioned essays. In 2015 Park Books published African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, edited by Manuel Herz with Ingrid Schröder, Hans Focketyn, and Julia Jamrozik, covering Ghana, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, and Zambia across 640 pages, photographed by Iwan Baan and Alexia Webster. Reviewing it in Urban History, Nari Shelekpayev called it groundbreaking and set it against a literature on modernist architecture whose ink, in his phrase, had settled unevenly: Brasília, Chandigarh, Mies, and Le Corbusier thoroughly worked over while entire continents went unexamined.[11]

This thesis does not hold the volume, and its aims therefore arrive here at one remove, through Shelekpayev's review and Nnamdi Elleh's in African Studies Review; both quote the editors directly. As quoted in Shelekpayev's review, the stated ambition was to show "how the countries of sub-Saharan Africa adopted a mode of architectural expression – Modernism – and made it partially their own," and Shelekpayev is explicit that the editors disclaimed any intention of historicising the transfer of Western technology and ideas to African soil.[12] Elleh quotes the book's thesis that the architecture of the independence era permits its readers to trace "the specific nature of the different processes of decolonization," the buildings serving as an index

7. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 864, and her n. 72.
8. Ibid., n. 16, citing the biographical note on Ecochard by Marion van Osten.
9. Ibid., 865, and her n. 74, citing SIAF, Ecochard to Lamine Diack, 17 Sept. 1979.
10. Ibid., 865.
11. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 352.
12. Herz, African Modernism, 14, quoted in Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 353.

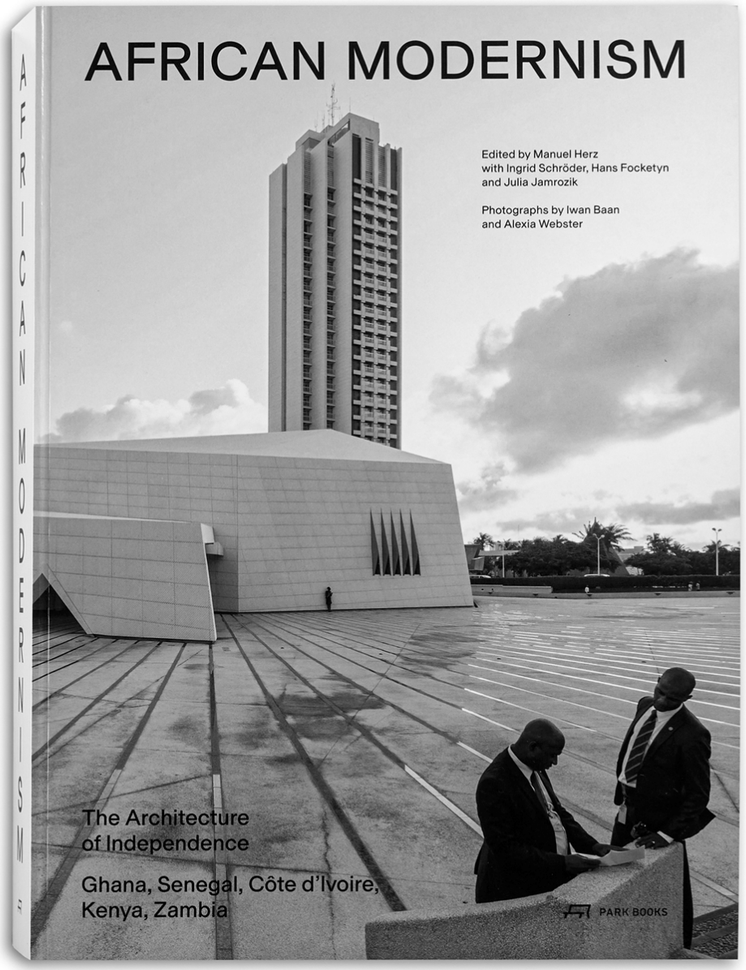


Fig. 3.2. Cover of Manuel Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence (Zurich: Park Books, 2015). Park Books, Zurich.

of each national path.[13] That disclaimer is worth registering rather than reproaching: the field's reference recovery text set aside, as a matter of declared method, precisely the question of transfer that the preceding chapter reconstructed at the level of the office and the commission.

The volume's standing rests on scale and on the material it made available. Shelekpayev counts roughly a hundred projects across the five countries, each country's section built from an introductory note, a photographic essay, a survey, and a more specialised essay;[14] Elleh counts about eighty buildings and lists contributions from Zvi Efrat, Till Förster, Léo Noyer-Duplaix, and Hannah Le Roux alongside essays by each editor. Elleh records that many interiors appeared in print for the first time, that original plans came from the architects' offices, and (the most telling remark either reviewer makes) that the archival sources, photographs, and essays together make

13. Herz, African Modernism, 8, quoted in Elleh, review of African Modernism, E7.
14. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 353.

the volume a primary source for the study of modern architecture in the countries it covers.[15] A compilation published in 2015 described as a primary source for the 1960s is an exact measure of how little preceded it.

One detail in Shelekpayev's account matters more than its brevity suggests. Among the volume's achievements he counts its success in distinguishing what each country made of the shared idiom, and the example he reaches for is a Senghor-inspired "asymmetrical parallelism" in Senegal set against a stricter application of the theoretical principles of Tropical Modernism in Ghana.[16] The phrase Melot dismissed as an empty suitcase, and which appears nowhere in the enacted articles of the 1978 law, had by 2016 become a comparative analytic category in a Cambridge journal, the label under which Senegal is told apart from its neighbours.

That is not one book's habit but the condition of the recovery generally. Beeckmans, whose reconstruction of the Ecochard mission supplied the preceding section, narrates the SICAP programme through a "Development Syndrome" sliding into a "Co-operation Syndrome"; neither term belongs to the period, and both are instruments she built for the purpose.[17] A period that produced almost no analytic language about itself is thus described in vocabulary partly lifted from its own official doctrine and partly manufactured decades later. The recovery does reach the practitioners of Chapter 2 (Noyer-Duplaix surveys Chomette's work across more than twenty countries, and Shelekpayev contrasts Chomette's modest, vernacular-minded projects with the monumentality of Pottier's engineering school at Yamoussoukro[18]), but it reaches them as authors of buildings rather than as agents of a channel.

Shelekpayev registers one further ambition, drawn from the introduction: to "normalize" Africa by establishing that it too possessed a modern urban landscape in the 1960s, so that the continent might be associated with progress and not only war and poverty. Whether normality is reached by that route he leaves an open question.[19] It did not remain open for long.

3 /A DECOLONIAL CRITIQUE OF THE RECOVERY

Reading the Same Photographs: Friction Inside the Reception

It was answered within two years, and not by a later generation of scholars but by the volume's own reviewers. Two of them, writing independently and from different disciplinary positions, arrived at objections that overlap without coinciding, and both located the difficulty in the same place: the photographs.

Nnamdi Elleh, reviewing the book for African Studies Review from the University of the Witwatersrand, grants the contribution and then states the limit plainly. The volume is a study of elite modern architecture, and in confining itself to heroic and mon-

15. Elleh, review of African Modernism, E7–E8.
16. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 353.
17. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 361–62, 383.
18. Elleh, review of African Modernism, E8; Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 353.
19. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 353–54.



Fig. 3.3. Iwan Baan, photograph of La Pyramide, from African Modernism:The Architecture of Independence (Zurich: Park Books, 2015). © Iwan Baan. Red highlight added by author.

umental projects by pedigreed architects it follows the trajectory that historians of twentieth-century modernism have taken everywhere. In the same decades, Elleh points out, the urban poor of Africa were building their own houses, churches, and civic institutions, and the settlements they produced carry a vocabulary of their own (bidonville, shanty town, township, ghetto), which the discipline has never treated as architecture. He reaches for Fanon's observation that the middle classes define themselves against such communities by attaching exaggerated evil reputations to them, and closes by calling the exclusion symptomatic rather than particular to this book, which he still judges an original contribution.[20]

What he does not do is treat the photographs as part of the problem. For Elleh the street photography of Iwan Baan and Alexia Webster is the volume's corrective: it reminds the reader that alternative modernisms existed alongside the official ones and still do, and that most Africans live in buildings put up by skilled people who are neither famous architects nor urban designers.[21]

Shelekpayev looks at the same photographs and finds them unusual and disturbing for a book on architecture. The people in them detract from contemplation of

20. Elleh, review of African Modernism, E9.
21. Ibid.

the buildings; in wrinkled and shabby clothes they are irritatingly imperfect beside the rigour of what surrounds them; they recline and squat instead of composing themselves against the architecture; and, despite the natural ventilation that Tropical Modernism theory promised, they fit private air-conditioners, which he calls an act of unilateral egoism caricaturing the monumentality of the façades. His conclusion turns the passage back on the buildings: the photographs expose a contradiction in modernist architecture, which wanted the best possible conditions for human beings and could not take those beings as they were.[22]

That last sentence matters, because it makes the passage genuinely difficult to place. It is not clear where the reviewer's own irritation ends and where he is ventriloquising the modernist gaze in order to name it, and the ambiguity is not resolved anywhere in the review. It need not be resolved here either. The point is what the pairing establishes: the recovery's own reception, in 2016 and 2018, already contained the argument about whose inhabitation counts as part of a building, Elleh reading the photographed inhabitants as evidence of what the volume omitted, Shelekpayev reading them as an obstruction to what the volume was for. The critique of the recovery was not applied to it afterwards from outside. It was there in the first reviews, unresolved, in a mainstream architectural history journal and a leading Africanist one.

If the reception was that unsettled, the confidence of the comparative label introduced in the previous section deserves a question rather than an endorsement. "Asymmetrical parallelism" arrives in Urban History as a stable national characteristic, the term by which Senegal is told apart from Ghana.[23] It never had that stability in Senegal. The architect closest to its drafting called it an empty suitcase, it appears in none of the enacted articles of the 1978 law, and its two origin accounts do not agree on whether it describes a sculptural principle or an improvised presidential remark.[24] A label can travel without its disputes, and this one did.

4 /WHO HAS NARRATED THIS PERIOD

Counting the Bibliography, and a Bridge to Chapter 4

Who carried it there is a question this chapter can now put more plainly. Whether those who have written about this period are local or international can, in part, be answered by counting. Setting aside primary documents, the secondary literature this thesis has used across Chapters 2 and 3 divides almost evenly. African authors: Mabana, Babacar Mbaye Diop, Diouf, Ndiaye, Sylla, the round table convened by Mboup with graduates of the E.A.U., and Elleh. European and North American authors: Allais, Jachec, Beeckmans in two articles, Valdespino, and Shelekpayev, with Melot contributing twice as a French participant rather than as a historian. Six or seven a side, depending on how the round table is counted.[25]

22. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 354.
23. Ibid., 353.
24. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11; Loi n° 78-43, *exposé des motifs* vs. arts. 1–7.
25. The count covers the secondary literature cited in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis; see the bibliography.



Fig. 3.4. Pierre Goudiaby (Atepa), “The Ideal African City,” master’s thesis, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, May 1973. © Pierre Goudiaby. Reproduced in Fugitive Archives: A Sourcebook for Centring Africa in Histories of Architecture, 50–51; also reproduced in Mboup et al., “Legacy of the E.A.U.,” 1.

The tally is the least interesting thing about it. What matters is that the division falls by subject. Doctrine, aesthetics, and pedagogy are written almost entirely by African authors: négritude, the theory of rhythm, the aesthetics of the curve, *parallélisme asymétrique*, the school and its curriculum. The archival reconstruction of what was planned, financed, commissioned, and built is almost entirely European and North American: the decrees, the SICAP programme, the Ecochard mission, the Rome roundtable. Mboup’s round table is the substantial exception, and it is a transcript of recollection rather than archival research. The historiography of this period is therefore not dominated by Western voices in any simple sense. It is divided so that Senegalese scholarship carries the meaning of the period and foreign scholarship carries its evidence.

A second asymmetry sits underneath the first, and it concerns access. Sylla reaches this thesis through Ndiaye; Senghor through Ndiaye, Diop, and Allais; Niang through a transcript; Assane Seck’s Dakar, métropole ouest-africaine of 1970 and Marc Vernière’s Dakar et son double of 1977 only through footnotes in Beeckmans.[26] The European scholarship is read whole; much of the Senegalese material is relayed. That is a fact about this thesis’s reach as much as about the field.

The limits of the count should be stated flatly. It shows whose research this thesis rests on. It does not show whose interpretation has prevailed, what sits unread in Senegalese archives, or what was published in the Dakar press. One observation runs with its grain without proving it: Elleh, writing from Johannesburg, is the reviewer who named the omission, while Shelekpayev, writing from Montreal, supplied the comparative label.[27] African scholarship on this subject is not absent from the recovery literature (Beeckmans’s footnotes cite Elleh’s Architecture and Power in Africa of 2002[28]), but it appears there as background rather than as the reconstruction.

Two chapters have produced two related findings: that authorship within the period was contested at every scale, and that authorship of the period’s history is late, partly obstructed, and divided by domain. If the record is thin where it was made and dense only where it was assembled afterwards, choosing which buildings to examine cannot simply mean choosing the most significant ones. Chapter 4 sets out the criteria and the comparative framework this thesis applies, and has to begin from an awkward question: what can be argued from a building whose documentation was produced, for the most part, by the people this section has just counted?

26. Beeckmans, “Adventures of Michel Ecochard,” n. 46, citing Seck, Dakar, métropole ouest-africaine, 130, and her n. 28, citing Vernière, Dakar et son double Dagoudane Pikine.
27. Elleh, review of African Modernism, E9; Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 354.
28. Beeckmans, “Adventures of Michel Ecochard,” n. 12, citing Elleh, Architecture and Power in Africa.



Fig. 4.1. FIDAK – Foire Internationale de Dakar, Senegal, by Jean-François Lamoureux and Jean-Louis Marin, 1974. Photo © Amy Sall. Reproduced from ArchDaily, "Exploring the International Trade Fair Centre in Dakar, Senegal." Resolution enhanced with AI; Color and lighting adjusted by author.

CHAPTER 4

Methodology, Case study selection

1 /FROM A CONTESTED RECORD TO A CHOSEN SAMPLE

Why Buildings, and Why the Question Is Not Neutral

Chapter 3 closed on a question rather than a finding: what can be argued from a building whose documentation was produced, for the most part, by the parties that section had just counted? Answering it is the work of this chapter, and the answer determines the shape of everything that follows.

Two findings stand behind the question. The first is that between 1960 and 1980 the Senegalese state treated architecture as an instrument of national self-definition, and that at every scale examined (the doctrine, the housing programme, the school), declaration and execution were rarely the work of the same hands, with the surviving accounts disagreeing about whose work each was. The second is that the writing of this period's history is late, compiled rather than accumulated, and divided by domain: doctrine and aesthetics narrated almost entirely by African authors, the archival reconstruction of what was planned, financed and built almost entirely by European and North American ones.

Together these rule out the two simplest research designs available to a thesis on this subject. Reading the doctrine on its own terms is ruled out by Chapter 2's demonstration that the doctrine's central term was dismissed as an empty formula by the architect closest to its drafting, and appears nowhere in the enacted articles of the law that supposedly carries it.[1] A study organised around that term would be describing a text and calling it a policy. Reading the historiography on its own terms is ruled out by Chapter 3's demonstration that the recovery literature narrates the period in a vocabulary partly lifted from official doctrine and partly manufactured decades afterwards. A study organised around that literature would inherit its categories along with its evidence.

What remains is the buildings, not because they are neutral, but because they are the only term in the problem that both layers claim to describe and neither one authored. A doctrine can be restated indefinitely without cost; a building commits resources, fixes a form, and outlives the government that ordered it. Where the two diverge, the divergence is measurable in a way that a disagreement between two readings of Senghor is not.

The obvious objection is that this displaces the difficulty rather than resolving it. Buildings do not speak; what speaks about them is documentation, and the documentation for these three buildings was produced largely by the interested parties

1. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11; Loi n° 78-43, arts. 1–7.

Chapter 3 enumerated: the designers themselves, the heritage organisations that later adopted the buildings as causes, and the recovery literature. The objection has force, and the response is not to claim a cleaner evidentiary base than exists. It is to change what the sources are asked to do. The case studies that follow do not treat any account as testimony to be believed; they set independently motivated accounts against one another and against surviving physical fabric. When a designer's recollection, a conservation survey, a decolonial critique and the present state of a façade fail to agree, the failure is itself the datum: it registers how this period has been transmitted, by whom, and with what stake. The method is triangulation rather than verification, and its yield is historiographical as much as architectural, which is the only way the question Chapter 3 posed can be answered rather than evaded.

2 /THREE CRITERIA, AND WHY THREE CASES

Selecting for Argument Rather Than for Coverage

Three criteria governed the selection: the symbolic charge the state itself invested in the building, the sufficiency of independent documentation, and typological spread across the three cases. Each is an instrument for a specific difficulty this thesis has already identified, and none is a general defence of the case-study method.

Symbolic charge follows directly from the research question. A thesis asking how a government instrumentalised architecture cannot test that claim on buildings the government did not intend to be read. The sample must consist of commissions the state, or a patron operating with the state's endorsement, invested with representative work; otherwise there is no doctrine present to be confirmed or contradicted, and the finding is guaranteed before the evidence is opened.

Documentary sufficiency is not a concession to convenience but a condition of arguing at all in a field Chapter 3 found to be thin. A building surviving in a single account can be paraphrased; it cannot be triangulated, and paraphrase is precisely the operation this chapter has just refused. Setting a floor of three to four independent sources per case is the working form of the method rather than a bibliographic target.

Typological spread guards against a sample that confirms the thesis by construction. An international fairground, a national art museum and a commercial hotel occupy different positions in relation to state support, and if all three were cultural monuments commissioned by the presidency the argument would be circular. The hotel earns its place on precisely these grounds: financed by private promoters acting in agreement with the president rather than commissioned by the state, it is the least national of the three, and yet, on the account of the architect who presented it, it was at that project's review before the Conseil national de l'urbanisme that Senghor named *parallélisme asymétrique* and declared it the doctrine to be implemented.[2] The doctrine's public christening occurred at the commission with the weakest claim to national representation. A sample restricted to cultural monuments would have lost that, and with it the strongest single piece of evidence about how the doctrine actually circulated.

A more serious objection now arises, and it is the one this chapter must answer rather than manage. These criteria select for exactly the elite, monumental, pedigreed production that Chapter 3 credited Nnamdi Elleh with identifying as the recovery literature's constitutive omission, the register that leaves out the settlements Africans built for themselves and that the discipline has never treated as architecture.[3] A thesis that diagnosed that omission and then reproduced it would have learned nothing from its own third chapter.

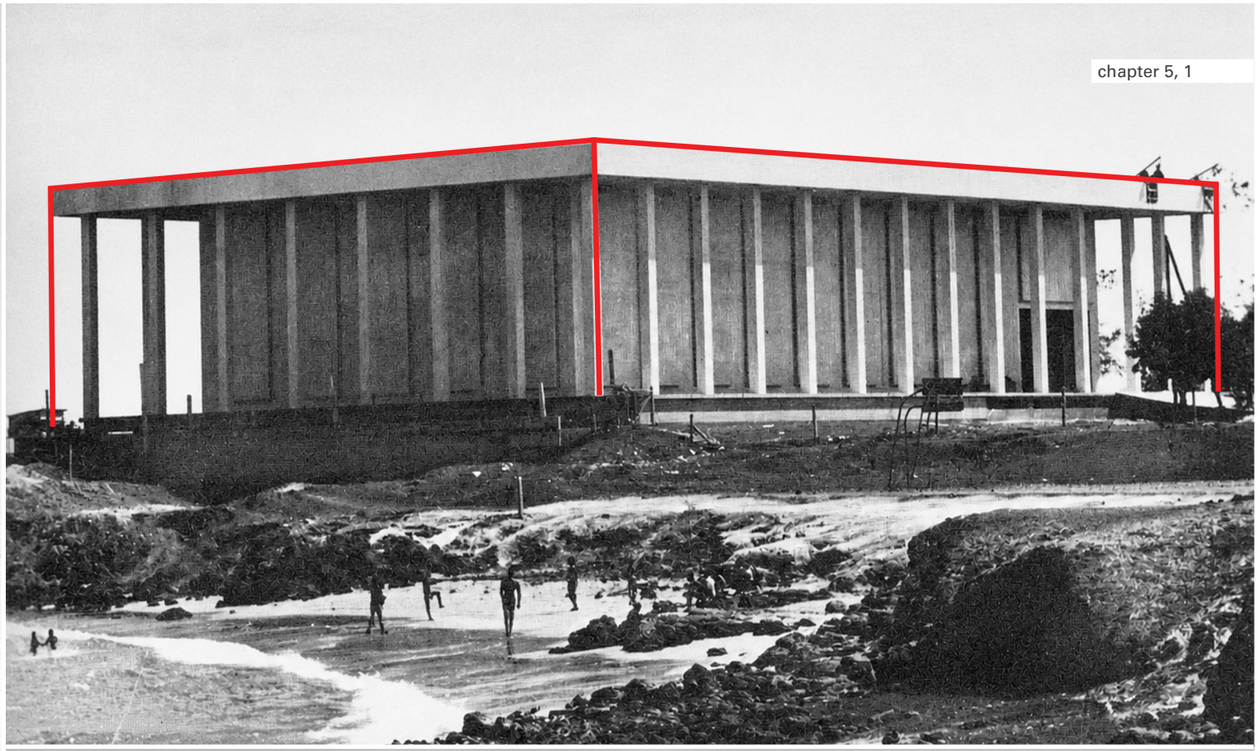
The distinction lies in what is being claimed. Elleh's objection is decisive against a volume presenting itself as a survey of the architecture of independence, because such a volume asserts coverage and then delivers a fraction of it. This thesis asserts no coverage. Its object is the state's architectural self-representation (what a government built in order to be seen doing so), and for that object monumental commissions are the correct sample rather than the convenient one. Nor does the thesis as a whole remain in that register: Chapter 2's urban scale is given over to the SICAP programme, the Ecochard plan and the clearances that accompanied them, where the population Elleh names is the subject rather than the background. The monumental sample is one scale of a three-scale argument, and it is defensible only because the other scales exist.

The number follows from the same reasoning. Seven analytical categories applied across three buildings produce twenty-one positions to be filled from a documentary base that is late, uneven, and in part held in private hands. A fourth or fifth case would be filled from single sources, importing into the comparison the single-source assertion that Chapter 3 identified as the recovery literature's characteristic weakness, and the comparison would then be measuring the depth of the archive rather than anything about the buildings. Against the expected reply that three cases cannot support generalisation: no generalisation is offered. The thesis does not claim these buildings are representative of Senegalese production. It claims that a doctrine which cannot account for what happened in them is not performing the work attributed to it, and for a claim of that form a small number of well-documented instances is not a compromise but the appropriate instrument.

2. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11, and fig. 5 (model approved in conseil de l'urbanisme, 1974); Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. on the adoption of the official doctrine in 1974.

3. Elleh, review of African Modernism, E9.





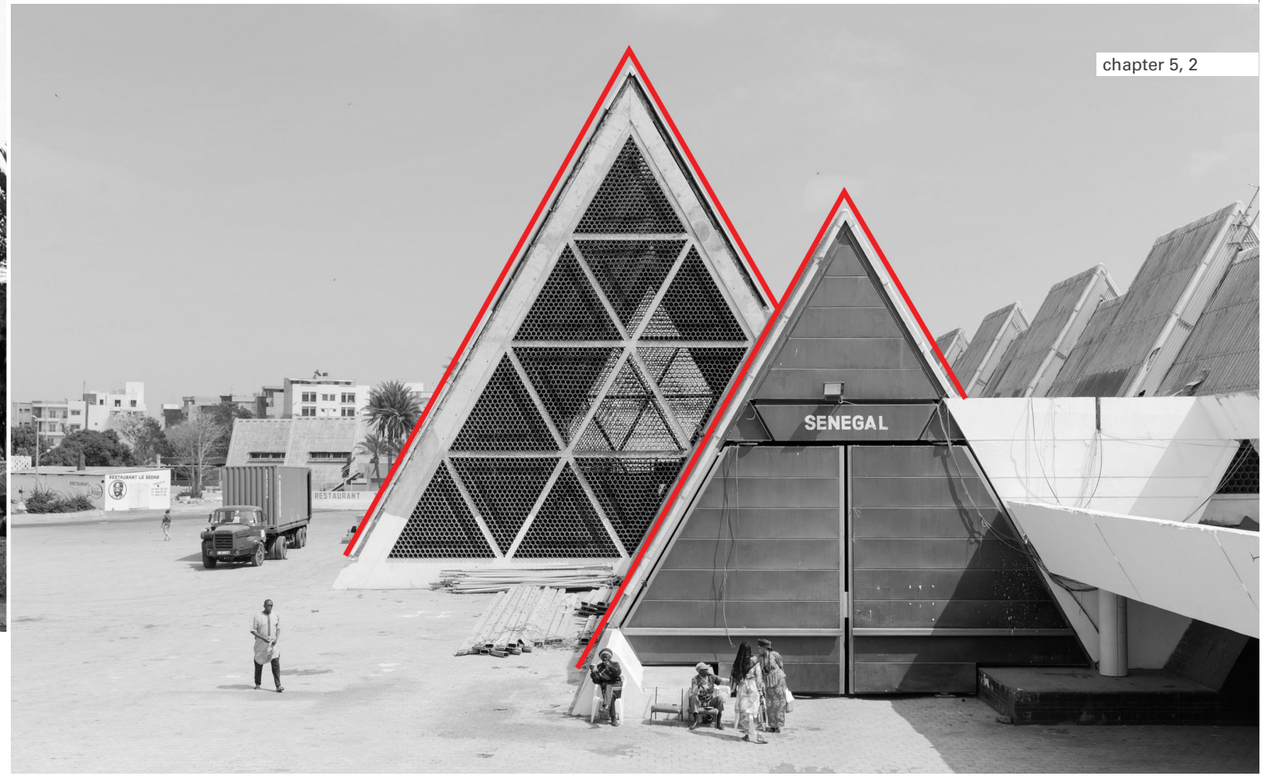


Fig. 4.2. Left: Hôtel Indépendance, Dakar. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 234. Top right: construction of the Musée dynamique, Dakar, 1966. Reproduced in Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 83. Bottom right: Foire Internationale de Dakar (FIDAK), by Lamoureux, Marin and Bonamy, 1974. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 194. Resolution enhanced with AI, Red highlight added by author.

3 /THE ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE, AND WHAT INHERITANCE IS NOT

An Exclusion That Defines the Object

A fourth candidate was carried through the early stages of this research and then excluded. The building housing Senegal's National Assembly was constructed under French colonial administration as the Palais du Grand Conseil de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, inaugurated in 1956 to designs by Daniel Badani and Pierre Roux-Dorlut, four years before independence.[4] The same partnership was responsible for the city's Palais de Justice.[5] The independent state acquired the building already standing.

The exclusion marks the boundary of the object rather than a scheduling convenience. A building commissioned by the independent state entails a sequence of decisions taken under the conditions this thesis examines (a programme drafted, a designer appointed through some channel, a form chosen and defended), and each can be set against the doctrine and found to agree with it or not. An inherited building entails none of them: the state that occupies it chose an address, not an architecture. Admitting such buildings would allow a doctrine to be credited with forms designed before it existed, which is to say credited with everything and contradicted by nothing. Reuse is not thereby placed outside the thesis. It returns in Chapter 7 as an afterlife rather than an origin, and the case studies themselves supply the material, the Musée dynamique having been converted to a dance school in 1977, returned briefly to museum use, and assigned to the Cour suprême in 1988.[6]

All three retained case studies lie within Dakar. One qualification is made in advance rather than left to be discovered: the fairground was sited some six kilometres from the city centre on sixty hectares of open savannah, on the expectation that the city would grow to meet it.[7] It is peri-urban rather than central, within the agglomeration, and Chapter 5 treats that distance as evidence about how the state pictured the capital's expansion.

Two further Senghor-era commissions by the Chomette, Melot and Depret office enter in Chapter 6 as secondary comparative reference points: ENAM - École nationale d'administration et de magistrature, whose inward, defensively walled parti runs against the display logic of all three case studies, and the Musée des civilisations noires, designed with Pedro Ramírez Vázquez and abandoned in 1981 without being built.[8] The second is included precisely because it was not built. A chapter that tests doctrine against execution needs at least one instance where execution never arrived, and the commission that Senghor treated as the summation of his cultural programme is the sharpest available case of a doctrine surviving its own funding.

4. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 52; "Palais du Grand conseil à Dakar: Daniel Badani, Pierre Roux-Dorlut, archts.," Architecture française, nos. 207–208 (November 1959): 58–63, bibliographic record consulted via the Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals.
5. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. on the FESMAN venues, naming the Palais de Justice as originally by Badani and Roux-Dorlut.
6. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 92; "Le Musée dynamique de Dakar: histoire et perspectives," École des Beaux-Arts de Nantes Saint-Nazaire.
7. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23.
8. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," n. 34 and figs. 10–14 (ENAM), and fig. 6 (Musée des civilisations noires, 1975–1978, project abandoned 1981); Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. on the post-1966 museum projects.



Fig. 4.3. Palais du Grand Conseil de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, Dakar — now the seat of Senegal's Assemblée Nationale — with monument and roundabout, view from the Place Soweto. Reproduced from Dakaractu, "*L'Assemblée Nationale, 'un bâtiment plus vieux que la République.'*" Resolution enhanced with AI.

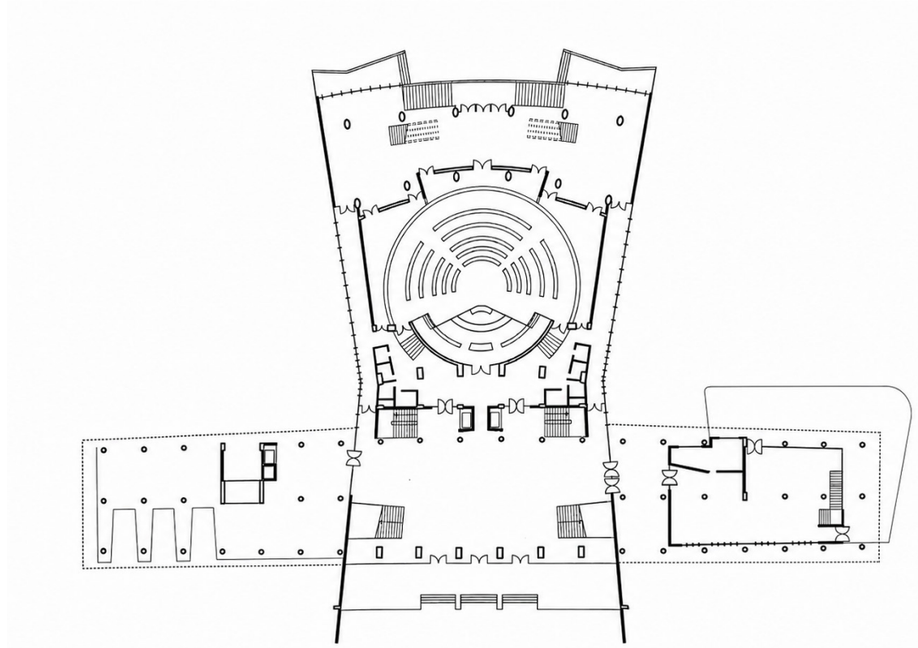


Fig. 4.4. Assemblée Nationale, Dakar (Palais du Grand Conseil de l'AOF), plan and section. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 174.

4 /A FIXED FRAME FOR THREE UNEQUAL BODIES OF EVIDENCE

The Categories, and What They Can Be Asked to Carry

Chapter 5 applies the same seven categories to each of the three buildings, in the same order. Uniformity is not a stylistic preference: a comparison assembled from whatever each building happens to be well documented for compares archives rather than architecture, and the asymmetries Chapter 3 established make that failure mode the likely one rather than the remote one. The categories are: site, commission and support; authorship, including the architects' formation and the channel through which they were appointed; programme and symbolic intent; formal language, materials and construction; the later architectural-historical literature and its scholarly reception; reception over time from inauguration to the present, including its favourable and unfavourable moments; and present physical condition (fig. 4.5).

The sequence is argued rather than arbitrary. The first four reconstruct what was decided and what was built, in the order the decisions were taken, and it is against these that the doctrine of Chapter 2 is tested. The fifth and sixth address how the building has been narrated since, and are where Chapter 3's findings about the authorship of the period's history become testable at the level of an individual work. The seventh is not an epilogue: physical condition is evidence about the preceding six, since what has been removed, replaced or allowed to decay records which parts of a building later parties considered dispensable. The Hôtel Indépendance is the clearest instance: the sculpted shading elements that carried whatever symbolic argument the façade was making were stripped in a renovation reported by one account as a demolition of 2018 and by another as under way from 2019, leaving the structure standing and the meaning removed.[9] Even the disagreement over the date belongs in the record.

Contemporary periodical coverage, which would ordinarily appear as a category in a frame of this kind, is not applied uniformly. It can be documented for the fairground, the subject of at least three items in the French and technical architectural press between 1974 and 1975, while equivalent searches return nothing directly on the museum or the hotel.[10] Applied as a fixed category this would yield one entry and two declarations of nothing found, reporting the reach of the indexes rather than anything about the buildings; and since those indexes are predominantly European, and the Senegalese press of the period is not comprehensively catalogued within them, no absence is thereby established. Contemporary publication is treated within the sixth category, where it belongs chronologically.

A final constraint conditions all seven categories. This thesis rests on documentary research and not on fieldwork; no building discussed here has been visited by its author, and statements about present condition derive from published surveys, photographs and interviews rather than from inspection. It also works only from sources it has been able to read in full, so that items known bibliographically but not consulted are cited, where they are cited at all, as evidence that a body of coverage exists and not as evidence of what that coverage says.

With the criteria argued, the exclusion defined and the frame fixed, the buildings can be taken in turn.

CATEGORY	WHAT IT ESTABLISHES	Musée	FIDAK	Hôtel
1. **Site, commission, support**	Who decided to build, where, and who paid	●	●	◒
2. **Authorship and appointment**	Who designed it, and through what channel	●	●	◒
3. **Programme and symbolic intent**	What the building was asked to mean	●	◒	◒
4. **Form, materials, construction**	What was built, and how	◒	●	○
5. **Scholarly reception**	How the architectural literature has treated it	●	○	○
6. **Reception over time**	How it was received, from opening to now	●	◒	◒
7. **Present condition**	What survives, and what has been removed	●	●	○

● Dense ◒ Partial ○ Thin

Fig. 4.5. The seven categories applied in Chapter 5, and the density of evidence available for each building. The pattern is not a ranking of the buildings but of their archives: the museum is best served on how it was decided, the fairground on how it was made and how it stands, the hotel on neither. Chapter 6 must account for these differences before it can attribute any difference to the architecture. Table produced by author.

9. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar" (Carole Diop, façade demolished 2018); SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance" (renovation from 2019).
10. "Les bâtiments de la Foire Internationale de Dakar," CREE, no. 32 (1974): 60–63; "Centre international d'échanges de Dakar," Architecture française 36, no. 390 (April 1975): 92–97; "Foire internationale de Dakar, Sénégal," International Asbestos-Cement Review 20, no. 3 (July 1975): 30–33; bibliographic records consulted via the Avery Index.

Excluded - inherited colonial building

Assemblée Nationale (Palais du Grand Conseil de l'AOF) - 1956 / 14.662657, -17.438198

Case studies (Chapter 5)

1 Musée dynamique (*Cour suprême*) - 1966 / 14.677210, -17.463682

2 CICES / FIDAK - 1974 / 14.744261, -17.465468

3 Hôtel Indépendance - 1977 / 14.669738, -17.432626

Secondary comparator (Chapter 6)

1 ENAM - École nationale d'administration et de magistrature - 1975 / 14.699570, -17.452400

2 Musée des civilisations noires: unknown

3 EAU - École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme: unknown

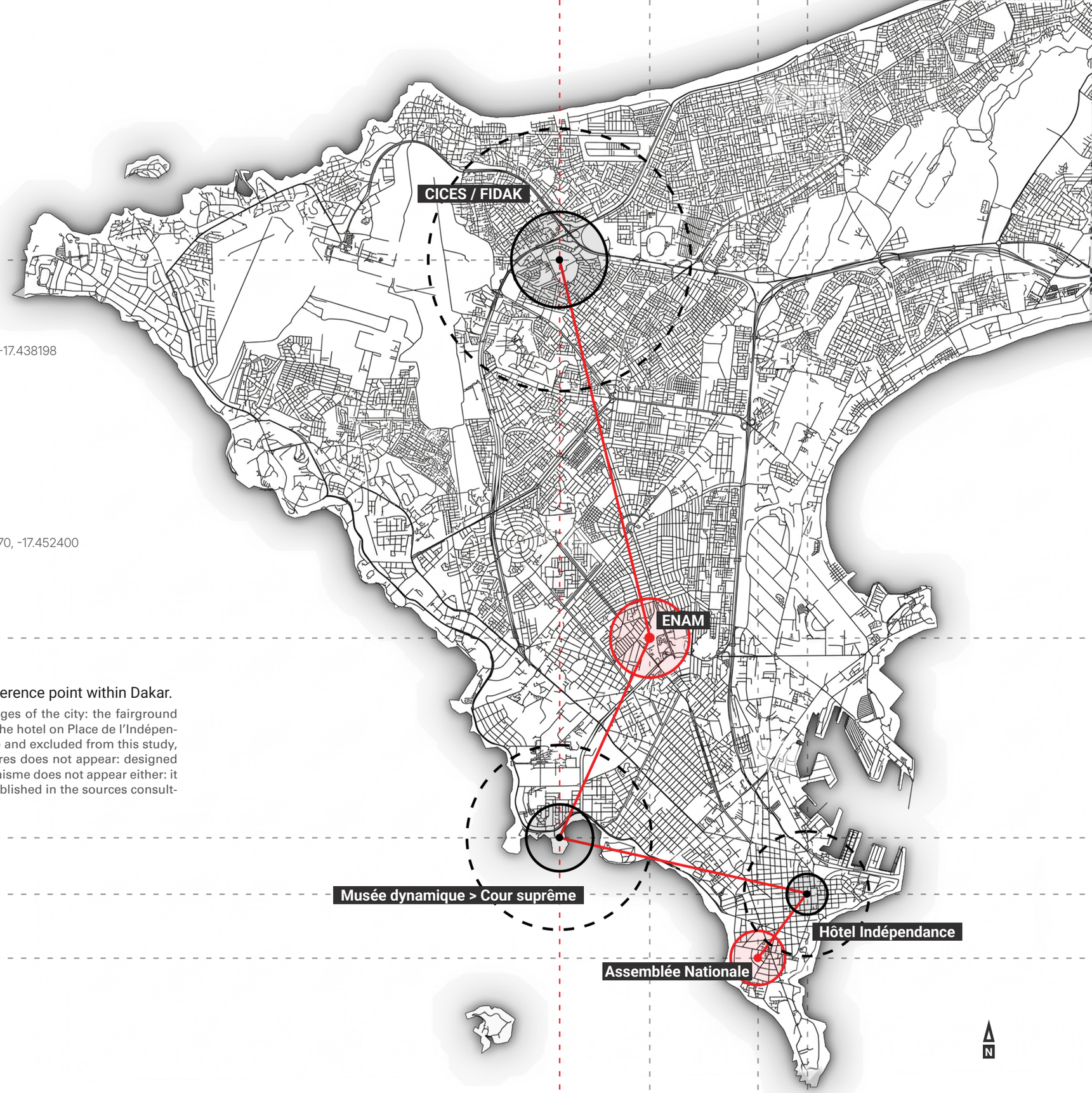


Fig. 4.6. / The case studies, the exclusion, and the comparative reference point within Dakar.

The three buildings commissioned by the independent state occupy the edges of the city: the fairground six kilometres north on open ground, the museum on the western corniche, the hotel on Place de l'Indépendance; while the Palais du Grand Conseil de l'AOF, inherited at independence and excluded from this study, stands at the centre of the colonial Plateau. The Musée des civilisations noires does not appear: designed between 1975 and 1978, it was never built. The École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme does not appear either: it was an institution rather than a building, and no address for it has been established in the sources consulted. Map produced by author.

CHAPTER 5

Case Studies

The three buildings are taken in the order in which they were commissioned, and that order happens also to be the order in which their claim to speak for the nation weakens. The museum was created by decree as an organ of the state. The fairground was awarded through an international competition the state convened. The hotel was raised by private promoters who happened to be building on the square where the president chose to announce his architectural doctrine. Reading them in this sequence tests the doctrine of Chapter 2 first where it ought to be easiest to find and last where it ought to be hardest, an arrangement that gives the doctrine every advantage rather than none.

Each building is taken through the seven categories fixed at the close of Chapter 4, in the same order, without exception, and including the places where a category has to be reported as thin rather than filled. What the three amount to when set against one another is not settled here.



Fig. 5.1. Entrance to Musée Dynamique, Dakar, 1966 (PANAFEST archives – collection Jean Mazel). Reproduced in Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 85.

1 /MUSÉE DYNAMIQUE, 1963–1966

An Instrument in the Shape of a Temple

5.1.1. / Site, Commission, and Support: The commission did not begin as a building. When the organisers of the World Festival of Negro Arts first sketched an exhibition of traditional arts in 1962, they proposed to hold it inside the Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire, a colonial administrative block of 1932 in Sudano-Sahelian dress, rebaptised a museum in 1945, conveniently placed on the Plateau opposite the National Assembly roundabout and the Théâtre Sorano.[1] The exhibition was to be a rearrangement of holdings already in the building. What changed that was a foreign consultant's nine-day visit. Jean Gabus, director of the Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel, arrived in Dakar in 1963 as UNESCO's expert, judged IFAN's lighting, space and ageing installations insufficient to persuade European and American lenders to release their objects, and argued instead for a new building, simple and functional.[2] Senghor's cabinet accepted within days; a first blueprint followed roughly a week after Gabus left.[3] The decision to build at all was therefore taken against the state's own proposal, by a man who had been in the country for nine days.

The site put the museum outside the ceremonial city. Every other festival venue (the Sorano, the National Assembly, the Hôtel de Ville, the Palais de Justice) stood on the Plateau, in fabric inherited from the colonial administration, whereas the museum was placed on the western corniche above the bay of Soumbédioune, on ground with nothing on it (fig. 5.2).[4] That was not a preference for an empty view. Chesneau and Vérola were separately commissioned by Senghor's government to design a Cité des Arts for the whole promontory, an establishment intended to do for the arts what the university did for education, with a fine-arts building, a centre for drama and music, an administration block and artists' residences ranged along a central avenue (fig. 5.3).[5] The museum was the first stone of a quarter, and its isolation on the corniche was meant to be temporary.

Who paid for it is disputed, and the dispute is not marginal. Murphy and Vincent state that construction was financed by UNESCO.[6] Taylor, working from the UNESCO archives and the Senegalese national archives, finds the opposite: UNESCO covered Gabus's fees, the fabrication of the climate-controlled vitrines, airfares, translation for the colloquium and a prestige album, to a total of some ninety-eight thousand US dollars, while the cost of the building itself fell on the Senegalese committee and whatever donors it could raise, Gabus estimating seventy million CFA francs against a budgeted fifty.[7] Allais reaches the same conclusion from Gabus's own working

1. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial."
2. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial."
3. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," n. 24. Murphy and Vincent date the architects' preliminary designs to 1964: "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 87.
4. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation"; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 87.
5. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 47–48; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 89.
6. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 87.
7. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47–48, and her n. 7.

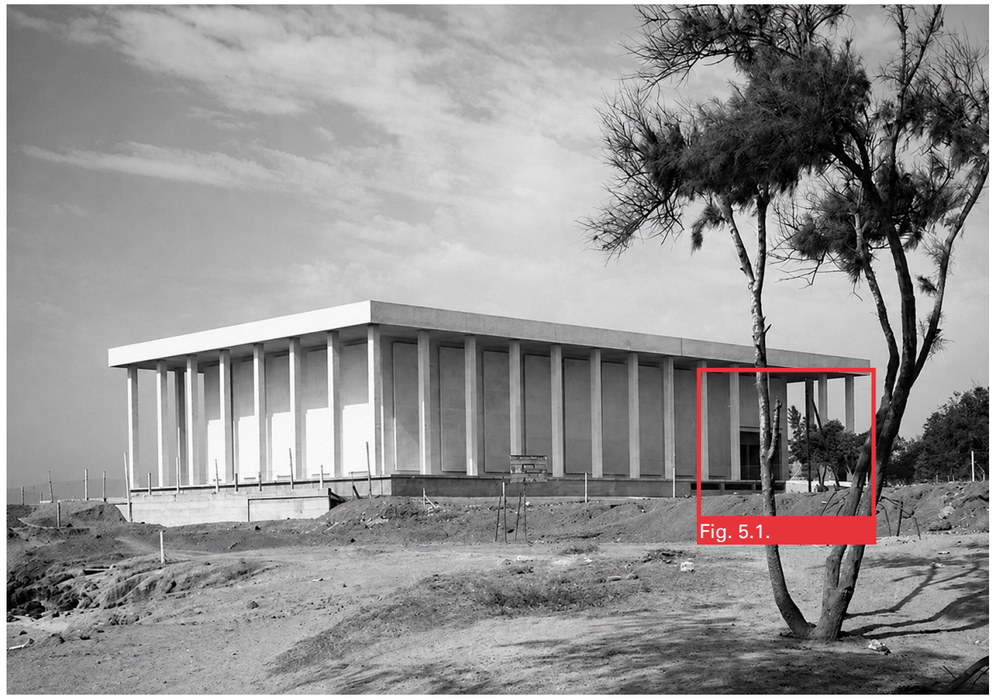


Fig. 5.2. Musée dynamique, Dakar, exterior view from the west, c. 1965–66. Photo Artis, Dakar. © Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel (MEN). Reproduced in Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 45. Resolution enhanced with AI, Red highlight added by author.

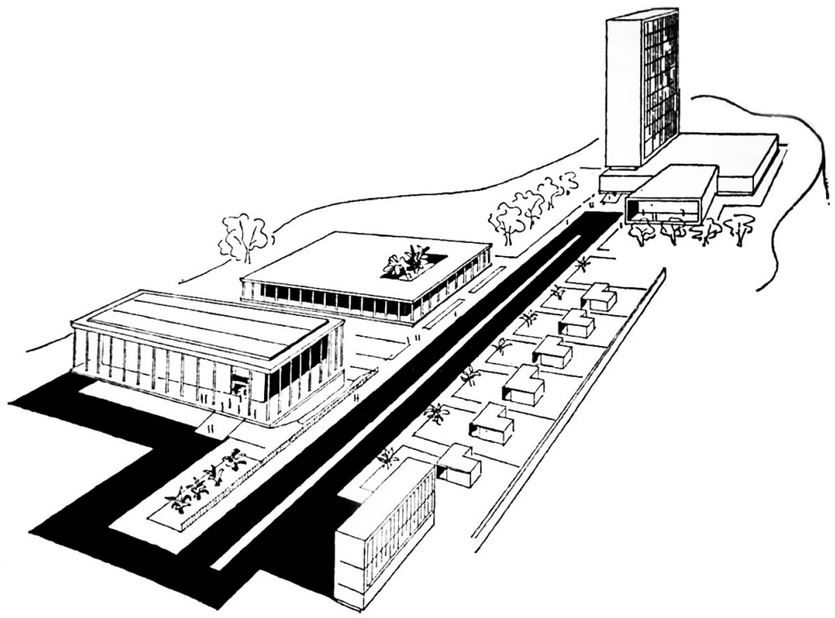


Fig. 5.3. Atelier Michel Chesneau et Jean Vérola, perspective view of a "Cité des Arts" for the Bay of Soumbédioune, Dakar, 1965. Archives du Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel (MEN). Reproduced from Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre."

notes, which record that the museum would be financed entirely by the Senegalese state precisely in order to escape the criticism already attaching to the Sorano, whose running costs were being blamed for the hole the festival was opening in the budget; France had underwritten the theatre and now wanted its exposure reduced.[8] Two independent archival reconstructions agree against one summary statement in a visual essay. The point is not that the majority wins. It is that a thesis arguing about national self-representation cannot leave unexamined a question as elementary as whether the state paid for its own principal cultural monument, and that the record, forty years on, does not answer it unanimously.

5.1.2 / Authorship and Appointment: The plans were drawn by Michel Chesneau, with Jean Vérola, from the office the two had established in Dakar in 1947 in answer to Béchard's appeal.[9] No competition was held. Gabus turned to Chesneau directly, almost certainly because Chesneau was already at work on the Théâtre Sorano, which is to say that the inherited colonial channel identified in Chapter 2 operated here at the scale of a single recommendation.[10] The choice is doubly pointed, since the Sorano immediately became the thing the museum was defined against. Gabus's notes from an early meeting with government representatives set the terms in five words: no luxury, an instrument of work.[11]

Authorship then splits along the line between inside and outside, and it splits cleanly. Gabus wrote the architectural programme floor by floor, from the basement where objects would arrive and be registered, up through a half-level of graphics and drawing workshops, to the double-height exhibition hall and its overlooking mezzanine; he specified the vitrines, overrode the architects when they proposed prefabricated cases on the ground that the volume of the room and the placing of the power outlets followed from his Neuchâtel system, and supplied the building's name.[12] The exterior was not his. Gabus wanted a painted mural on the blind wall, as at Neuchâtel, where a seventeen-metre fresco by Hans Erni covers the front; the Senegalese organising committee refused it, replying that panels, if there were to be any, should take their subjects from Benin or Foumban; and the architects refused it for a different reason again, explaining that the Dakar building had to remain usable during a power cut, by cross-ventilation and daylight, which required openings in the wall rather than paint on it.[13] The blank façade ringed by a colonnade, with an entrance echoing the practice's own Saint-Dominique chapel at the university, was Chesneau and Vérola's initiative.[14] Three parties rejected the same mural for three incompatible reasons, and the building's most legible feature is what was left when they had finished.

8. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," n. 25.
9. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," nn. 11–12. Taylor describes the partnership as French and Italian and dates Chesneau's founding of the regional council of architects for West Africa and Togo to 1949: "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47.
10. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," n. 24.
11. Ibid., n. 25 ("Aucun luxe : instrument de travail").
12. Ibid., sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 36, 40–41.
13. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 55–56, citing Mveng to Gabus, 1964; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 45–46.
14. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation."

5.1.3 / Programme and Symbolic Intent: Legally the museum was not a museum. The decree of February 1966 creates, under that name, a public service of artistic education and cultural exchange charged with contributing to the development of arts and letters, a formulation that makes culture an organ of the state rather than a possession of it, and one consistent with Senghor's own distinction between a nation that wills and a state that builds and makes permanent.[15] No permanent collection was envisaged and no reserve; the dynamism of the name was to reside in a turnover of temporary exhibitions drawn from anywhere in the world.[16] Gabus justified the building three times over, and each justification located the need somewhere different: in the objects, whose variety of materials and fragility of colour were said to require climate control; in a Senegalese public that needed to know its own civil standing and to compare it, outside politics, with others'; and in the museum's capacity to sort, a museum of other museums that would show originals rather than copies.[17] The third of these mattered more than it looks. Senghor and the organisers repeatedly insisted that the ancient objects inside were not there as models to be copied, since the festival had to demonstrate African originality as well as African inheritance, an anxiety about mimicry that, as Allais observes, was never once extended to the museum's own architecture.[18] Above the entrance Senghor had an inscription cut, which declares that man alone can dream and bring forth works that exceed him, that in this domain the Black man is sovereign, and which closes by calling for a new humanism to be founded upon that.[19] The building that was to carry that inscription had been designed by negation: not traditional, not a stylised colonial shell, not a volume shaped by its programme in the manner of the Sorano.

15. Décret n° 66-123, JO du Sénégal, 5 Mar. 1966, 241–42, art. 1, in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," n. 56; Senghor, quoted in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Cadres et décrets." Murphy and Vincent date the decree 19 February 1966: "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 96 n. 12.
16. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 87.
17. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," nn. 28, 30, 32.
18. Ibid., nn. 33–35.
19. "Le Musée dynamique de Dakar: histoire et perspectives," École des Beaux-Arts de Nantes Saint-Nazaire. The right-hand margin of the copy consulted is clipped; the inscription is reported here only so far as it is legible.

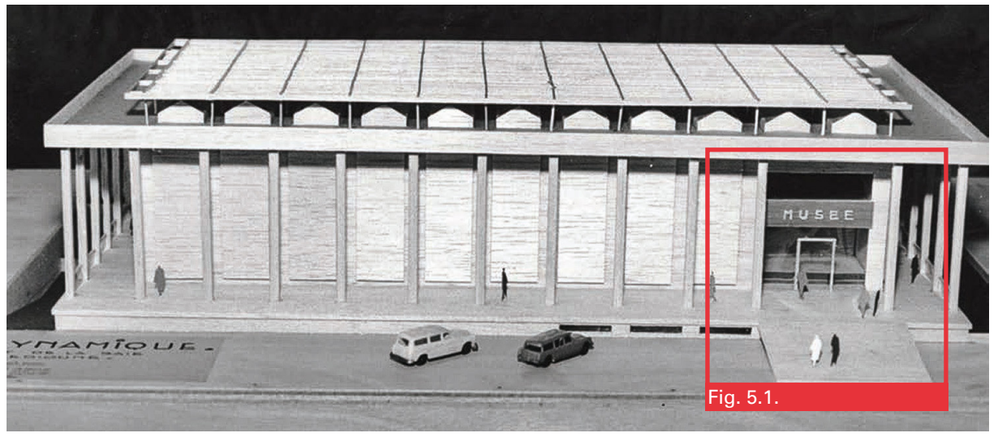


Fig. 5.4. Michel Chesneau and Jean Vérola, maquette of the Musée dynamique, Dakar, c. 1963. © Musée d'ethnographie de Neuchâtel (MEN). Reproduced in Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 48. Red highlight added by author.

5.1.4 / Formal Language, Materials, and Construction: What was built is a single low white volume on a podium, wrapped by a peristyle of forty square columns carrying the structure across three levels (fig. 5.4): technical spaces, workshops and plant in the basement, an administrative half-level with a curator's office and photographic laboratory, and 1,450 square metres of exhibition space on the ground floor and mezzanine. How long it took to raise is not agreed: Murphy and Vincent record two years of building work before the museum was handed to the curators in February 1966, while Allais writes that nothing in the finished volume betrays a building put up in barely three years.[20] The plan is free (no partitions, no corridors, the vitrines the only thing directing a visitor's movement), and the route of the objects runs upward through it, from registration below to display above, against enormous photographic reproductions on the walls.[21] The building was divided into air-conditioned and unconditioned zones, an unremarkable-looking note on the drawings that concealed the largest investment in the project, since supplying it required electrifying an entire quarter.[22]

The section is where the Neuchâtel comparison holds and then fails, and it fails in a way that is invisible in plan (fig. 5.5). Both buildings are governed by their section, and the Dakar interior reproduces the Swiss gallery-and-mezzanine arrangement almost exactly. But Neuchâtel is diagonal (inclined roof, tapered columns, movement stylised into the silhouette and underlined in Gabus's own diagram by a curving arrow), whereas Dakar is a multiplication of rectangles in which the raised central roof, the continuous clerestory and the access ramps disturb neither the balance of the volume nor the concentric rings of the plan.[23] At Neuchâtel the dynamism is in the form; at Dakar it consists of separate zones that have to be crossed deliberately before they do anything. Gabus half-conceded the difference by claiming the Dakar building as the more advanced realisation: Neuchâtel was an annexe, Dakar an independent instrument.[24]

20. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 87; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," opening sec.
21. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," n. 41; Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47.
22. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 42–43.
23. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," and fig. 6; Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 48.

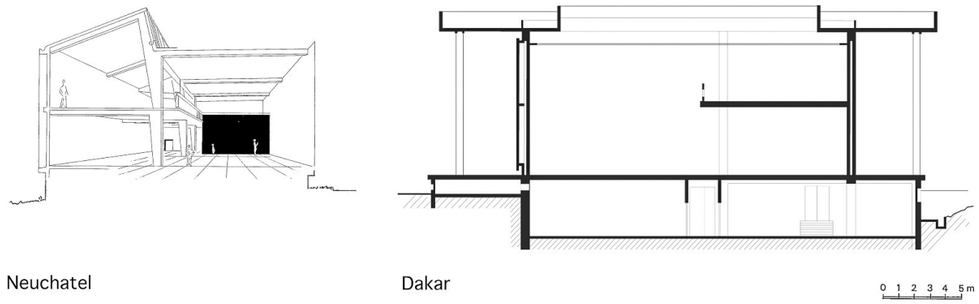


Fig. 5.5. Comparative sections of the Musée dynamique, Neuchâtel (left), and the Musée dynamique, Dakar (right). Drawings after documents in the UNESCO archives; no author credited beyond the source. Reproduced from Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre."

The colonnade has been read, reasonably, as a claim on Greek antiquity, and Senghor's address at the opening did exactly that, arguing Greece's debts to Egypt and through Egypt to Nubia, so that a peristyle in Dakar marked not a European borrowing but an African stake in a crossroads.[25] Taylor sets this alongside the very different universalism of Gabus and UNESCO, for whom the reproducible floorplan itself carried the claim, a plan Gabus expected to work equally in a Swiss canton and on the Senegalese shore, and which he tried to export a third time to Nouakchott.[26] Neither reading exhausts the colonnade, because colonnades were already ordinary in Dakar. Arcaded galleries lined the new boulevards, administrative buildings in particular were fitted with them, and Bugnicourt read the whole deployment as France's ceremonial elevation of the city.[27] Allais makes the sharpest observation available on the building's form: the museum resembles that administrative architecture with the mass above the colonnade removed, and it is the subtraction of the administrative weight that turns the type into a free-standing temple (fig. 5.6).[28] Beyond the columns, the levels and the services, the sources say almost nothing about how the building is made, and the omission is itself characteristic of a literature written by curators and art historians rather than by architects. What they describe is a surface rather than a construction, and they describe it once: comparing the Dakar building with its Swiss precedent, Taylor records that it was lightened to a stony off-white and that its walls were set behind a peristyle. No account available to this thesis specifies the structural system, the composition of the wall or the finish applied to it, so the analysis here defaults to what was ordinary for a public building of this scale in this city in these years. Reinforced concrete had been the standard for Dakar's public architecture since the 1930s and continued through the modernist vocabulary introduced after 1948; the Palais du Grand Conseil of 1956, the nearest comparison available in date, scale and patronage, is a cast-concrete structure rendered in places, and the fairground of the following decade repeats the same sequence of concrete foundations, walls and slabs on a concrete post-and-beam frame.[29] A rendered concrete frame with infill panels, finished pale, is therefore the probable construction of the Musée dynamique. It is stated here as an inference drawn from comparable buildings and not as a finding about this one.

What the envelope does is better documented than what it is made of, and is worth registering separately. The peristyle holds the sun off the wall behind it through most of the day and the long blind elevations admit no direct gain at all, which is why the architects could insist, against Gabus, that the building would still work through a power cut on cross-ventilation and daylight alone. The plant then divided the interior into conditioned and unconditioned zones and became the single largest cost in the project. Envelope and equipment were designed against each other: the geometry

25. Senghor, opening address, 1966, quoted in Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 56.
26. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 48–49, citing Knodel, Le Musée réinventé, 62.
27. Bugnicourt, "Dakar Without Bounds," in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," n. 49.
28. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 49–50.
29. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 56; on reinforced concrete as the standard for Dakar's public architecture from the 1930s and its continuation after 1948, Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 52; Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 172; Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23.

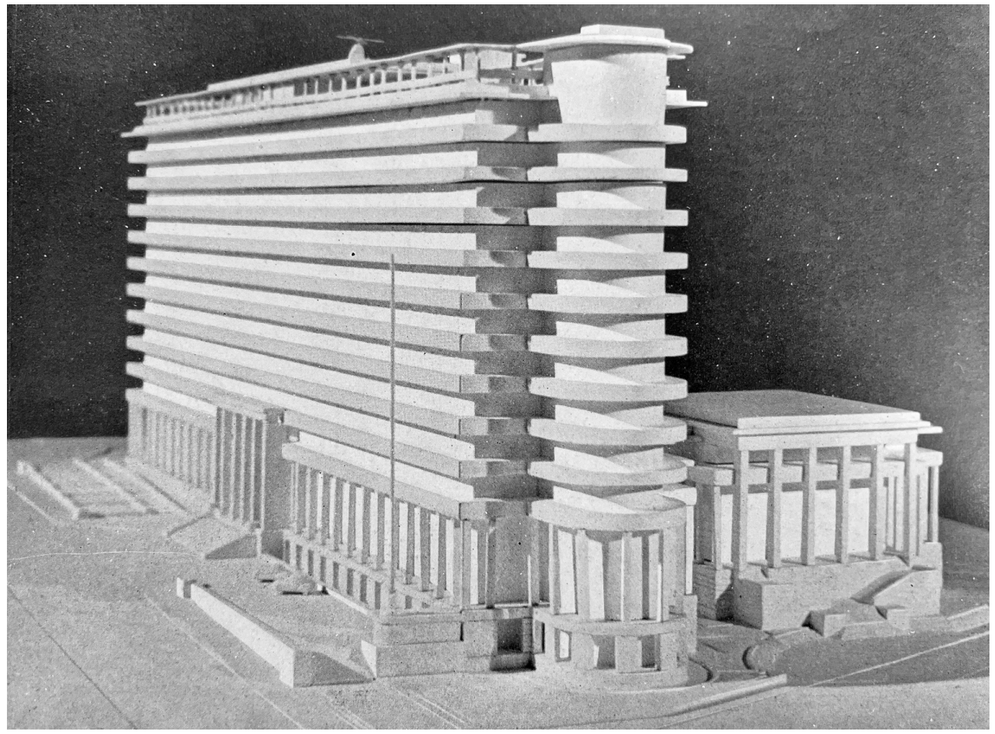


Fig. 5.6. Mauro Cherruti, maquette of the Bâtiment Administratif, Dakar, 1953–54. Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM). Reproduced from Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre."

reduces the load, and the load was still the most expensive thing in the building.

5.1.5 / Scholarly Reception: That literature is nonetheless the largest any of the three buildings has attracted. Cédric Vincent's account of the Negro Art exhibition appeared in 2016 in the volume David Murphy edited on the festival; Murphy and Vincent published their visual essay on the building in World Art in 2019; Lauren Taylor's reading of its dual universalisms appeared in African Arts in 2024; and Allais's architectural history appeared in Troubles dans les collections in 2025.[30] A study day devoted to the building was convened by El Hadji Malick Ndiaye, Maureen Murphy and colleagues at the École des Beaux-Arts de Nantes Saint-Nazaire, with Abdou Sylla, Ousmane Sow Huchard and Allais among the speakers.[31] Two further items (Sylla's 2007 piece in Africultures and Huchard's 2010 volume, the latter written by the museum's own last director) are known to this thesis only through the footnotes of the four above, and are cited here as evidence that the coverage exists rather than as evidence of what it says.[32] The composition of that list matters as much as its

30. Vincent, "The Real Heart of the Festival," in Murphy, ed., The First World Festival of Negro Arts, 45–63; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique"; Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads"; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre." Vincent's chapter is known here bibliographically only.
31. "Le Musée dynamique de Dakar: histoire et perspectives," École des Beaux-Arts de Nantes Saint-Nazaire.
32. Sylla, "La tumultueuse histoire du musée dynamique de Dakar," Africultures 70 (2007): 89; Huchard, La Culture, ses objets-témoins et l'action muséologique (2010), both cited in Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 96–97.

length. One of the four is by an architectural historian. The museum has been thoroughly narrated as an institution, an exhibition and a political instrument, and barely at all as a construction.

One absence finishes the account, and it is not a small one. African Modernism, the volume Chapter 3 identified as the field's reference recovery text and the source from which two of this thesis's three case studies are illustrated, has no entry for the Musée dynamique. Its Senegal section takes in the National Assembly, the Bâtiment Administratif, the Ministry of the Interior, the BCEAO, the Bâtiment Communal, the Centre d'Échange, the fairground, ENAM - École nationale d'administration et de magistrature, the university, the Faculty of Medicine, the Atepa Group headquarters and the Hôtel Indépendance, together with residential blocks, the Grand Médina, the ENSA at Thiès and the Université Gaston Berger.[33] The one building the independent state commissioned first, created by its own decree, and described in its own legislation as a service for the development of arts and letters is the one the volume does not carry. Whatever produced the omission (the museum had ceased to be a museum twenty-seven years before the book appeared, and photographs of a working courthouse are difficult to obtain), its effect is to remove from the recovered canon the clearest instance of architecture commissioned as national culture. The consequence for this chapter is practical as well as historiographical. There is no plan and no section of the Musée dynamique to be had from the volume that supplies a site plan and a full site section for one of the two buildings that follow, and the silence of the sources on how this building is made, noted above, is not an accident of this thesis's reading but a property of the record.

5.1.6 / Reception Over Time: Reception began at a height it never regained. Roland Kaehr, arriving from Neuchâtel in March 1966, described a splendid landmark by the sea, part Greek temple, guarded by gendarmes with sub-machine guns, and reported on entering that he had found Neuchâtel again, larger and more sumptuous.[34] Images of the illuminated interior travelled through the international press and the festival's documentary films, and the visitors inside were, on contemporary press evidence, overwhelmingly foreign.[35] Even the size of what they saw is not agreed: the exhibition is variously reported as some five hundred objects, as almost six hundred borrowed from more than fifty museums and private collections, as over six hundred, and as more than seven hundred.[36] Coverage of the building in the architectural press has not been found, but items in the general press of 1966 are recorded in the footnotes of later scholarship, along with William Fagg's account in the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts of a museum among the best equipped in the world.[37]

33. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, Senegal section, 143–269; the Musée dynamique appears in no entry.
34. Kaehr to "Claude," 1966, quoted in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," opening sec., n. 4.
35. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," opening sec., n. 5; Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 53, citing Tripet 1966 and Tassart 1966.
36. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 44; Murphy, "First Black Arts Festival"; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 82; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," opening sec, n. 2.
37. Fagg, "Preparing for the Dakar Festival," Journal of the Royal Society of Arts 114, no. 5117 (April 1966), quoted in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," nn. 2, 37.

For eleven years the building did the work the decree assigned it, and did it selectively. Senghor took on the role of executive programmer, and the exhibitions were international before they were Senegalese: Kandinsky and Miró, drawings by Leonardo, Chagall, Picasso, Hundertwasser, Soulages.[38] The national salons of Senegalese artists ran there from 1973, and the travelling exhibition of contemporary Senegalese art went from the museum to the Grand Palais in 1974, but among Senegalese artists only Iba N'Diaye received a solo exhibition, in 1977.[39] In that same year Senghor suspended the museum's activities and handed the building to Mudra-Afrique, the dance school founded by Maurice Béjart with Germaine Acogny, with support from UNESCO and the French government.[40] The architecture accommodated the change without resistance (double height, top light, no internal walls, long blind façades, two floors easily converted with mirrors, barres and parquet), and it accommodated the school's severity as well: with the stairs closed off and the mezzanine turned into the director's office, Acogny supervised from above and eliminated dancers weekly.[41] The school closed in 1982 for want of money. Under Abdou Diouf the building returned to museum use, reopening in 1984 with Rencontres, an exhibition piloted by the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs; the four years that followed were the most Senegalese in its history, dominated by national salons and by artists of the Laboratoire Agit'Art, and in 1987 Senghor made his first public appearance since leaving power at the opening of a show devoted to El Hadj Sy.[42] In May 1988 the director was led out of the building by armed soldiers. Over the summer a courtroom was installed, and in December the museum was closed and handed to the judiciary as the seat of the Supreme Court, on the official ground that the Palais de Justice stood on a geological fault.[43] The first public demand for its return was made at the Dakar Biennale in 1992; the government promised restitution in 1996; the fiftieth-anniversary conference of 2016 published a further demand in Le Soleil, to which President Macky Sall responded by announcing that the building would be returned to the arts community.[44] At the end of 2018 no confirmation had followed.[45]

38. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 89–90; "Le Musée dynamique de Dakar: histoire et perspectives," École des Beaux-Arts de Nantes Saint-Nazaire.
39. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 90.
40. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 90; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Cadres et décrets," n. 74.
41. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Cadres et décrets," nn. 75–77.
42. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 90–91. Taylor dates Huchard's tenure as curator-in-chief 1983–88: "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 53.
43. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 92–93.
44. Ibid., 82, 93.
45. Ibid., 96 n. 14.



Fig. 5.7. Cour suprême du Sénégal, formerly the Musée dynamique, main staircase, November 2016. Photo by Cédric Vincent. Reproduced in Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 93.

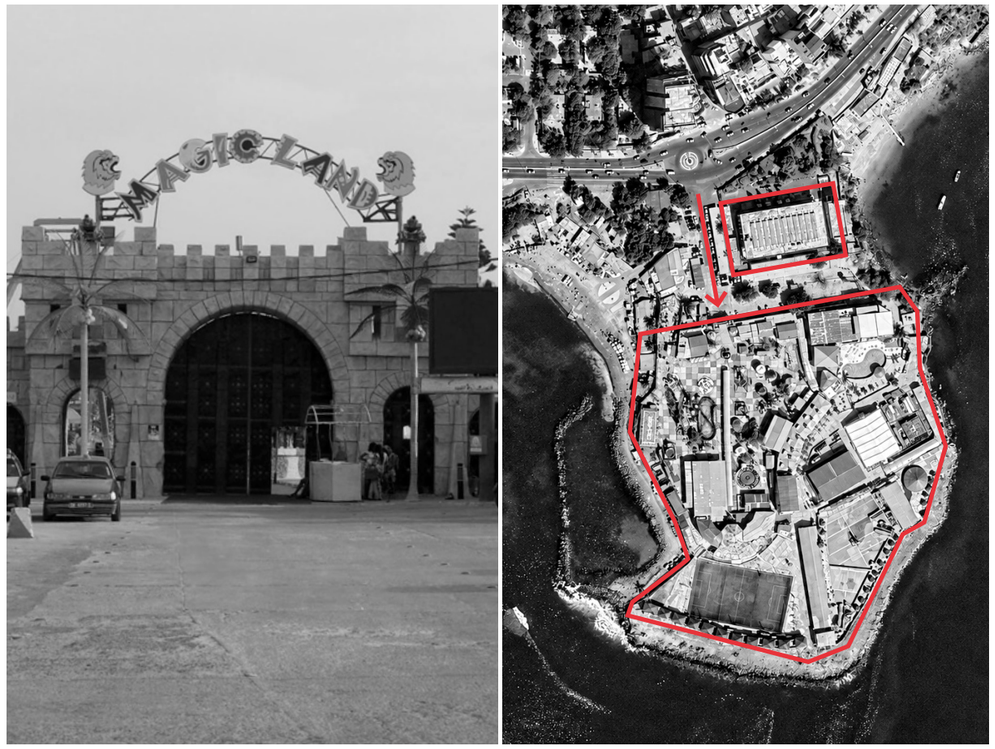


Fig. 5.8. Left picture: Magic Land fun fair, opened in December 2004 on the site proposed for the Cité des Arts, Dakar, November 2016. Photo by David Murphy. Reproduced in Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 91. Right image: Satellite image of Magic Land next to Musée dynamique, 2026; Produced by author using Google Map.

5.1.7 / Present Condition: The present condition of the building is known to this thesis largely through a single visit, made in November 2016 by two scholars who are not architects and who were photographing on the move, and it should be weighed accordingly. What they record is a fabric that has absorbed each of its uses rather than been cleared for the next. The reconfiguration of 1986, which divided the ground floor with a partition wall into a narrow corridor lined with offices and rebuilt the mezzanine for a permanent collection, was overlaid in 1988 by the conversion for the court, which lined the mezzanine and the basement reserve with further offices and inserted a staircase (fig. 5.7).[46] The original air-conditioning plant installed to preserve the loans of 1966 survives in the basement, and works from the museum's collection hang at intervals along the walls of the courthouse.[47] Outside, the promontory that was to have carried the Cité des Arts is occupied by a fun fair of more than twelve thousand square metres, opened in 2004 (fig. 5.8).[48] Photography of the exterior was refused by armed guards on grounds of the regional terrorist threat, which is its own kind of evidence: the isolated, elevated grandeur that made the building legible as a temple in 1966 required no alteration at all to read as a courthouse (fig. 5.9).[49]

Nothing since has reversed the assignment, and the more recent evidence describes an accommodation rather than a return. The Supreme Court's own website records an exhibition mounted for the Dak'Art biennale in June 2022 in a space it names as the hall of the court, formerly the Musée dynamique, the institution lending its principal room to the art world for the duration of a show while remaining, in law and in fabric, a courthouse.[50] Allais, writing in March 2025, treats the arrangement as the building's settled condition rather than a phase in dispute: the museum is the seat of the Cour suprême, its interior partitioned into a sequence of rooms and corridors, the white cube turned, in Vincent and Murphy's formulation, into a black box.[51]

46. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 91–93.
47. Ibid., 93.
48. Ibid., 89, 96 n. 11.
49. Ibid., 84.
50. Cour suprême du Sénégal, exhibition mounted for the Dak'Art biennale in "le hall de la Cour, ex Musée dynamique," June 2022, coursupreme.gouv.sn.
51. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Cadres et décrets," nn. 78–79.

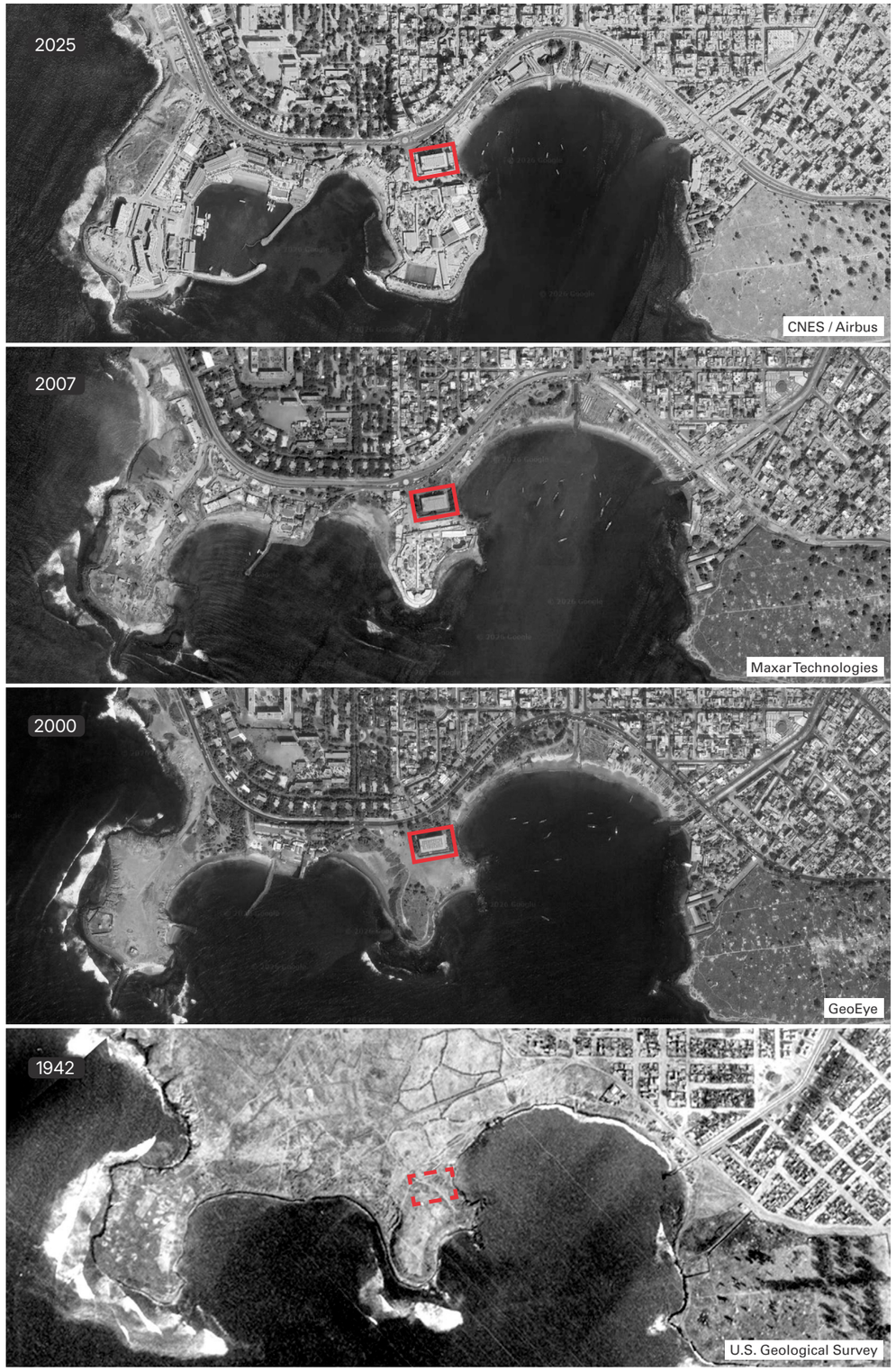


Fig. 5.9. Musée Dynamique location over time; Map produced by author, using Google Earth.



Fig. 5.10. Bird's eye view of the newly completed CICES complex, c. 1970s, personal archives of Lamoureux. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 29.

2 /FOIRE INTERNATIONALE DE DAKAR (FIDAK / CICES), 1969–1974

The Competition That Worked

5.2.1 / Site, Commission, and Support: The state that had built its museum by accepting a foreign consultant's proposal within a few days advertised its fairground to the world. Senghor launched an international competition (in 1969 by the conservation plan's historical narrative, in 1970 by its own summary a few pages earlier, in 1971 by the only other extended account), and the brief asked for a fair on the outskirts of Dakar to house the Foire internationale de Dakar, a biennial event conceived as an economic and cultural forum for the whole continent, in an architecture that would refer to the African vernacular while carrying a forward-looking spirit.[52] The instability of the date is the first thing the sources produce and it is not resolved here; what all of them agree on is the mechanism.

The site was six kilometres north of the centre, sixty hectares of flat savannah, most of it state land, chosen on the expectation that the city would grow out to meet it, an expectation about the future shape of the capital committed to the ground before the drawings were made.[53] Distance had a technical price. Beyond the reach of Dakar's water and electricity networks, the complex had to be self-sufficient, and was given its own power station, water collection and treatment, drainage system and centralised cooling; a dense ring of trees was planted inside the perimeter fence to stop the salt-laden sea breeze from reaching the steel substructure carrying the roofs.[54] Ownership has never left the Ministry of Commerce. A company connected to that ministry, SOFIDAK, was created in 1974 to run the fair and was amalgamated in 1980 with the Senegalese Centre for Exterior Commerce to form the CICES, which has since covered its salaries and maintenance largely from the rental of its own halls rather than from the budget.[55] Of the three buildings in this chapter, this is the one the state has continued to own and the one the state has least continuously paid for.

5.2.2 / Authorship and Appointment: Jean-François Lamoureux and Jean-Louis Marin won it. They had left architecture school in Paris, completed a year of civil service in Senegal, and entered the competition from Paris afterwards; the fairground was their first built project.[56] The conservation plan calls the result unexpected, and against the pattern Chapter 2 established it is more than unexpected. Competition was the channel that carried the least traffic in Senghor's Senegal (the mechanism whose result Melot recalls not surviving at Saint-Louis, where a competition he had won was reassigned to another office), and it is the one that here produced two architects with no office, no track record and no access to the president.[57] The doctrine of Chapter 2 reached this building through a written brief and a jury rather than through a telephone call.

52. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 18 (competition launched 1969); 12 (competition launched 1970); Yakubu, "Exploring the International Trade Fair Centre in Dakar" (1971).
53. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23; Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192.
54. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23.
55. Ibid., 61.
56. Ibid., 12, 18.
57. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 24.



Fig. 5.11. Workers holding a façade panel for the regional pavilions, created from a 1:1 styrofoam prototype, Dakar, c. 1972–75. Personal archives of Lamoureux. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 36.

They then built it from a distance, which shaped the method. Living in Paris, the architects travelled frequently to supervise the site, lodged on the island of Gorée, and worked from an office first in a shed and later in the Pavilion Tertiaire, producing detailed drawings and full-size prototypes as the work advanced and in close collaboration with local artisans and trades; construction ran with two teams alternating day and night shifts (fig. 5.11).[58] Authorship is not entirely settled even so. African Modernism attributes the complex to Lamoureux, Marin and Bonamy; the conservation plan, which rests on the two architects' own personal archives in Paris and on interviews with them, names only Lamoureux and Marin throughout and mentions Bonamy nowhere.[59] Fernand Bonamy was one of the two offices Senghor favoured at the time, and Melot names him among those who took hold of parallélisme asymétrique in the most literal way and attempted to claim its paternity.[60] Nothing in the sources available here connects him to the competition entry or to the site, and nothing excludes him from the execution; the discrepancy is recorded and left standing.

58. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23.
59. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192; Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 66.
60. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 12, and n. 28.

5.2.3 / Programme and Symbolic Intent: What was asked for was an instrument of exchange, and the programme was unusually explicit about it. At the centre stood the Centre international des congrès: an auditorium of some twelve hundred seats, a thousand of them fitted with earphones carrying six languages simulcast from interpretation booths; an information and innovation centre with seminar rooms, multilingual translation and legal services, and a support facility for partnerships and enterprise; a medium-sized hall for the display of new machinery; and seven small regional pavilions convertible into conference and seminar rooms.[61] The ambition was that the concentration of exhibitors during the fair would function as an incubator. Around this core the exhibition halls were laid out with twenty-seven thousand square metres of interior and twenty-nine thousand of exterior display space.[62] The seven regional pavilions carried a second and inward-facing argument: at a fair whose purpose was to gather Africa, seven buildings stood for the seven regions of Senegal, each faced in the materials of its own territory. As for the triangle that governs everything, the reading that Senghor saw in it a reference to the Egyptian pyramids and thus to an African golden age comes from a single interview with the director of the CICES conducted in December 2019, a recollection at nearly fifty years' remove, and it is the only source for that interpretation in this thesis's possession.[63]

5.2.4 / Formal Language, Materials, and Construction: The composition is a spine and a fan. The principal buildings run along a north-north-west to south-south-east axis raised on a plinth, beginning at the staff entrance and the administration building, passing the auditorium, the seven regional pavilions and the Senegal pavilion, and ending at the Green exhibition pavilion and its restaurant; from that axis the Brown and Orange halls fan out to the south-west, each with its own plaza for outdoor stands and its own parking, reached by a curvilinear service road that circles the whole site and is doubled by the drainage canal marking the original boundary (fig. 5.10) (fig. 5.12).[64] African Modernism describes the vertical consequence precisely. The large trade halls cut down through the plinth and the small pavilions stand on top of it, which turns the plinth edge into a long sheltered walk; the resulting difference in level means that no route across the site is straight, and that each exhibition building is met from a different height and through a densely planted artificial landscape.[65] West of the spine lay a landscape of triangular gardens, since severed.[66] The curved road and the fanned halls are the point at which the vernacular reference enters the design as planning rather than as ornament: the conservation plan reads the rounded, non-hierarchical arrangement as a direct citation of village layout, set against a rigorously Modernist separation of vehicles from pedestrians and of public from service zones.[67]

61. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 18, 31.
62. Ibid., 31. African Modernism gives the complex as 120,000 square metres, a measure of the whole programme rather than of exhibition area: Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192.
63. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 18, and its n. 2 (interview with the director of the CICES, December 2019).
64. Ibid., 31.
65. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192.
66. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 31.
67. Ibid., 146–47.

3 Entry from south of the site between regional pavilions and exhibition halls
4 View towards Senegal pavilion

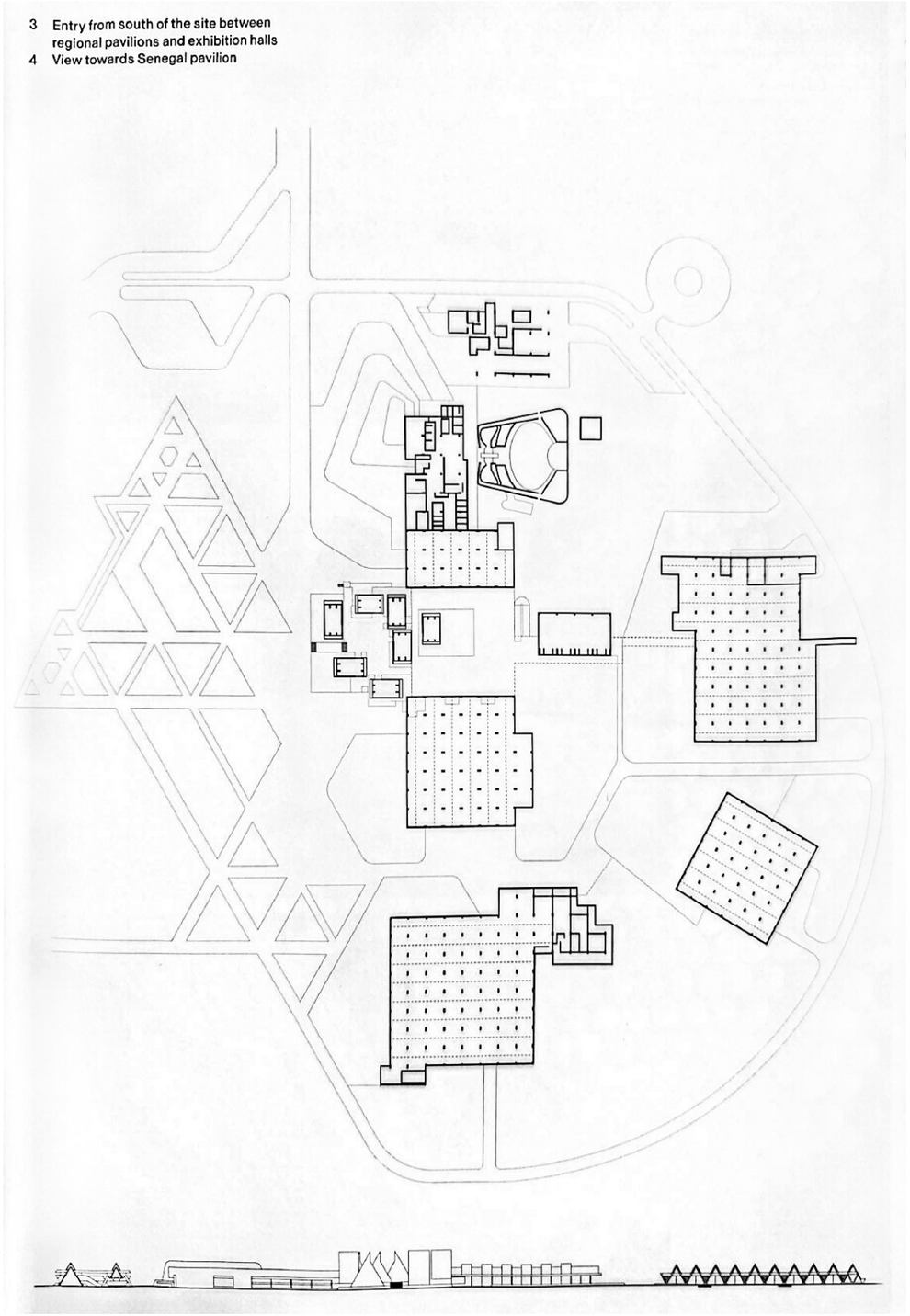


Fig. 5.12. Foire Internationale de Dakar (FIDAK / CICES), by Lamoureux, Marin and Bonamy, 1974: site plan and site section. No original credit identified beyond the intermediary source. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 195.

Below the composition lies a repeating construction logic, and it is the reason the complex could be built at that speed. Concrete foundations, walls and slabs; a concrete post-and-beam structure; precast V-shaped columns with electricity, water and telephone connections gathered into the base of each; a steel substructure carrying pitched roofs; local earth-coloured tiles; glazed façades in metal frames; concrete pavers and drainage channels; and ventilated façades filled with cut sections of cement fibre pipe (fig. 5.13).[68] The large halls alternate high and low roof pitches, and the gap between the two admits light and releases hot air, so that the passive strategy and the silhouette are the same decision.[69] What the roofs are actually made of is reported twice and differently within the same document (corrugated fibre cement panels on an I-beam substructure in one passage, copper on steel in another), and the pipes filling the ventilated façades are cement fibre in one passage and PVC in three others; since corrosion of the roofs is the central conservation problem at the site, and since the pipes are where the plan locates disturbed asbestos, neither discrepancy is cosmetic.[70]

Two elements stand outside the modular system, and both are where the design becomes least repeatable. The auditorium was conceived as an inverted boat: hand-carved glulam beams spanning forty-eight metres, carved in Côte d'Ivoire and

68. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23, 34; Yakubu, "Exploring the International Trade Fair Centre in Dakar," quoting SUNU CICES.
69. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 31, 148.
70. Ibid., 23 (fibre cement roofs on I-beams; cement fibre pipes) and 34, 99, 155 (copper roofs on steel; PVC pipes).

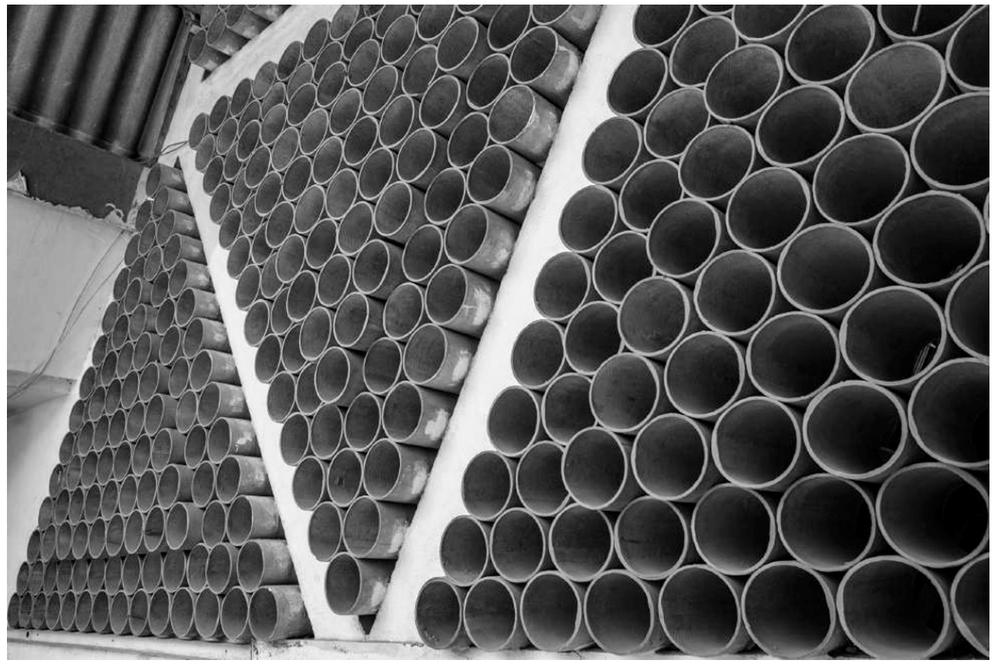


Fig. 5.13. Close-up of a ventilated PVC-pipe façade, CICES, Dakar, 2021. Photo by Elyse Fitte-Duval. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 155.

craned into position, carrying a Corten steel roof over an acoustic ceiling of interlocking wooden struts, the whole set on a base of dark volcanic stone and given a naturally ventilated double skin (fig. 5.14).[71] The seven regional pavilions share a single tall triangular roof whose ridge is offset to open a skylight and draw air, and their façades are the most literal statement of intent on the site: basalt, laterite, river stones, marble, coloured pebbles, seashells and, in one case, animal horns, fixed in a mixture of sand and cement into murals drafted with Senegalese artisans to stand for the region each pavilion represents.[72] The vernacular argument at CICES is made in materials and in site geometry. It is not made in style, and nothing on the site imitates a Sudano-Sahelian form.

The architects also designed the fair's graphic identity, its custom lettering, its colour-coded doors and lighting, and the modular exhibition furniture, which was to be manufactured on site and folded into the fair's own revenue.[73] That last intention was realised only partly and did not survive long.[74] It is worth registering because it marks the outer limit of what the two of them were attempting: not a set of buildings but an operating system for an institution.

71. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 34, 40, 90.
72. Ibid., 37, 149.
73. Ibid., 45, 46.
74. Ibid., 45.



Fig. 5.14. The CICES auditorium under construction, showing the hand-carved glulam beams spanning forty-eight metres, Dakar, c. 1972–73. Personal archives of Jean-Louis Marin. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 40.

5.2.5 / Scholarly Reception: The architectural-historical literature on the complex is one entry. African Modernism carries it across six pages, with a site plan, a site section and eight photographs, under an attribution and a date and nothing else: no notes, no archive, no source for any statement, closing on a judgement that the resourcefulness and formal organisation of the project distil key objectives of independent Senegal, and that its structures and its handling of volume show what it looked like to combine Senghor's symbolic aims with a grasp of vernacular technique and with the abstraction Late Modernism practised.[75] That is appreciation, and it is the whole of the scholarship. Everything else that can be known about this building comes from a conservation instrument. The Conservation Management Plan produced in 2023 by Aziza Chaouni, Mourtada Gueye and Dana Salama under a Getty Keeping It Modern grant is by an order of magnitude the fullest account of any building in this chapter, and it was written to manage the site's future rather than to write its history, a document whose evidentiary base is oral history, the architects' personal archives, and physical survey, assembled, as it says, in the absence of complete archives.[76] Its authors make their own objection to the field, and it is not Elleh's. CICES, they write, has had little recognition in academic literature: two well-known publications in the 1970s, and then African Modernism, which they credit with its photographs and fault for carrying limited text on the Dakar buildings and for leaving many architects cited as anonymous.[77] Where Elleh faulted the volume for what it left outside its scope, a conservation team funded by a foreign foundation faults it for failing to name the authors of what it put inside.

The two 1970s publications the conservation plan names are two of the three that Chapter 4 recovered independently from the Avery Index, and neither has been read in full by this thesis.[78] That the same short list is arrived at twice, from a Toronto-based survey and from a bibliographic index, is the strongest available indication that it is the whole of the contemporary architectural record.

5.2.6 / Reception Over Time: The fair itself prospered: FIDAK was licensed by the World Fair Organisation in 1978 and became one of the best-known fairs on the continent, running biennially until 2011 and annually since, and drawing a public that came for cattle fairs, agricultural fairs, book fairs, bridal fairs and concerts as much as for trade.[79]

Decline arrived through competition and then through the ground itself. A large convention centre with a hotel and auditorium at Diamniadio, further out of the city, drew away the prestigious events (the conservation plan dates it to 2001 in one passage and 2014 in another), after which CICES let its exhibition halls for rice storage and its

75. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192–97.
76. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 13, 66.
77. Ibid., 62, and its nn. 5–6.
78. "Les bâtiments de la Foire Internationale de Dakar," CREE, no. 32 (1974): 60–63; "Foire internationale de Dakar, Sénégal," International Asbestos-Cement Review 20, no. 3 (July 1975): 30–33; both listed in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 62 n. 5, and recovered independently via the Avery Index. See also "Centre international d'échanges de Dakar," Architecture française 36, no. 390 (April 1975): 92–97.
79. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 150.

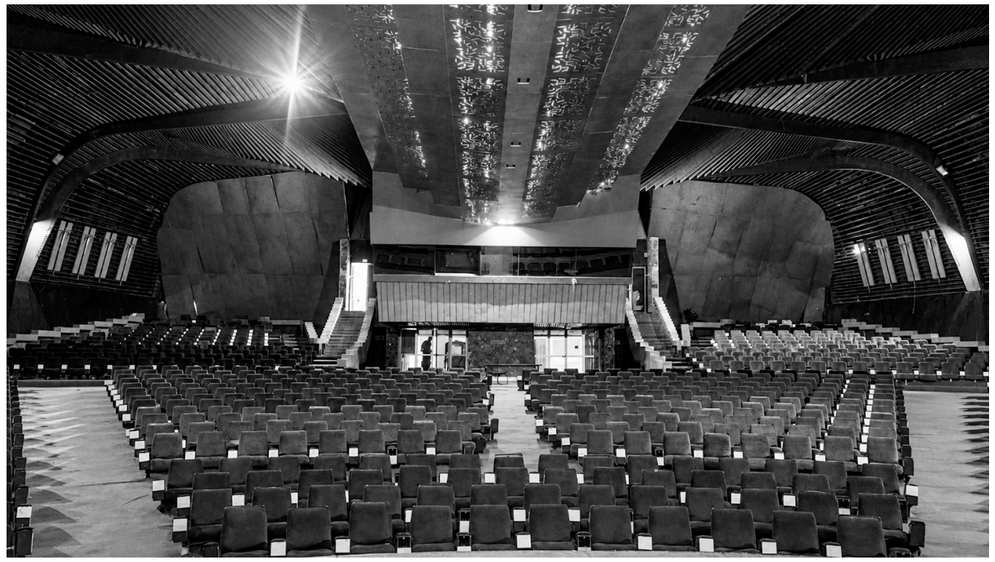


Fig. 5.15. Interior of the CICES auditorium showing the gold central top element installed in the 2002 rehabilitation and the painted timber struts of the original ceiling, Dakar, 2022. Photo by Seyni Ba. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 142. Resolution enhanced with AI.

technical pavilion to a printing house and to storage companies.[80] In 2002, before a NEPAD conference, the complex was rehabilitated under the architect Atepa Goudiaby: the original ceremonial entrance plaza was demolished and replaced, the administration and innovation centre façades were tiled and painted white and red, the auditorium's Corten roof was replaced with corrugated metal, the sculptural structure of its main façade was truncated, its stage was extended and sixty-six seats removed, and the central portion of its interlocking timber ceiling was cut away to receive a gold-coloured box (fig. 5.15).[81] The conservation plan's verdict is that these works were not a rehabilitation but "a violation of Senghor's, Lamoureux's and Marin's legacy."[82] In 2007 President Abdoulaye Wade traded real estate inside the fair for political support; the SICAP-Foire housing quarter went up quickly, and by 2010 the land between the internal circulation road and the fence to the east, north and west had been filled with mid-rise blocks, taking with it the visitors' car park, the transport interchange, the customs area and the original entrance gate. Without that gate the complex is, in the conservation plan's word, quasi-invisible from the highway.[83]

Against this the last decade has been one of recognition without protection. The Getty grant of 2020 brought the SUNU CICES partnership, a student workshop in February 2020, and co-design sessions with residents of the CICES Foire; Laurence Bonvin and Cheikh Ndiaye's film Ghost Fair Trade premiered at Visions du Réel in 2022; the site has become a backdrop for photography, fashion and graduations.[84] It

80. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 49 (Diamniadio opened 2014) and 62 (built 2001).
81. Ibid., 48, 90–91.
82. Ibid., 48.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid., 13, 62, 67.

is not listed. Post-1960 buildings make up 8% of the Dakar heritage register against at least 85% for colonial fabric, and CICES sits on a tentative list only, its owning ministry supportive but, by its own admission, without guidance.[85]

5.2.7 / Present Condition: Because a conservation team surveyed it element by element, the present condition of this building is documented more thoroughly than anything else in this chapter, and the record divides sharply in two. The site has been damaged mainly through its infrastructure and its landscape. When urban growth destroyed the perimeter green belt in the 1990s, the steel structure and the roofs began corroding within a few years, and roof damage is now general across the complex.[86] The underground cooling system, which drew air through a buried network from a central plant behind the auditorium, broke down in 2005 and was never repaired; individual air-conditioning units were bolted to the façades instead, their fixing holes admitting water, their condensate streaking the finishes they were drilled into.[87] Asbestos is present and disturbed in the roofs of the regional pavilions and in the ventilated façades, and the conservation team photographed the resulting damage pavilion by pavilion (fig. 5.16).[88] Exposed concrete has been painted, clerestory openings between the roof pitches blocked, trapezoidal doors dented by vehicles driven into the halls and the service boxes at the column bases damaged with them; concrete is spalling and columns buckling at the Tertiary Pavilion; vegetation is cracking paving and structure; an electrical fire in the Green Pavilion, dated by the plan to December 2019 in one passage and December 2015 in another, left damage still visible after repair.[89] Informal parking has replaced the car parks that were sold, damaging the paving and blocking the sight lines the composition was built on.[90] The original sixty-hectare site has been reduced by roughly two-thirds, to 19.5 hectares (fig. 5.17).[91]

The buildings themselves have not gone the same way. The conservation plan's assessment is that almost all of the original structures survive relatively unscathed, that the detailing remains in place, and that original furniture and appliances are still present throughout, the exceptions being the entrance gate, the ticket booths beside the visitors' car park, some service pavilions, the bus shelter and parts of the artisans' village (that last largely annexed behind block walls by a utility company).[92] What has been lost at CICES is the ground between the buildings, the systems under it and the boundary around it, which is to say every part of the design that was not a building. The complex is, on its surveyors' own account, remarkably intact and materially failing at the same time.

85. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 62.
86. Ibid., 43.
87. Ibid., 49, 81.
88. Ibid., 107, 138.
89. Ibid., 60, 81, 98–99, 138–39.
90. Ibid., 82, 138.
91. Ibid., 61.
92. Ibid., 12, 61, 122.

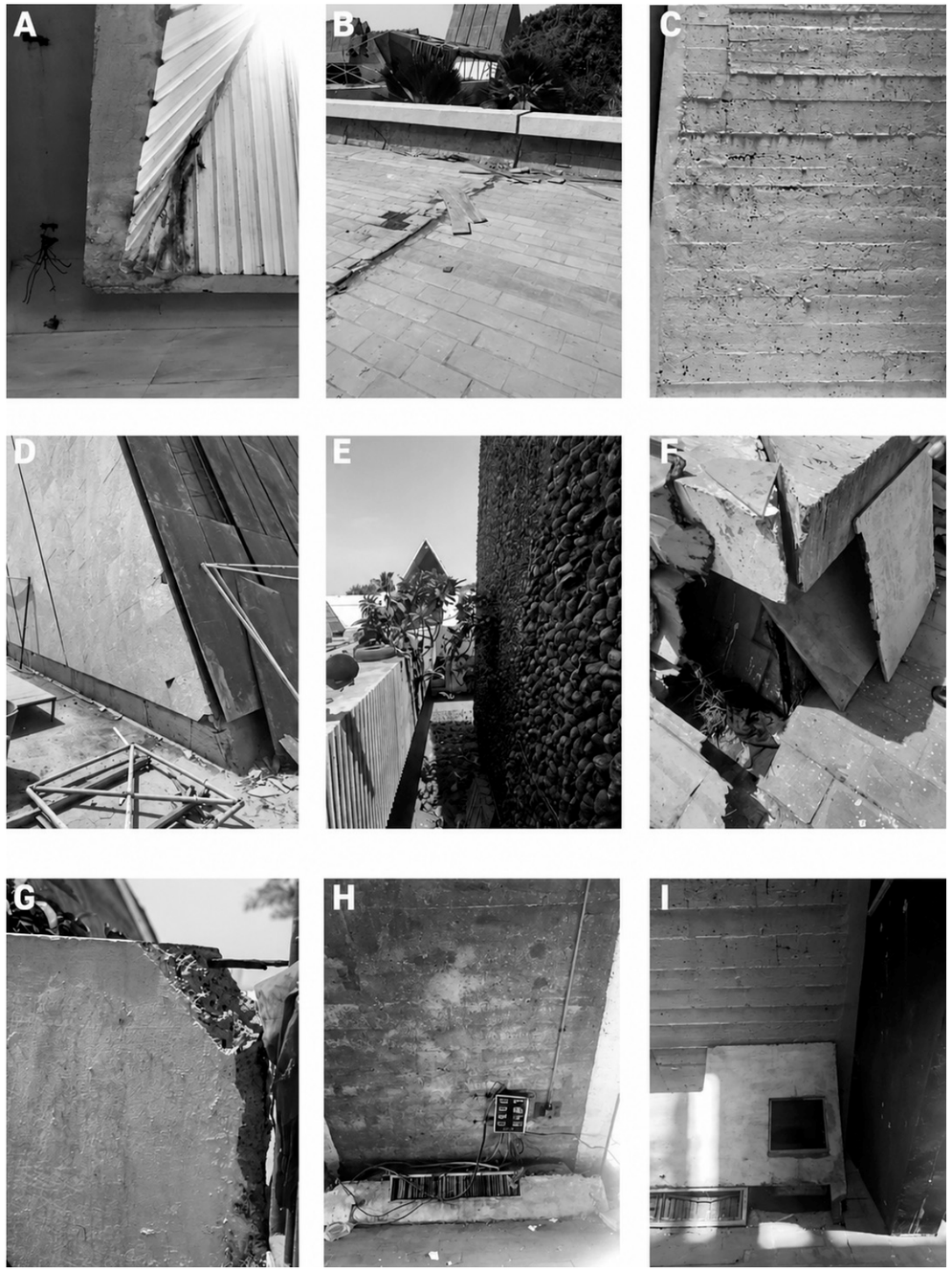


Fig. 5.16. A selection of deficiencies recorded on the regional pavilions, CICES, Dakar. Aziza Chaouni Projects, 2021. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 107. Resolution enhanced with AI.

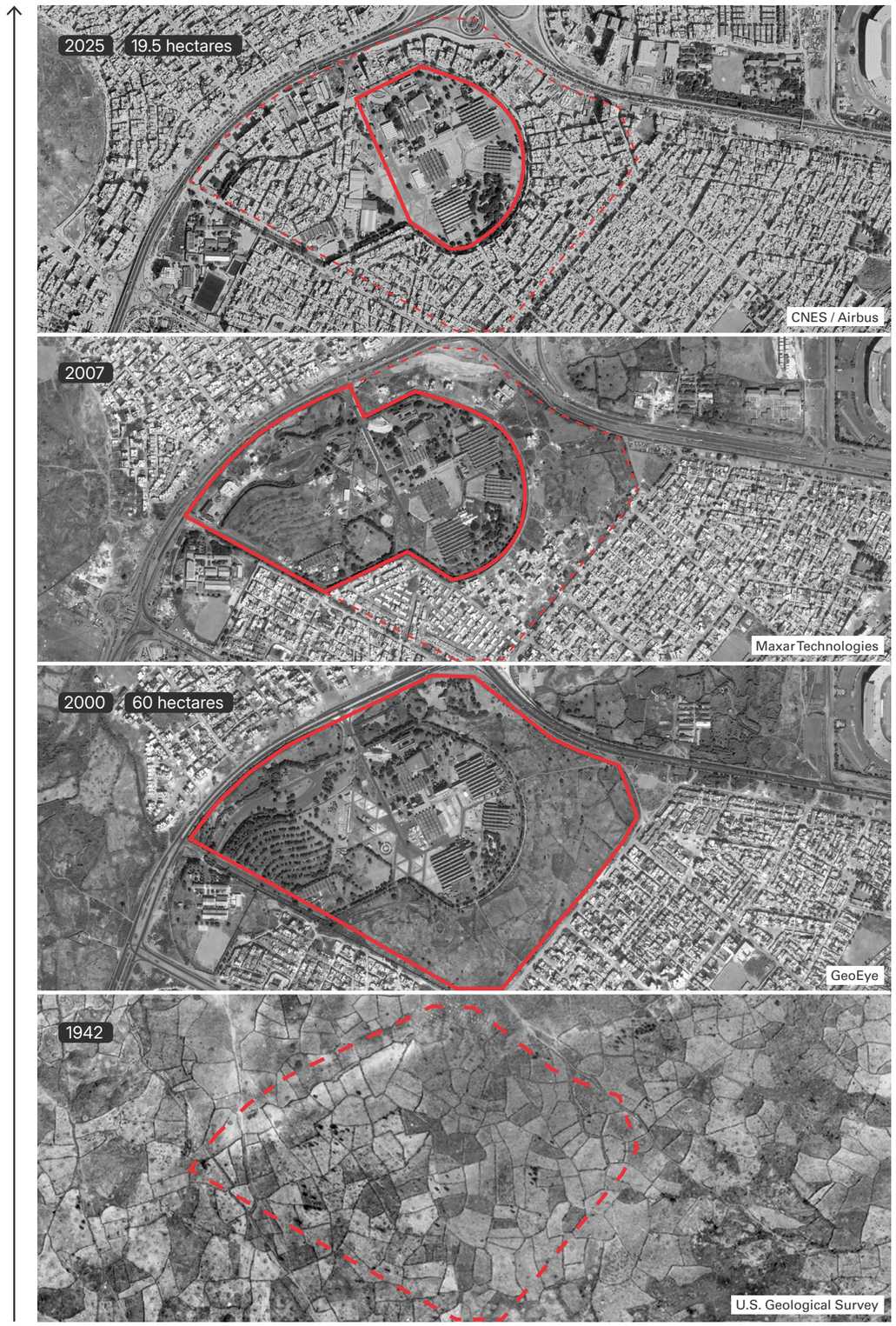


Fig. 5.17. FIDAK / CICES location over time; Map produced by author, using Google Earth.



Fig. 5.18. Hôtel Indépendance, Dakar. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 234.

3 /HÔTEL INDÉPENDANCE, 1973–1977

A Doctrine Named at the Least Official Address

5.3.1 / Site, Commission, and Support: The last of the three was not commissioned by the state at all. In 1974 Ido Ricchetti and Jean-Luc Defait, president of the Senegalese national lottery, agreed with Senghor to finance, build and operate a large hotel in Dakar between them, and it was they, not a ministry, who instructed Thierry Melot to study its insertion into the city and to carry out the design.[93] The parcel was at the corner of the Place de l'Indépendance (the former Place Protêt, renamed in 1961) and the avenue Pompidou, the cardo and decumanus of the colonial capital as laid out by a Breton colonial administrator on a site of Lébou pencs behind the growing port.[94] The land belonged to Defait's wife, who ran on it the Clairafrique bookshop, the only substantial bookshop in Dakar and a pillar of French cultural life; the adjoining plot, occupied by the Chamber of Commerce, belonged to someone else.[95]

Out of that ownership pattern came the whole episode. A programme of a hundred and twenty rooms would not fit on the Clairafrique plot, and the promoters had to be persuaded to buy the neighbouring parcel, which raised the cost; even then the site was too tight for the programme at the permitted height.[96] The square was governed by a uniform and, in Melot's word, corseted architectural regulation drawn up by Michel Chesneau and Jean Vérola, marked by Perret and tempered with the modern movement, which had already produced the emphatically horizontal buildings Roger-Henri Expert put up there in the 1950s.[97] The question Melot set himself was whether to continue in that regulation and leave Dakar indistinguishable from Perret's Le Havre. Building above the permitted height required a derogation, and a derogation required the project to go before the Conseil national de l'urbanisme. The private commission therefore acquired a public hearing, and it acquired it not on grounds of national representation but on grounds of a plot ratio.

When the building was finished is not agreed by any two sources that state it. The captions Melot supplied to his own interview give a design phase of 1973–74 and construction of 1975–77; the editorial biography appended to that same interview dates the hotel to 1976; African Modernism and the SOS Brutalism database both give 1973–1978.[98] Melot's captions are followed here, as the account nearest the drawings and published in a peer-reviewed venue, but the disagreement is not tidied away, and it is compounded by his own narrative, which places the promoters' agreement with Senghor in 1974, a year after the design he dates to 1973 had begun.[99]

93. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 8, and n. 26.
94. Ibid., 8, and n. 27.
95. Ibid., 8.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid.
98. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," figs. 3–4 (projet 1973–1974, réalisation 1975–1977); editorial bio. of Melot, in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 31 (1976); Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 230 (1973–1978); SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance" (1973–1978).
99. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 8, cf. figs. 3–4.

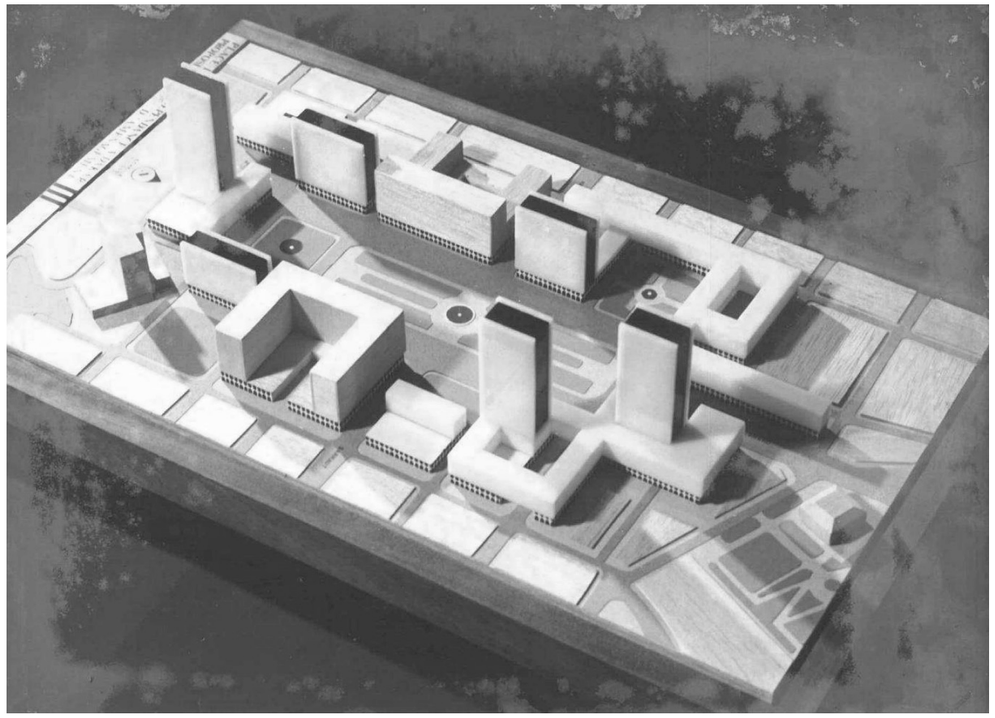


Fig. 5.19. Model of the Place de l'Indépendance approved by the Conseil national de l'urbanisme, Dakar, 1974. Model and photograph: Thierry Melot. Archives Andrée Diop Depret. Reproduced in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 5.

5.3.2 / Authorship and Appointment: The office was BEHC Sénégal, and how it should be credited was contested while the building was going up. Melot had insisted on a three-name signature, Chomette–Depret–Melot, and records that this became the first point of dispute between himself and Henri Chomette, who found it difficult to sign buildings jointly and who, in Melot's reading, applied the principles of brand-building to the architect's profession; Chomette passed through Dakar for a few days at a time, toured sites with a minister or two, checked the accounts and left, with no requirement that he approve the design and no intervention in it.[100] The recovery literature has since decided the question in Chomette's favour and in two different ways. African Modernism heads the entry "BEHC Henri Chomette with R. Depret and T. Melot," opens by calling the building Henri Chomette's hotel tower, and in the sentence that describes the design act names Chomette and Depret and omits Melot altogether; the SOS Brutalism database, drawing on the same author's catalogue text, heads its entry with all three names in full.[101] A complaint about hierarchy made by the youngest partner in 2026 is corroborated by the way the literature of 2015 and 2017 assigns the credit.

100. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 7.
101. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 230, 232; SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance," excerpting Herz in SOS Brutalism: A Global Survey (Zurich: Park Books, 2017).

5.3.2 / Programme and Symbolic Intent: What Melot says he was doing with a commercial hotel is more ambitious than the brief. He describes an attempt to realise the Senghorian cultural project: to decolonise minds without breaking anything, open horizons, embody an aesthetic and cultural renewal and set it in a humanist, métissé and universalist continuity, respecting the inheritance while committing to a different future.[102] Acting on that, he designed not the hotel but the square. The study model was made of black and white plexiglass: along the cardo, the great axis of symmetry, he set vertical towers offset and asymmetrical at the north and south ends, accompanied them with lower parallel volumes on the eastern and western flanks taking in the Clairafrique plot and its neighbour, and assigned black to the north and south faces, which catch the light, and white to the east–west flanks, which act as solar shields (fig. 5.19).[103] It was at the presentation of that model to the Conseil national de l'urbanisme that Senghor took the floor and named parallélisme asymétrique the doctrine of the Senegalese architecture he dreamed of (the parallelism between two cultures and two civilisations, the black and the white), proposing the project's approval in the same breath.[104] The plates had been a didactic device. Melot's own verdict on what they became is that the phrase served to talk a lay committee into a composition and a derogation it would not otherwise have granted.[105] Herz's reading of the finished building, arrived at independently, converges on the same oddity from the other side: the hotel applies the lessons of the West African vernacular and the purposeful ambiguities of the asymmetric parallelism planning policy to a building type that had seemingly little symbolic significance, a peripheral typology within the language by which the state expressed itself.[106]

102. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 10.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid., 11, and fig. 5.
105. Ibid., 11.
106. SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance," excerpting Herz, SOS Brutalism: A Global Survey; Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232.



Fig. 5.20. Hôtel Indépendance, Dakar: perspective of the project seen from the Place de l'Indépendance. Drawing: Thierry Melot. Archives Andrée Diop Depret. Reproduced in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 4.

5.3.4 / Formal Language, Materials, and Construction: The tower rises fourteen floors of rooms above a ground-level arcade to a rooftop bar and restaurant (fig. 5.20), with a slim fabric-lined lobby leading to a first-floor restaurant balcony and a pool at the deep end of the plan.[107] The façade is the building. Every window sits beneath a deep projecting hood, and the hoods overlap down the elevation so that the wall reads as one scaled surface; they perform as brise-soleil against the heat coming off the Sahel and the winds off the Atlantic, and they are drawn in Melot's own documents as climatic brise-soleil to the east and west elevations, which is to say as the white solar shields of the plexiglass model built in concrete (fig. 5.21, fig. 5.22).[108] Herz's judgement is that the geometric confidence of the volume exceeds its function, and that what is being sculpted is a surface addressed to the ceremonial space of the city, weightier and more clearly substantial than the colonial neighbours and than the brise-soleil of the 1950s ministries occupying the rest of the square's perimeter.[109] At street level the arcade wraps the building and runs west into the depth of the block, its sheltering space shaped by the circular rhythm of external columns expressed as a set of rings and set, in Herz's description, like gemstones (fig. 5.23).[110] Inside, the bar ceiling was made of dark interlocking timber slats.[111] Beyond this the sources are silent: no account available here states the structural system, the concrete specification or the fabrication of the shading elements, and the absence matters more for this building than for the other two, because the elements about which nothing technical is recorded are precisely the elements that were later removed.

107. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232.
108. Ibid., 232; Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 3.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.

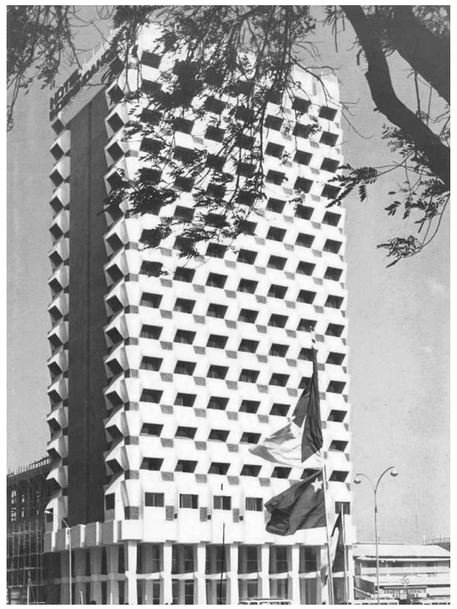


Fig. 5.21. Hôtel Indépendance, Dakar (project 1973–74, construction 1975–77), BEHC Sénégal, Thierry Melot, Roland Depret, Henri Chomette: east–west climatic brise-soleil façades. Archives Andrée Diop Depret. Reproduced in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 3.



Fig. 5.22. Hôtel Indépendance, Dakar: façade detail showing the hooded shading elements over each window. Photo © Iwan Baan. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 233. Resolution enhanced with AI.

What can be said is that the material is concrete, and Herz says so of the part he describes most closely: the ring-form columns of the arcade, whose opulence, in his account, is expressed in concrete and fabricated as a robust receptacle for the international life of the city. Whether the window hoods were cast in place or precast, and to what specification, no source records, and the analysis defaults once more to what was standard. Allais describes the buildings Senghor commissioned under the doctrine of 1974 as sculptural forms with unfinished interiors, exploiting the monumental potential of béton brut through a period of economic austerity, and the fairground built in the same decade used precast concrete components with the services cast into them.[112] A raw or lightly finished cast concrete, repeated across

112. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Cadres et décrets," n. 72; Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23, 34.

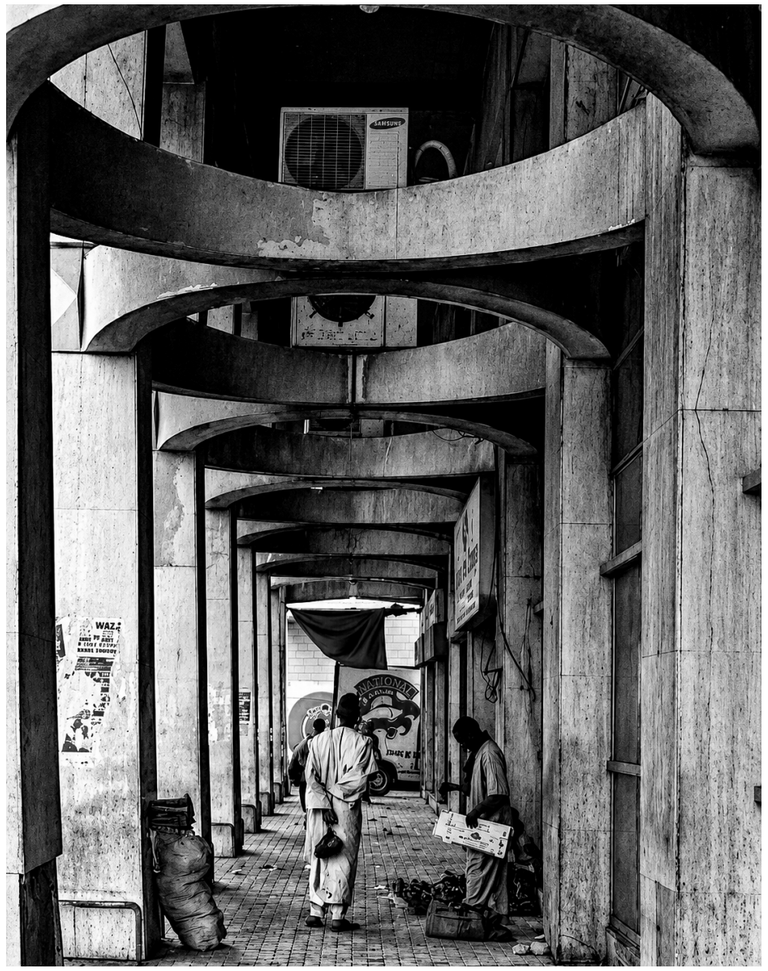


Fig. 5.23. Hôtel Indépendance, Dakar: the external arcade at ground level, its ring-form columns extending west into the block. Photo © Iwan Baan. Reproduced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232. Resolution enhanced with AI.

fourteen identical floors, is the reasonable inference here. The distinction matters for what follows: a hood deep enough to shade a window is a piece of structure and not a cladding, and its removal is a structural operation rather than a cosmetic one.

5.3.5 / Scholarly Reception: The scholarly literature on the Hôtel Indépendance does not exist. There is no article, no chapter and no monograph devoted to it. What stands in place of that is an entry in African Modernism whose text occupies a single page, accompanied by six photographs; a SOS Brutalism database record whose descriptive text is an excerpt from Manuel Herz's essay in the SOS Brutalism catalogue of 2017, which is to say the same author a second time; one clause in Nari Shelekpayev's review of African Modernism in Urban History, noting the building's reduction to hosting a Chinese eatery; one sentence from Carole Diop in an interview

about heritage in Dakar; and the testimony of the architect.[113] Two of those five items are by one writer, and two more are remarks made in passing while their authors were discussing something else. Chapter 3 argued that the writing of this period is late, compiled and unevenly distributed by domain. This building is where that finding stops being a general characterisation and becomes a working constraint: everything said above about its form comes from one author, and everything said about its origin comes from one participant.

5.3.6 / Reception Over Time: Its reception nevertheless has a shape, and the shape is a descent. Herz reads it as exemplary of the face the Senegalese state turned to the world in the 1970s (grand, monumental, materially substantial), put up when a decade of self-government and a cultural programme had secured Dakar's global standing, and preceding by ten years the mechanically serviced glazed towers that became the conventional representation of commercial success in African cities.[114] He also registers what the building came to stand for after the state stopped needing it to stand for anything: the hotel as the address of DakarArt, the gateway to the Saint-Louis jazz festival and the Paris–Dakar rally, which is a career in international tourism rather than in national representation.[115] By the time African Modernism went to press the building was closed and, in the entry's own words, perhaps never to reopen, its interior still intact, its pool empty; Shelekpayev, reviewing that volume, recorded it as reduced to a Chinese restaurant.[116] It then stood empty for years.[117] What survives of it in Senegalese memory is not doctrinal. Carole Diop, asked in 2023 what heritage is for, answered with the Hôtel Indépendance and her own school days, and called the thing at stake urban memory, a form of collective memory that the next generation will not have.[118] Melot, looking back across fifty years in 2026, listed the buildings of his that have gone under the demolishers' picks and named this one first.[119] No contemporary architectural periodical coverage of the building has been found.

113. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 230–34; SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance"; Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 354; Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar"; Berankova and Melot, "Entretien."
114. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232.
115. Ibid.
116. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232; Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 354.
117. SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance."
118. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar."
119. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 26.



Fig. 5.24. Hôtel Indépendance location over time; Map produced by author, using Google Earth.

5.3.7 / Present Condition: Its present condition is a matter of two accounts that do not agree and neither of which is a survey. Carole Diop states that the hotel's emblematic façade was demolished in 2018, and she places it in a sequence with the Sandaga market and with the former Department of Urban Planning that had housed the BEHC itself.[120] The SOS Brutalism database dates the work from 2019 and calls it a renovation, but describes an operation of the same magnitude: the geometric shading elements of the original façade were completely removed, and the remaining skeleton of the building was given a new envelope of largely smooth grey cladding with a horizontal metal grid across the whole surface, leaving it unrecognisable.[121] Since then it has operated again as a hotel under the same name, though the database records it as apparently closed once more and states plainly that more is not known; at a status review on 2 December 2024 it remained classified as endangered.[122] No photograph of the building in its present state has been available to this thesis, and none of the sources consulted has inspected it (fig. 5.24). The two disagreements bracket the building at both ends: the record cannot say within five years when it was completed, and cannot say within a year when its façade came off or whether what happened to it should be called a renovation or a demolition. What is not in dispute is that the shading elements carrying whatever argument the façade was making are gone, and the structure that carried them is standing.

Why they were removed is not recorded anywhere this thesis has been able to reach. No architect is named for the work, no client statement was published, and the architectural press carried nothing. What can be reconstructed is commercial rather than architectural. The hotel had stood empty for years; by May 2021 the Senegalese business press was reporting the restored building as the future Dakar seat of Bridge Bank, the bank of the businessman Yérim Sow, which was taking the ground floor.[123] The operation turned a derelict hotel on the principal square into a mixed commercial building with a bank at street level, and the envelope followed the reprogramming. No published reason for the change survives, and none is required by the evidence beyond that.

Nothing found here indicates a political intention, and none is asserted. The politics of the episode lie in what was absent rather than in what was decided. The building is not listed; post-1960 fabric accounts for 8% of the Dakar heritage register against at least 85% for colonial construction; and Diop places this façade in a sequence with the Sandaga market and the former Department of Urban Planning that had housed the BEHC itself.[124] No instrument existed that would have required anyone to argue for keeping it.

Whether what was removed carried an identity is a question the categories of this chapter can answer, and the answer this thesis proposes is that it did. The hoods

120. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar."
121. SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance."
122. Ibid., status review of 2 December 2024.
123. "Bridge Bank à Dakar: l'hôtel Indépendance comme siège," Challenges Économiques, 31 May 2021, https://challengeseconomiques.com/.
124. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 62; Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar."

were one material worked into a single continuous figure across an entire elevation, performing a climatic task and stating a formal position at the same time: the modern proposition that a building's expression should come out of what it has to do in its own climate. That elevation was also the only public argument this commission ever made, and it was the object in front of which the doctrine of parallélisme asymétrique was named. What replaced it is not a rival argument. Smooth grey cladding under a horizontal metal grid could be applied to any frame in any city and would say the same thing in each, which is to say nothing; and by exchanging a shading system for a surface treatment it moves the building's thermal defence from its geometry into its plant. On this reading the removal was not the loss of a decoration but the loss of the building's only claim to mean something, effected without anyone having to decide that it should be lost. Whether it was in fact decided, or merely followed from a lease, the record does not say.

/ BRIDGE TO CHAPTER 6

Twenty-one positions have now been filled from a documentary base that is late, uneven and in part held privately, and they have been filled to unequal depths. The museum is best served on how it was decided and worst on how it was made; the fairground is documented element by element in its present condition and hardly at all in the scholarship; the hotel rests on one author writing twice and one participant remembering fifty years afterwards. Those inequalities are not defects in the reconstruction. They are the first thing the comparison has to account for, because a difference between two buildings and a difference between two archives look identical until they are told apart.

Nothing has yet been set against anything. That is the work of the next chapter, and it cannot be done with these three alone, because a sample chosen for symbolic charge, documentary sufficiency and typological spread is by construction unable to answer three questions that bear directly on the thesis. All three of these buildings were made to be seen, so none of them can show what the same practitioners did when display was not the point; ENAM - École nationale d'administration et de magistrature, built by the office that designed the hotel, turns inward behind a defensively walled parti and supplies exactly that. All three were built, so none of them can show what happened where execution never arrived to test the doctrine against; the Musée des civilisations noires, developed with Pedro Ramírez Vázquez and abandoned in 1981, is the commission Senghor treated as the summation of his cultural programme and it was never constructed. And all three, together with the school of administration, were designed by French architects, so none of them can be asked whether the doctrine survived transfer to Senegalese authorship at all. Here the missing term is not a building but an institution. The École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme, founded in 1973 to produce architects who would be Senegalese by formation and not only by nationality, saw its first cohort complete the curriculum in 1979, one year before this study closes; the earliest Senegalese architect to appear anywhere in this record, Pierre Goudiaby Atepa, took his diploma in Massachusetts in 1973 and was therefore trained abroad like the generation before him. Whether the doctrine survived transfer to Senegalese authorship is thus a question that has an answer at the level of the profession before it can have one at the level of any single work: across the entire span in which the doctrine was formulated, named and legislated, the architects it was meant to produce were still in training.[125]

With the three buildings reconstructed and the three reference points named, the comparison can begin.

125. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," secs. "History and structure of the school" and "Learning from, and improving, the vernacular condition"; the first cohort's graduation was reported in "École nationale d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme, La première promotion fêtée," Le Soleil, 14–15 July 1979, reproduced in the same source.

	CATEGORY	Musée dynamique	FIDAK / CICES	Hôtel Indépendance
1.	**Site, commission, support**	Proposal by UNESCO consultant accepted within days; no competition; financier disputed	Advertised international competition; brief never located; three dates given for its launch	Private promoters and presidency; known only through the architect
2.	**Authorship and appointment**	Chesneau and Vérola, in Dakar since 1947	Lamoureux and Marin; no office, no built work, won from Paris	Contested while under construction: Chomette–Depret–Melot
3.	**Programme and symbolic intent**	Museum created by decree as an organ of the state	Instrument of exchange, specified in detail	Commercial hotel; the doctrine was named in front of it
4.	**Form, materials, construction**	Peristyle described; no structural system, walls or finishes stated	Frame, precast columns, steel substructure surveyed; roofing given twice, differently	Shading hoods described; no structural system stated
5.	**Scholarly reception**	Four studies since 2016; no entry in African Modernism	One appreciative entry; everything else from a conservation plan	One author writing twice; two remarks in passing
6.	**Reception over time**	Peaked at the 1966 opening and never regained it	The fair prospered; the building was altered in 2002	Almost no record between 1977 and 2018
7.	**Present condition**	One visit by two scholars, November 2016; photography refused	Surveyed element by element, 2021	Façade removed 2018 or 2019; two accounts, neither a survey

	CATEGORY	ENAM	Musée des civilisations noires
1.	**Site, commission, support**	Same office as the hotel; direct commission, no competition recorded	Idea conceived by Senghor, 1974; studies funded by UNESCO; never built
2.	**Authorship and appointment**	BEHC Sénégal	Ramírez Vázquez chosen through UNESCO; Melot designated local partner, 1975
3.	**Programme and symbolic intent**	Enclosed school; no public audience	Programme written with Jean Gabus; Senghor's cultural testament
4.	**Form, materials, construction**	Materials only: Rufisque stone, laterite, Saloum reeds	Plan and programme known; marble cladding never resolved; nothing built
5.	**Scholarly reception**	One interview; one entry in African Modernism	One interview; the plan shown at the Quai-Branly, 2023
6.	**Reception over time**	Not stated in any consulted source	Not applicable — never built
7.	**Present condition**	Not surveyed	Not applicable — never built

Fig. 6.1. The seven categories of Chapter 5 applied to the three case studies and the three comparators, showing what the record could and could not supply in each. The pattern is one of archives rather than of buildings: the museum is best served on how it was decided, the fairground on how it was made and how it stands, the hotel on neither, and the two unbuilt or unsurveyed comparators on neither. Table produced by author.

CHAPTER 6

Comparative Analysis

Figure 4.5 set a condition on this chapter. Before any difference between the three buildings is credited to the architecture, the difference between the three archives has to be accounted for. The pattern fits in a sentence: the museum is documented on how it was decided and hardly at all on how it was made; the fairground is documented element by element in its fabric and hardly at all in the scholarship; the hotel is documented on neither (fig. 6.1).

The causes are institutional. Four substantial studies of the museum have appeared since 2016, by festival historians, art historians and one architectural historian;[1] what they wanted was its politics, and they got them. Nobody asked what the walls were made of. The fairground was surveyed room by room in 2021 by a conservation team under a Getty grant, on a site the architectural literature had covered in a single appreciative entry.[2] The hotel had neither a curator nor a conservator, and what stands in place of a literature is one author writing twice, one participant remembering at fifty years' distance, and two remarks made in passing.[3]

These are three different reasons for a document to exist, and none is that the building mattered in 1966, 1974 or 1977. The museum was written up when African modernism became a subject for postcolonial art history; the fairground when a foreign foundation decided it was worth conserving; the hotel when a French architect reached the age at which architects are interviewed. Documentation here tracks later institutional adoption, and a comparison that reads density as importance will get the period backwards.

One rule follows. Where the three archives can be compared only at a point on which one of them is silent, the silence is reported and the comparison is not made.

1 /THE CHRONOLOGY PROBLEM

Set the doctrine's dates against the designs' and the sequence comes apart. The Musée dynamique was decided in 1963, within days of Jean Gabus proposing it, and handed to its curators in February 1966.[4] The FIDAK competition was launched in 1969 on the conservation plan's account of the site's history, and the fairground

1. Vincent, "The Real Heart of the Festival," in Murphy, ed., The First World Festival of Negro Arts, 45–63; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique"; Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads"; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre." Allais is the architectural historian of the four; Vincent's chapter is known to this thesis bibliographically only.
2. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 13, 62, 66; survey photographs throughout are dated 2021. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192–97.
3. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 230–34; SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance," excerpting Herz, SOS Brutalism: A Global Survey (2017); Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 354; Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar"; Berankova and Melot, "Entretien."
4. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 87.

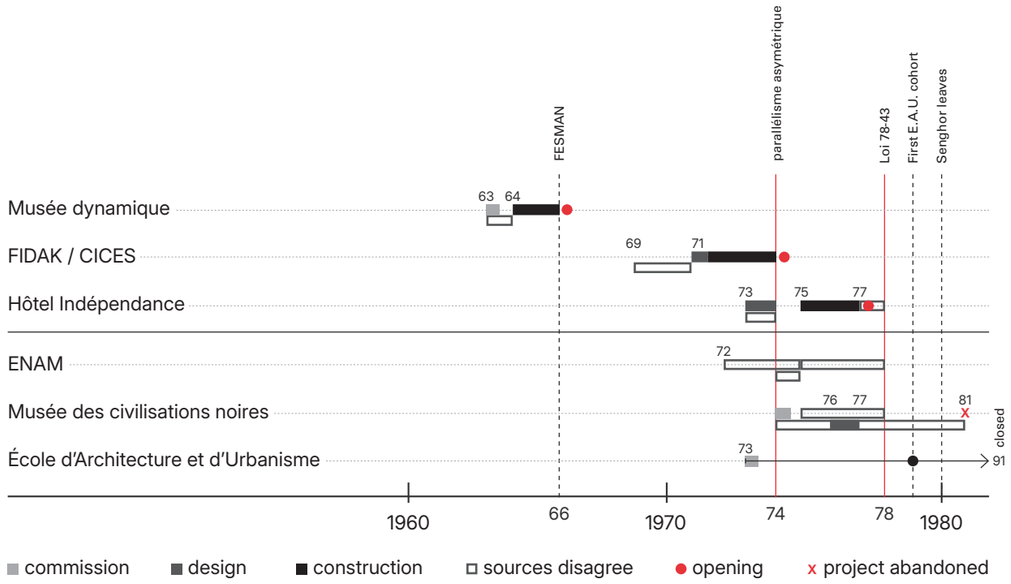


Fig. 6.2. Commission, design and construction of the three case studies and the three comparators, set against the doctrinal events of 1974 and 1978. Open outlines mark spans on which the sources disagree; ENAM and the Musée des civilisations noires are given entirely in outline, since every date available for them is contested inside a single source. The design of all three case studies was complete before the doctrine was named, the Hôtel Indépendance by the narrowest margin: its model was on the table at the meeting where Senghor named it. Drawn by author from the sources cited in this chapter.

opened in 1974.[5] The Hôtel Indépendance was designed in 1973–74.[6] Senghor named parallélisme asymétrique in 1974, at the meeting of the Conseil national de l'urbanisme convened to authorise that hotel, standing in front of a study model already made.[7] Loi 78-43 was enacted on 6 July 1978, by which date all three buildings were finished (fig. 6.2).[8]

In no case did the doctrine precede the design. It was not applied to a design; it was named in front of one.

That claim has to survive the dispute Chapter 2 left open, and it survives on either side of it. Abdou Sylla, drawing on conversations with Senghor, treats asymmetrical parallelism as a category already present in the traditional statuette, where a central axis appears to divide the figure into halves that are never in fact identical.[9] Melot, who was in the room, calls the phrase an improvisation, a clever remark addressed to lay decision-makers in order to justify a composition and a derogation.[10] The two accounts are hostile to each other and they converge here. On Sylla's, the term described sculpture, and no surviving document places it in front of Chesneau, Vérola,

5. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 18.
6. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," figs. 3–4 ("projet 1973–1974, réalisation 1975–1977").
7. Ibid., 11, and fig. 5.
8. Loi n° 78-43 du 6 juillet 1978, portant orientation de l'architecture sénégalaise; adopted by the Assemblée nationale on 19 June 1978 and promulgated 6 July 1978.
9. Sylla, "Parallélisme asymétrique," quoted in Ndiaye, "Pluralité et singularité," 173.
10. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11.

Lamoureux, Marin or Melot as an instruction to build. On Melot's, it did not exist as an architectural doctrine at all until he presented his model. Neither produces a document earlier than 1974, and Sylla's own published statement of the category dates from 1987.[11] Chapter 4 undertook to build findings where independent accounts meet. This is one.

A limit on how hard this can be pushed, stated here and not buried in a note. The FIDAK competition brief of 1969 has never been located; the conservation plan reports what it asked for without quoting it, and the sources give three different years for the competition's opening.[12] Every negative in this chapter is therefore a negative about the record. No surviving document shows a doctrinal instruction attached to any of these designs. One instruction is remembered, and Section 4 comes to it, but it is undated, addressed to a room, and tied to no drawing. That is not the same as saying nothing was given, and the difference weighs most exactly where the evidence is thinnest.

Two documents from the doctrine's own paperwork suggest that it was assembled late and by more than one hand. The first is Melot's. He claims to have drafted the principal articles of the 1978 law as vice-president of the Ordre des architectes du Sénégal, and says the reference to asymmetrical parallelism was added by the presidency.[13] His article of 1977, commissioned by Senghor for Éthiopiques to lay the theoretical foundations of a Senegalese architecture, sets traditional African architecture aside as a model on the ground that it belongs irreversibly to a closed past, and warns that copying the forms of Sudano-Sahelian mosque architecture without precaution produces results later criticism will judge severely as folkloric pastiche.[14] Article 3 of the law he says he drafted directs architectural creation to take its inspiration principally from the values of Negro-African, and singularly Sudano-Sahelian, civilisation.[15] The man who says he wrote the law had disagreed in print, the year before, with the clause that gives the law its reputation. The memorandum anticipates the objection, insisting that articles 3 and 4 give a general orientation and impose no particular style. That defence weakens the clause without saving the sequence: whether article 3 mandates a manner or merely commends a source, it was written in 1978 about buildings finished by 1977.

The second document is the law's own explanatory memorandum, which does not match the text it introduces. It assigns to article 6 the obligation to employ an architect, which is in article 5, and cites articles 8 and 9 for architectural assistance, which is article 7, in a law of seven articles. The mismatch is not only in the numbering. The memorandum states that an architect is compulsory for modifications to military

11. Sylla, "Le parallélisme asymétrique dans l'art africain," Éthiopiques, nos. 46–47 (1987).
12. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 18 (competition launched 1969) and 12 (1970); Yakubu, "Exploring the International Trade Fair Centre in Dakar" (1971). No text of the competition brief has been located.
13. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 12.
14. Melot, "Les Filiations d'une architecture sénégalaise," Éthiopiques, no. 9 (1977), secs. "Le fait plastique nègre" and "L'influence de l'Islam." Consulted in the Internet Archive capture of ethiopiques.refer.sn dated 3 March 2016; the online text carries no pagination and is cited here by section.
15. Loi n° 78-43, art. 3.

construction and for works whose cost does not exceed a threshold to be fixed by decree; article 5 as enacted allows military works to seek a derogation, and makes an architect optional below that threshold.[16] On the single clause that regulates the profession, the memorandum describes a law that was not passed. It was written against an earlier draft, which is consistent with Melot's account of a late insertion by the presidency without establishing it.

What follows for the thesis should be said plainly. The implied chain of doctrine, then commission, then form loses its first link. Patronage and event produced the commissions: a festival, a fair, a plot ratio. The appointment channel and the construction economy produced the forms, and the doctrine supplied a name afterwards, which the law of 1978 turned into procedure. Architecture in Senghor's Dakar was instrumentalised, and the thesis title holds. What changes is the instrument.

2 /FOUR CHANNELS, ONE NETWORK

Category 2, read across the sample, produces four ways of getting a building designed, and on the client's side they have almost nothing in common.

The museum was allocated by acceptance of a foreign consultant's own proposal. Gabus arrived in 1963 as UNESCO's expert, argued against the state's plan to use IFAN, was agreed with inside a few days, and turned to Chesneau directly; no competition was held.[17] The fairground was allocated by international competition, and the jury gave it to two men with no office, no built work and no access to the president.[18] The hotel was allocated through a resident practice standing close to the presidency: Melot was received by Senghor on 1 March 1971 on a recommendation from teachers at the university, and from that April was telephoned every four to six weeks for his opinion on whatever was in hand.[19] The fourth channel Chapter 5 touched without generalising from it. Melot's first commission in Senegal was a hotel at Tambacounda of 1971–73, financed by Ndiouga Kébé, a mouride businessman among the richest men in the country, who also paid for the Hôtel Dior at Kaolack (1973–76) and the Club Méditerranée at the Almadies (1973–77).[20] Private Senegalese capital was commissioning the same office the state was commissioning, and doing it first.

A decree, a jury, a telephone and a marabout's fortune: on the demand side these four share nothing, and the paradox of the foreign architect cannot be explained by the taste of any one client (fig. 6.3).

The supply side is where they converge, and there they converge completely. Everyone appointed through any of the four was French, and the apparatus that made them appointable was in place before independence. Chesneau and Vérola settled

16. Loi n° 78-43, exposé des motifs, cf. arts. 5, 6 and 7.
17. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 47; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," n. 24.
18. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 12, 18.
19. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 3–4.
20. Ibid., 4, and nn. 15, 18, 19.

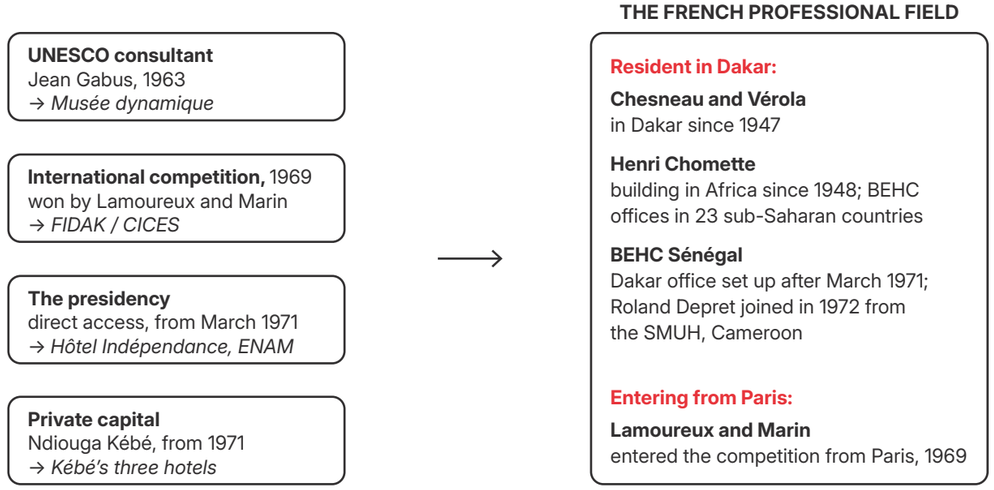


Fig. 6.3. The four channels through which an architect was appointed in Senghor's Dakar, and the professional field all four reached. On the client's side the channels have nothing in common (a UNESCO consultant, a jury, the presidency, and a mouride financier). On the supply side they converge on a group of French practices that was already in place, two of them before independence. Diagram produced by author.

in Dakar in 1947 in answer to Béchard's appeal to French architects.[21] Chomette had been building in Africa since 1948; he was registered with the architects' bodies of Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Burkina Faso and Benin, and African Modernism credits him with BEHC offices across twenty-three sub-Saharan countries, a network of private firms that Diala Touré described as a harmonic chain, each project given its own local office and its own project manager.[22] Melot describes that structure from inside it and counts it differently: roughly ten geographical implantations and some three hundred collaborators, gathered at a seminar Chomette convened in Kinshasa in 1973 to contain the centrifugal pressures he had sensed coming, and imploding within a few years afterwards. Melot's verdict on his own master is that Chomette applied the principles of brand-building to the practice of architecture.[23]

That verdict changes the character of the transfer mechanism. A franchise does not wait to be invited. It keeps an office, a payroll and a banking relationship in a country before there is anything to build there, and is therefore the only party able to answer a commission at short notice, which all four channels required. Roland Depret, the urbanist of the Dakar office, joined it in 1972 from a career that began with the SMUH in Cameroon, the French secretariat whose funding, routed through the Fonds d'Aide et de Coopération, had paid for Michel Ecochard's post as the government's planning consultant nine years earlier.[24] The office that designed the hotel and the school of

21. Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "L'équipement colonial," nn. 11–12.
22. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 272, citing Touré, Créations architecturales et artistiques en Afrique subsaharienne.
23. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 7.
24. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," n. 11 (Depret at the SMUH in Cameroon, then BEHC Sénégal from 1972); Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 852, and her n. 16 (Ecochard's post funded by the FAC through the SMUH).

administration was staffed, in part, out of the institutional plumbing that had produced the master plan for the city they stood in.

The second research question asks what work the doctrine performed in relation to the buildings raised under it. One condition on that work was the profession available to carry it out: the doctrine called for an architecture that would be authentically African, and the architects commissioned to produce it were, almost without exception, not Senegalese. The tension was structural before it was aesthetic. Four unrelated ways of choosing an architect all terminated in the same small pool of people, because that pool held the only firms with offices, staff, credit and site experience in the country. Even the competition, the one channel open by design, was won from Paris.

3 /WHERE THE AFRICAN SITS

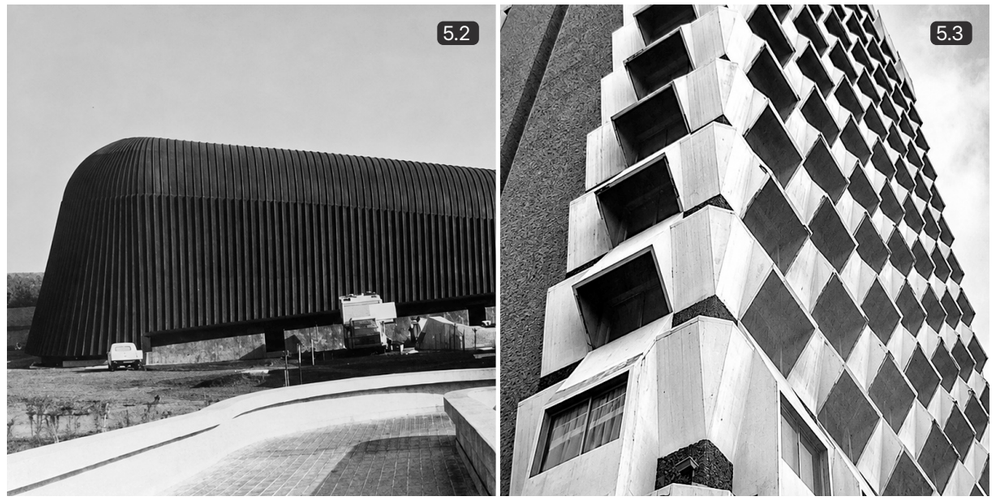
Category 4 cannot be read across the sample in the obvious way, because the sample will not carry it. Only the fairground has a documented construction: concrete foundations, walls and slabs, a concrete post-and-beam frame, precast V-shaped columns with the services gathered into each base, a steel substructure carrying pitched roofs.[25] For the museum and for the hotel, no account available to this thesis states the structural system, the wall construction or the finishes.[26] A comparison of structures here would be a comparison of one structure with two silences.

The layer above it can be compared, documented for all four buildings here. At CICES it is carried by materials: glulam beams spanning forty-eight metres, hand-carved in Côte d'Ivoire and craned into place,[27] and seven regional pavilions carrying murals of stone, shell and horn, each keyed to the region its pavilion stood for. Those murals were cast as panels from full-size prototypes and fixed to the buildings afterwards, which is the clearest instance in the sample of the national reference arriving separately from the frame that carries it.[28] At the hotel it is carried by the projecting hoods over every window, drawn in Melot's own documents as climatic brise-soleil to the east and west elevations.[29] At ENAM it is carried by portal frames faced in crushed Rufisque stone with laterite cobble at the floor spandrels, by false ceilings of Saloum reeds laid on marine plywood in the students' foyer,[30] and by the sculptural ironwork Melot attributes to Chomette's insistence on keeping craft alive inside modern building (fig. 6.4).[31] Structure is where these buildings are international and economical. Surface is where they are Senegalese.

The museum is the exception, and it is the exception that gives this section its argu-

25. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 23, 34. The roofing is given as fibre cement on 23 and as copper on 34; the discrepancy is recorded in Chapter 5 and does not affect the frame.
26. No structural specification appears in Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre"; Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads"; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique"; Herz et al., eds., African Modernism, 230–34; or Berankova and Melot, "Entretien."
27. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 90.
28. Ibid., 37.
29. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232; Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 3.
30. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," figs. 11 and 14.
31. Ibid., 24.

Applied layer — removed by later owners



Structural layer — still standing



Fig. 6.4. Where the national reference sits, and what happened to it. Above: the applied layer — the interlocking timber ceiling of the CICES auditorium, whose central portion was cut away in 2002 to receive a gold-coloured box, and the shading hoods of the Hôtel Indépendance, removed in 2018 or 2019. Below: the structural layer — the peristyle of the Musée dynamique under construction, and the precast V-shaped columns of a CICES exhibition pavilion, both still standing. Sources, clockwise from upper left: Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 92; Herz et al., eds., African Modernism, 233; Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 35; Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 83. Plate assembled by author.

ment. Nothing was applied to the Musée dynamique. The one decorative programme proposed for it, a mural on the blind wall, was refused, and the building was left as its architects had drawn it.[32] Where the other three acquired a surface, this one was denied a surface, and that makes it the control case. Whatever national claim it makes, it makes with its structure. Senghor's address at the opening supplied the reading, routing the colonnade back through Egypt to Nubia rather than to Athens.[33] The reading attaches to the columns, and the columns hold the roof up.

Now the removals. The hotel's shading elements were taken off in a campaign that Carole Diop dates to 2018 and calls a demolition, and that the SOS Brutalism database dates from 2019 and calls a renovation; the two agree that the geometric elements went, that a smooth grey envelope with a horizontal metal grid replaced them, and that the skeleton stayed standing.[34] At CICES in 2002, before a NEPAD conference, the Corten roof, the sculpted face and the centre of the timber ceiling all went, in the works Chapter 5 records in detail; the conservation team calls this a violation of Senghor's, Lamoureux's and Marin's legacy.[35] Neither operation touched the frame. Both removed the part that was carrying the meaning.

Set the museum against that and the pattern closes. Its symbolic argument was structural, and it survived every change of use. The building became a dance school in 1977 and the seat of the Supreme Court in 1988, and the feature that made it legible was never touched, which is why the two scholars who visited in 2016 could observe that the isolated, elevated grandeur reading as a temple in 1966 required no alteration at all to read as a courthouse.[36] Where the national reference was applied, it was available to be removed, and at both buildings that were later refitted it was removed. The CICES regional pavilions, which nobody refitted, still carry their murals: survival was decided by whether anyone had reason to touch a thing, not by what it meant. Where the reference was structural, the question never arose, and it never arose partly because a colonnade serves a court as well as it served a museum.

What that costs the buildings is Chapter 7's question.

4 /THREE TESTS THE SAMPLE COULD NOT PERFORM

Each reference point below is restricted, and the restriction is given with it. Each is also being asked a doctrinal question, and the question has to be stated before it can be answered, because parallélisme asymétrique is not one proposition. Chapter 2 separated four strands. There is rhythm, defined operationally as repetition at intervals, contrast of mass and colour, variation within recurrence.[37] There is the curve set

32. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 55–56; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 45–46.
33. Senghor, opening address, 1966, quoted in Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 56.
34. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar"; SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance."
35. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 48, 90–91.
36. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 84, 90; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Cadres et décrets," n. 74.
37. Diop, "Théorie du rythme," 1, 5–6.

against the right angle, where the straight line stands for an inherited analytic reason and disproportion counts as invention rather than as failure.[38] There is asymmetrical parallelism proper, an apparent central axis dividing a work into halves that are never in fact identical.[39] And there is the civilisation de l'universel, a meeting of giving and of receiving.[40] Article 3 of the 1978 law then adds a fifth demand of a different order: inspiration drawn principally from Negro-African and singularly Sudano-Sahelian values, together with the demands of modernity.[41] Five tests, and they do not all point the same way. Run the three reference points against them and the results are not the ones a doctrinal history would predict.

6.4.1 / École Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature: doctrine without display. ENAM was built by the office that built the hotel, for a client with no audience to address. Melot describes a site hemmed in by a very poor quarter and a decision to shut the school inside its own walls like an ashram or a monastery. His governing idea is the urban shield: the outer wall does the work of the enclosure and carries no openings at all, double-skinned for insulation, with patios and interior courts behind it and, in the courtyard, a pyramidal case mouride holding the canteen and refectory

38. Diouf, "Esthétique des courbes," 119–21.
39. Sylla, "Parallélisme asymétrique," quoted in Ndiaye, "Pluralité et singularité," 173.
40. Mabana, "Civilisation de l'universel," 7, 9.
41. Loi n° 78-43, art. 3.



Fig. 6.5. École nationale d'administration et de magistrature, Dakar, seen from the Boulevard Dial Diop: the blind perimeter wall to the street, with the teaching volumes rising behind it. BEHC Sénégal- Melot, Depret, Chomette. Photo Michel Renaudeau. Reproduced in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 13.

(fig. 6.5).[42] The restriction is that one building by one office cannot show what any other practice did when display was not required. Within that limit the result runs against what a display-driven account of the doctrine would predict: the vernacular reference at ENAM is more emphatic than at any of the three case studies, and it is more emphatic where nobody was meant to see it. Melot adds that the mourides later copied the case, so that a form he calls an innocent invention fed back into the vernacular it borrowed from.[43] Dating it is not possible from the source, which gives 1972–75 in its editorial notes, 1974–75 in six figure captions and 1975–78 in its introduction.[44]

In doctrinal terms ENAM answers almost nothing, and Melot's own account of why is the reason. The enclosure was an economy. He says the resources were short, that the governing idea followed from the shortage, and that once he had it the project drew itself very quickly.[45] The reeds lining the roof of the case get the same explanation: a second skin for thermal insulation, and what he calls an innocent invention. The form behind them came from houses he had seen in Mauritania with André Ravereau, the French architect who had made the Saharan M'Zab his subject and was building in earth in Mauritania at the time.[46] Nothing in this is rhythm in Diop's sense. Nothing sets a curve against a right angle. Nothing is a symmetry that turns out on inspection not to be one. The single doctrinal clause the building satisfies is the one the law would add four years later, and it satisfies it sideways, a Sudano-Sahelian reference reaching Dakar through a French architect's memory of Mauritania and an Algerian valley. Then the outcome no doctrine could have arranged. Melot reports that the mourides copied the case afterwards, so that the building gave a form back to the vernacular it had borrowed from, and the borrowing acquired the name it now carries.[47] The comparator that owes least to the doctrine is the only building in this chapter that demonstrably changed how anyone else built.

6.4.2 / Musée des civilisations noires: doctrine without execution. Melot calls this the most complete work of that part of his life, its programme an attempt to synthesise Senghor's cultural testament.[48] He drew it alone between October 1976 and March 1977, without a contract, after the sketch sent from Mexico was rejected; the intention was to break with the dictatorship of the right angle, and the plan became a flower crowned by a sun, its radiating roofs gathered around a central penc, the assembly ground of the Lébou villages of the Cap-Vert (fig. 6.6).[49] The museum was to be ringed by around a dozen reconstructed African villages, drawn from the survey notebooks Patrick Dujarric had handed him, with Dujarric to direct the work.[50] The project died with the presidency: French and West German funding promised in 1980

42. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 21, 23.
43. Ibid., 23.
44. Ibid., editorial introduction (1975–1978), nn. 34 and 46 (1972–1975), and figs. 1, 10–14 (1974–1975).
45. Ibid., 21.
46. Ibid., 17, 23, and n. 45. Melot names Ravereau as the rediscoverer of the M'Zab in the northern Algerian Sahara and as building in earth in Mauritania at the time; the editorial note gives his dates as 1919–2017.
47. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 23.
48. Ibid., 12.
49. Ibid., 14, 16.
50. Ibid., 15.

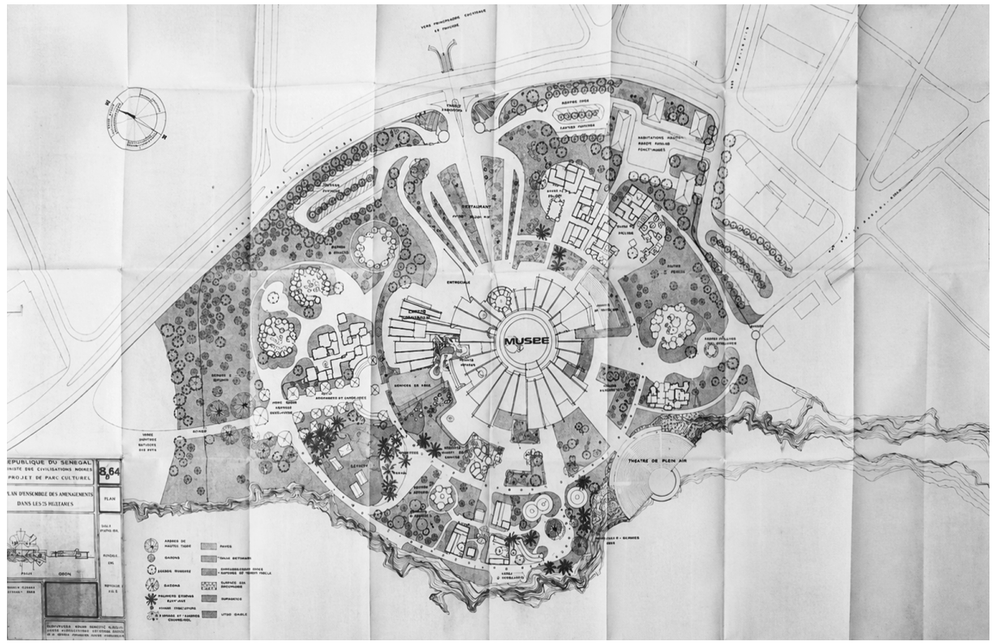


Fig. 6.6. Musée des civilisations noires, Dakar (1975–78, project abandoned 1981): general site plan, the roofs radiating like a sun around a central penc, the Lébou assembly ground.Thierry Melot, Pedro Ramírez Vázquez (architecture, paysagisme et scénographie muséographique); BEHC Sénégal (ingénierie, structures et fluides). Archives Andrée Diop Depret. Reproduced in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 6.

evaporated when Mitterrand was elected a year later, and Diouf had no intention of building Senghor a cenotaph.[51] The restriction is that categories 6 and 7 cannot be applied, a building never built having neither a reception nor a condition, and that its dates are unstable inside one source, given as 1975–78 in a figure caption and 1974–81 in the notes.[52] It does test whether the doctrine, at its most favourable moment, produced a form the law would recognise. It did not. Article 3 asks for Sudano-Sahelian inspiration; Melot drew a Lébou assembly ground with a cone housing an observatory, referring to towers in southern Egypt and Sudan and to the pharaonic claims of Cheikh Anta Diop.[53]

This is the only design in the thesis whose author states doctrinal intentions as design intentions, so it is worth taking the strands one at a time. Breaking with the dictatorship of the right angle is the curve set against the straight line exactly as Senghor's aesthetics has it, and Melot pushes past the aesthetics by naming the right angle as the mark of the coloniser's efficiency.[54] The roof radiating in every direction around a central penc is rhythm in the operational sense, repetition at intervals about a centre. The inner court refers to the impluvium houses of the Casamance, and Melot calls the reference explicit and deliberate and diverted, all three at once.[55] Above all, the

51. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 16.
52. Ibid., fig. 6 (1975–1978, abandoned 1981), cf. nn. 1 and 31 (1974–1981).
53. Ibid., 16.
54. Ibid., 14.
55. Ibid., 16.

plan is offered as the civilisation de l'universel put into massing: a radiating identity, which he says is the opposite of a local particularism.[56]

That last claim is where the doctrine comes apart. Article 3 asks for an inspiration that is singularly Sudano-Sahelian, which is a local particularism in the precise sense the museum's governing idea sets itself against. The one design in this chapter drawn to Senghor's aesthetics is the design the law would have had least reason to recognise, and the two halves of the doctrine were four years apart and pulling in opposite directions. A caution on how much weight the plan can carry. The penc was already in the office's hands: it appears in the caption to the university amphitheatre complex, commissioned in 1972 and inaugurated either in December 1973 or in 1976 on the same source's conflicting evidence, and earlier than the winter of 1976–77 on either date.[57] The motif preceded the occasion that is supposed to explain it.

6.4.3 / École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme: doctrine without French authorship. The missing term here is an institution, and it can be asked one question only: whether the doctrine survived transfer to Senegalese authorship. Within this study's period that cannot be answered at the level of a building, because the profession the doctrine addressed did not yet exist. The E.A.U. opened in 1973; its first cohort completed the curriculum in 1979, the graduation reported in Le Soleil on 14–15 July 1979, with Abib Djenne at the head of the class for a thesis on restructuring the village of Hann-Pecheurs and Birahim Niang taking the same place in 1980.[58] Pierre Goudiaby Atepa, the only other Senegalese architect in this record, took his diploma in the United States in 1973, trained abroad like the generation before him.[59] Across the entire span in which the doctrine was improvised, named and legislated, the architects it was written for were students.

The school is also the one place in the record where the doctrine can be caught being delivered. Birahim Niang, of that first cohort, recalls Senghor assembling the French architects then working in Dakar and telling them he wanted a Senegalese architecture and a Senegalese school, on the ground that the rhythm Vitruvius described is already present in Senegalese building.[60] Three things about that instruction matter. It is the civilisation de l'universel turned into an argument addressed to professionals: the founding definition of the Western canon is said to contain already what Senegal has, which is a claim of prior possession and not a claim of difference. It names rhythm, and it names neither asymmetrical parallelism nor any Sudano-Sahelian form, a demand issued, on this account, some years before the phrase that would be used to describe it and half a decade before the clause that would legislate it. And it is remembered by a student who was not in the room, dated no more closely than the early 1970s, and attached to no commission and no drawing. It does not disturb the finding of Section 1. It specifies it: what reached the architects was a demand for a national architecture and a licence to look for it in Vitruvius.

Two further things about the school bear on the doctrine. Its foundation is claimed twice and incompatibly. Melot says he founded it, and the editorial note appended to his interview repeats the claim;[61] the round table convened by Nzinga Mboup traces it instead to the École des Arts of 1960, dissolved in 1972 into the Institut National des Arts of which the E.A.U. became a division, and does not mention him.[62] Neither acknowledges the other. The 1973 curriculum chart the round table reproduces is credited to Claude Schnaidt, a European hand drawing the syllabus of the school meant to produce architects Senegalese by formation.[63] Second, the method the school taught was survey. Dujarric ran field campaigns across the country that were consolidated as Maisons sénégalaises; Niang recalls covering the housing typologies of Senegal's twenty-four ethnic groups, and says that this is what made a graduate a Senegalese architect; the student projects that came out of that training began from analysis of how people actually lived, and used materials without copying traditional form.[64] This is nearer to what was done at ENAM than to anything article 3 prescribes. The school pursued the vernacular by measuring it. The law pursued it by naming it.

56. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 15–16.
57. Ibid., 17 (commission dated to 1972), figs. 7–9 (inaugurated December 1973), and n. 42 (inaugurated 1976); the penc is named in the caption to fig. 8, 19. The contradiction is internal to the source and is not resolved here. The amphitheatre complex is not treated as a comparator in this thesis; it is cited only for the date at which the motif entered the office's work.
58. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," secs. "History and structure of the school" and "Building a National Infrastructure"; "École nationale d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme, La première promotion fêtée," Le Soleil, 14–15 July 1979, reproduced in the same source.
59. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," introductory sec. The text places the diploma in Massachusetts; the caption to the thesis excerpt reproduced there names Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, which is in Troy, New York. The discrepancy is internal to the source and is not resolved here.
60. Niang, in Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "History and structure of the school."
61. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 25, and editorial biography of Melot, 31.
62. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "History and structure of the school."
63. Ibid., caption to the organisation chart of the Architecture and Urbanism curriculum, E.A.U., 1973.
64. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," secs. "Learning from, and improving, the vernacular condition" and "Building a National Infrastructure"; Dujarric, Maisons sénégalaises: habitat rural 1 (UNESCO, 1984), reproduced there.

5 /VERDICT

The doctrine did three things. It legitimated: a president who needed a modern capital to look African could point at buildings already commissioned and say what they were. It named: the term arrived after the drawings, in a public act performed in front of a model at a planning meeting, which is why the phrase is a description in the past tense wearing the grammar of a programme. And after 1978 it regulated, though what it regulated was procedure. The law made an architect compulsory above a cost threshold, subjected every public monument to a commission chaired by the minister for urbanism, and offered free architectural assistance to people building modest houses in rural communes and certain urban quarters.[65] Those effects are real and they are administrative.

What the doctrine did not do was generate a form. No building examined here looks the way it looks because of parallélisme asymétrique, and the two designs in this chapter that went furthest toward the vernacular, the school of administration and the museum that was never built, are the two that were furthest from any public performance of the doctrine. The one building presented to Senghor as its embodiment was a commercial hotel whose black and white plates had been made to explain a massing to a committee.[66]

That returns the argument to Section 3. The national reference in these buildings sits in the applied layer, and the applied layer is what later owners took off. If the part that carries the meaning is also the part that comes away first, the question that follows is who argues for it now, and on what terms. That question is Chapter 7's.

65. Loi n° 78-43, arts. 5, 6 and 7.
66. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 10–11.

CHAPTER 7 - Discussion

Legacy and Contemporary Critique

Chapter 6 ended with a finding and a consequence. The finding was that parallélisme asymétrique never preceded a design. The consequence was that whatever national reference these buildings carried sat in an applied layer, and that the applied layer is the part later owners have taken off. The question left open was who argues for these buildings now, and on what terms.

That question is not about the buildings. Chapter 5 established the condition each of the three is in, and Chapter 6 explained which layer went first; neither finding is revisited here. What this chapter examines is the discourse and the institutions that have grown around them since: the end of the programme that produced them, the conservation apparatus that has adopted two of them, the professional generation that arrived too late to build under the doctrine, and the uses to which the buildings were eventually put. All of this belongs to the decades after 1980 and therefore outside the study's period. It is included on a single principle. A doctrine that cannot be shown to have generated a form may still be shown to have generated a vocabulary, and a vocabulary is the easiest place to see who is speaking.

1 /THE END OF THE PROGRAMME

There is no date for the end of the Senegalese architectural programme, and the two explanations available to this thesis disagree about what kind of ending it was.

The first is Thierry Melot's, and it has to be introduced as what it is: the testimony of a man describing the loss of his own working conditions, given in 2026 at fifty years' distance. He offers two accounts in the same interview and does not reconcile them. The ideological one is compressed into a sentence. Abdou Diouf "désenghorisé" the country's thinking, and Senegal returned to an imported architecture de papier and to open contempt for urban constraint.[1] The procedural one is longer and less flattering to him. Around 1980, he says, the architectural world changed: the direct commission he had enjoyed under Senghor was finished and one had to adapt to the competition system. Diouf's government began holding competitions in which Melot found himself consistently placed second; he moved between Paris, Dakar and Douala for three or four years and settled his family in Paris between 1982 and 1984.[2]

The two accounts point in opposite directions. The first says the state stopped wanting a national architecture. The second says the state stopped awarding work by conversation, which is not the same thing and is arguably the opposite of a cultural

1. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11.
2. Ibid., 27. Melot dates his definitive departure to 1983 at page 11 and to a move to Paris between 1982 and 1984 at page 27; the discrepancy is internal to the source and is left as it stands.

retreat. It is also, in part, an effect of the law Melot says he drafted. Loi n° 78-43 made the intervention of an architect compulsory above a cost threshold and subjected every public monument to the authorisation of a commission chaired by the minister for urbanism.[3] Regularisation was the point of it.

The second explanation is Nari Shelekpayev's, and it concerns African modernism generally rather than Senegal in particular. Reviewing African Modernism in 2016, he argues that the decline of the idiom across the five countries surveyed was neither aesthetic nor social, and was not caused by any withdrawal of support from authorities or planners. It was economic. The crisis of the 1970s and the recession that followed through the 1980s cut export revenues sharply, expensive infrastructure could no longer be financed, and architects and developers left for better prospects.[4]

Two events inside this thesis's own material arbitrate between the accounts, and both favour the economic reading. The Musée des civilisations noires died when its money did: French and West German funding promised in 1980 evaporated after Mitterrand's election the following year.[5] The École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme was closed in 1991 by ministerial decree for government budget shortfalls, after nearly twenty years, and at a point when it was, aside from the EAMAU in Lomé, the leading school in French-speaking Black Africa. Senegal was left without any architectural training institution for more than fifteen years, and Senegalese architects went back to qualifying in France, the United States, Morocco, Turkey and Togo.[6]

The doctrine itself outlasted both. Asked in 2026 whether parallélisme asymétrique still had legal standing, Melot answered that he believed President Abdoulaye Wade had erased it from the law.[7] He hedges, and the record does not support him. The reference he has in mind was never in the enacted articles at all. The phrase occurs once in the exposé des motifs of Loi n° 78-43, in the sentence stating that the law postulates architectural creation to be underpinned by the principles of asymmetrical parallelism, and nowhere in articles 1 to 7.[8]

That memorandum deserves a further look, because it does not describe the law it introduces. It reports that article 6 makes the intervention of an architect obligatory, when the enacted article 6 concerns public monuments and it is article 5 that requires an architect; it states that architectural assistance is the object of articles 8 and 9, when the enacted text ends at article 7 and places assistance there; and where the enacted article 5 allows military works to seek a derogation from the requirement, the memorandum reports the requirement as applying to them.[9] The exposé des motifs was evidently written against an earlier draft and not revised to match the text the Assembly adopted. The only official sentence in Senegalese law that ever named the

3. Loi n° 78-43, arts. 5, 6.
4. Shelekpayev, review of African Modernism, 353.
5. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 16.
6. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," paragraph preceding sec. "The Question of Archives."
7. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11.
8. Loi n° 78-43, exposé des motifs; cf. arts. 1–7.
9. Loi n° 78-43, exposé des motifs, cf. arts. 5, 6 and 7. The memorandum attributes the requirement of an architect to article 6 and architectural assistance to articles 8 and 9; in the enacted text the requirement is article 5, assistance is article 7, and there is no article 8.

PROVISION	Loi n° 78-43	Loi n° 2021-22
Architectural quality as a public interest	Art. 1 — the quality of architecture is of public utility and public interest throughout the national territory	Art. 3 — architecture and the quality of architecture are of public utility and public interest throughout the national territory
Use of built space	Art. 2 — must conform to the needs and aspirations of Senegalese society, in keeping with its genius and its culture	Art. 6 — must conform to the needs and aspirations of African society, in keeping with its genius and its culture
Source of inspiration	Art. 3 — principally the values of Negro-African, singularly Sudano-Sahelian, civilisation, together with the demands of modernity	No counterpart
Quality of the setting	No counterpart	Art. 4 — harmonious insertion into the surrounding milieu, quality of public space, respect for urban and peri-urban landscapes and for architectural culture
Recourse to an architect	Art. 5 — required for any new construction or modification, above a cost threshold fixed by decree	Art. 9 — required under conditions fixed by decree
Public buildings	Art. 6 — any public monument requires the authorisation of an ad hoc commission chaired by the Minister for Urbanism	Art. 7 — any public building above a cost fixed by decree is put to an architectural competition, jury appointed by the Minister for Architecture
Free architectural assistance	Art. 7 — to individuals, for modest dwellings in rural communes and certain urban quarters	Art. 8 — to any natural or legal person, for dwellings below a floor area fixed by ministerial order
parallélisme asymétrique	Named once, in the exposé des motifs only; absent from arts. 1–7	Absent
Status	Repealed	Art. 35 — abrogates Loi n° 78-43 and Loi n° 78-44

Fig. 7.1. Loi n° 78-43 of 6 July 1978 and Loi n° 2021-22 of 2 March 2021 compared, provision by provision. The 1978 clause requiring inspiration from Negro-African and Sudano-Sahelian values has no counterpart in the law that replaced it, and the reference to parallélisme asymétrique, which appeared only in the 1978 memorandum and never in its enacted articles, disappeared with the document that carried it. Table produced by author from the enacted texts of both laws.

doctrine therefore sits in a document that misdescribes, in three places, the articles it is summarising.

Nor was the law amended under Wade, who held office from 2000 to 2012. It was repealed outright, twenty-one years later and by a different president. Loi n° 2021-22 of 2 March 2021, signed by Macky Sall, abrogates both Loi n° 78-43 and its companion Loi n° 78-44 in a single article.[10]

What the repeal did to the doctrine is more precise than a repeal usually is, and it can be read clause by clause (fig. 7.1). Article 2 of the 1978 law required the use of built space to conform to the needs and aspirations of Senegalese society in keeping with

10. Loi n° 2021-22 du 2 mars 2021 relative à l'Architecture et à l'exercice de la Profession d'architecte, art. 35.

its genius and its culture. Article 6 of the 2021 law reproduces that sentence almost exactly and changes one word: the society is now African.[11] Article 3 of the 1978 law, the clause that gave the old text its reputation, directed architectural creation to draw its inspiration principally from the values of Negro-African and singularly Sudano-Sahelian civilisation. It has no counterpart in the new law. In its place, article 4 restates architectural quality in terms drawn from the European legislative vocabulary: harmonious insertion into the surrounding milieu, the quality of public space, respect for urban and peri-urban landscapes.[12] The reason given is not cultural. The exposé des motifs of 2021 explains that after more than forty years of practice the 1978 texts no longer matched their context, that they were out of alignment with the community objectives of the West African Economic and Monetary Union on the free movement and establishment of professionals, and that the union's directives of 2005 and 2013 had to be transposed.[13]

The one sentence in Senegalese law that ever named the doctrine was thus retired as part of a regional harmonisation of professional practice, and the Sudano-Sahelian clause went with it. Melot's memory of a political erasure is wrong in its agent, its date and its instrument, and right about the outcome.

The institutions moved the other way. In 2008, seventeen years after the state closed the E.A.U., the Collège Universitaire d'Architecture de Dakar was founded as a private school expressly to fill the gap the closure had left, by Jean-Charles Tall, who had taught acoustics at the E.A.U., with Annie Jouga and Naby Kane.[14] Architectural education in Senegal returned. It did not return as an instrument of state cultural policy.

2 /WHO OWNS THESE BUILDINGS NOW

Chapter 5 reported the registry figure at the point where it bore on one building: post-1960 construction, the eight-per-cent share recorded in Chapter 5, and natural sites for a further six.[15] Set beside the international lists, the pattern hardens (fig. 7.2). Senegal has six properties inscribed on the World Heritage List and eight on its tentative list, all eight submitted in 2005. Not one of the fourteen is a work of the independent state; every one is precolonial, colonial or natural.[16] The conservation plan that assembled these figures draws the obvious conclusion and recommends that the Ministry of Commerce seek formal recognition of CICES as post-independence modern heritage.[17]

The same observation is made from Dakar, in different words and without numbers. Nzinga Mboup, asked in 2023 what tends to count as national heritage, answers in three steps: important public buildings of the precolonial period, the impluvium

11. Loi n° 78-43, art. 2; Loi n° 2021-22, art. 6.
12. Loi n° 78-43, art. 3; Loi n° 2021-22, art. 4.
13. Loi n° 2021-22, exposé des motifs.
14. Tall, interview, Sud Quotidien, 20 June 2017.
15. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 62.
16. Ibid., 152–53.
17. Ibid., 62.

DAKAR HERITAGE REGISTER

Colonial — at least **85%**

Natural — **6%**

Post-1960 — **8%**

SENEGAL ON THE UNESCO LISTS

World Heritage List (6)	Tentative List (8, all submitted 2005)
Island of Gorée,	L'Aéropostale,
Niokolo-Koba National Park,	Île de Carabane,
Djoudj National Bird Sanctuary,	Architecture rurale de Basse-Casamance,
Island of Saint-Louis,	Parc National des îles de la Madeleine,
Stone Circles of Senegambia,	Les Escales du Fleuve Sénégal,
Saloum Delta, Bassari Country	Les tumulus de Cekeen,
	Le Lac Rose,
	Le Vieux Rufisque

Post-1960: none

Fig. 7.2. Left: the composition of the Dakar heritage register, with post-1960 construction at eight per cent against at least eighty-five per cent colonial and six per cent natural. Right: Senegal's fourteen properties on the UNESCO World Heritage List and tentative list, none of which is a work of the independent state. The conservation plan states a total of six inscribed properties while listing seven; both figures are reproduced here as given. Chart produced by author from Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 62 and 152–53.

house, the Great Mosque of Djenné; then, for many people, buildings of the colonial period, the Chamber of Commerce, the Sandaga market; and then the remark that buildings of the modern period are struggling to become heritage worth protecting at all.[18] Carole Diop, in the same conversation, supplies the mechanism rather than the category. Officially listed buildings have been demolished within the space of a few years, and the reasons offered, that they are barely habitable, a health risk, or too costly to maintain, are usually pretexts; the operative cause is land speculation, which is hard to argue against because it is an economic argument.[19] Her list of recent losses is worth reading for what it contains: the Sandaga market, the maternity ward of the Le Dantec hospital, and the former Department of Urban Planning, the building that housed the Bureau d'Études Henri Chomette. Melot's own photograph of that building, taken at the moment of demolition, is reproduced in the interview that supplies most of what this thesis knows about the hotel and the school of administration (fig. 7.3).[20] The office whose drawings are this study's principal archive for two of its buildings lost its own address in the same wave.

Against this stands an apparatus of advocacy, and the apparatus is largely foreign. The CICES conservation plan exists because the Getty Foundation awarded a Keeping It Modern grant in 2020, and its authors state plainly that the grant confers no legal protection whatever.[21] The Hôtel Indépendance is on the red list of SOS Brutalism, a database run from Frankfurt, where it was still classified as endangered at a status review on 2 December 2024.[22] Chapter 3 found the historiography of this

18. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar."
19. Ibid.
20. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 17.
21. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 12, 152–53.
22. SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance," status review of 2 December 2024.



Fig. 7.3. Direction de l'Urbanisme et de l'Habitat, Dakar (1973–78), photographed at the moment of its demolition. BEHC Sénégal — Thierry Melot, Roland Depret, Henri Chomette. Thierry Melot; archives Andrée Diop Depret. Reproduced in Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," fig. 17.

period divided so that Senegalese scholarship carried the meaning of the period and foreign scholarship carried its evidence. Conservation repeats the division almost exactly. The claim that these buildings matter is made in Dakar; the survey, the grant and the register are made elsewhere.

One small dispute shows what that costs. Carole Diop describes the Hôtel Indépendance as a postmodern building of the 1970s.[23] SOS Brutalism lists it as endangered Brutalism, and the descriptive text on its page, written by Manuel Herz, reads the building as applying the lessons of the West African vernacular and the purposeful ambiguities of Senghor's asymmetric parallelism planning policy.[24] Chapter 6 established that there was no planning policy in front of this building: the phrase was improvised by Senghor at the meeting convened to authorise it, over a model already made.[25] The doctrine's most durable function is therefore not architectural but curatorial. It survives as the label under which a European heritage platform argues for the preservation of a Senegalese building, and Chapter 3 recorded the same term operating as a comparative category in a Cambridge journal.

A note on one of the voices in this section. Nzinga Mboup appears in this thesis in two capacities: as the architect who convened the round table at which the E.A.U.'s graduates recorded their own history, cited in Chapters 2, 3 and 6, and as a participant in the present argument about what Dakar should keep. She is a source on the period and an advocate in the dispute the period has produced. That is not a defect in the evidence, but it should be visible rather than smoothed over.

23. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar."
24. SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance," excerpting Herz, SOS Brutalism: A Global Survey.
25. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 11.

3 /THE LIMITS OF THE AUTHORSHIP ARGUMENT

The second research question asks what work the doctrine performed in relation to the buildings raised under it, and one condition on that work was that the architects commissioned to build an authentically African architecture were mostly not Senegalese. Chapter 6 answered that condition structurally, at the level of appointment. This section tests the assumption underneath the question: that the tension would have eased had the architects been Senegalese.

The record contains one architect on whom that assumption can be tried, and he appears in this thesis three times in three incompatible roles. Pierre Goudiaby Atepa took his architecture diploma in the United States in 1973, the earliest Senegalese architect anywhere in this study, and his student thesis is reproduced in Chapter 3.[26] In the recovery literature he stands at the origin: it was the unearthing of that thesis that prompted the Canadian Centre for Architecture's round table to go looking for the graduation projects of the first Senegalese-trained generation.[27] In the present heritage conversation he is praised by a Senegalese architect for a body of monumental, sculptural work recognisable beyond Senegal, the product of his own research, and credited with helping to create an architectural language that gives the country a strong identity.[28] And in the conservation plan he is the antagonist. The 2002 works at CICES that Chapter 5 recorded, the demolished ceremonial plaza, the replaced auditorium roof, the truncated façade and the cut ceiling, were carried out under him, and the plan calls them not a rehabilitation but a violation of the legacy of Senghor, Lamoureux and Marin.[29]

One detail of those works is worth holding beside the others. What Goudiaby placed in the plaza he had remodelled (fig. 7.4) was a bronze of Lat Dior, the Cayor king who resisted the French conquest.[30] Eight years earlier, a student at the school Senegal was about to close had proposed a Panthéon National for Dakar, taking the idea from a speech of Senghor's and choosing as its four figures Cheikh Anta Diop, Aline Sitoe Diatta, Kocc Barma Fall and Lat Dior.[31] Thiao Kandji's thesis of 1990 was one of several in that final cohort. Youssoupha Leye designed a National Language Institute, the built expression of Senghor's policy of codifying national languages in education, and Babacar Clédor Wade a National Museum.[32] These projects sit outside this study's period, which is precisely why they belong in a chapter on legacy. They are what Senegalese authorship produced once it existed, and what it produced was the programme of national institutions Senghor had wanted and had run out of money to build. None of them was built either.

The comparison is not to Goudiaby's discredit and is not offered as one. It establishes

26. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," introductory sec. The round table's text places the diploma in Massachusetts, while the thesis it reproduces is from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York; the discrepancy is internal to the source, and only the country is treated as established here.
27. Ibid.
28. Diop and Mboup, "On the Importance of Defining and Conserving Urban and Architectural Heritage in Dakar."
29. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 48, 86–87, 90–91.
30. Ibid., 86–87.
31. Mboup et al., "Legacy of the E.A.U.," sec. "Building a National Infrastructure."
32. Ibid.



Fig. 7.4. The CICES entrance plaza, entirely demolished and remodelled in 2002 under the architect Atepa Goudiaby, with concrete planters, pathways and fountains added; the conservation plan records that the geometries and finishes of the new plaza bear no relation to the original architects' scheme. Photo by Elyse Fitte-Duval, 2021. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 86–87.

something narrower and more useful: that national authorship and doctrinal continuity are separate variables. The same nationalist iconography can arrive as a student's carefully sited national pantheon or as a bronze statue added to a modernist plaza that had to be demolished to receive it. Whether the doctrine survived transfer to Senegalese authorship is therefore not a question nationality can settle, and Chapter 6's finding holds from the other end: the architects the doctrine was written for were students throughout the years in which it was formulated, and by the time they were practising the state had stopped commissioning.

4 /AFTERLIVES

Chapter 4 deferred the question of reuse to this chapter, and the deferral was deliberate: reuse is not a postscript to instrumentalisation but its continuation by other means. Chapter 5 gave the Musée dynamique's sequence of occupations and the campaign to reverse the last of them, and nothing in it needs repeating. What matters here is the reading Murphy and Vincent attach to that sequence. The building's history, they argue, makes it a striking example of the arbitrariness of the political

sphere in postcolonial Africa, even in a state as apparently stable and democratic as Senegal; the imposing museum on the promontory was too readily reimagined as an imposing judicial building expressing the full legal force of the state (fig. 7.5).[33] A courthouse is also a symbol. The state did not stop using the building to say something about itself. It changed the sentence.

The rest of the promontory went the same way with less ceremony. The museum had been conceived as the first stage of a Cité des arts intended to occupy the whole headland above Soumbédioune bay. In 2004 a fun fair of more than twelve thousand square metres, Magic Land, opened on that site under President Wade.[34]

It is worth pausing before treating any of this as a uniquely Senegalese story, because the museum's own claim to precedence was contested at the time. After visiting the 1966 festival, Frank McEwen argued that the National Gallery in Harare, then Salisbury, which he had directed since its founding in 1957, had the better claim to be Africa's first dynamic museum, on the strength of the Workshop School and the ICAC festival of 1962.[35] The claim is self-interested and was published by its author. It is recorded here because a chapter on legacy is the easiest place in a thesis to reproduce the exceptionalism it was written to examine.

33. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 93.
34. Ibid., 89, 91, and 96 n. 11.
35. Ibid., 89, citing McEwen, The African Workshop School (1967).



Fig. 7.5. The former Musée dynamique as the Supreme Court of Senegal, seen from the edge of Soumbédioune bay, November 2016. Photo by David Murphy. Reproduced in Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 84, fig. 2.

The clearest measure of what changed is the one commission Senghor treated as the summation of his cultural programme. Chapter 6 examined the Musée des civilisations noires as Melot drew it in the winter of 1976–77, a plan of radiating roofs around a Lébou penc with an inner court referring explicitly to the impluvium houses of the Casamance, and recorded that the project was abandoned in 1981.[36] It was eventually built. Abdoulaye Wade negotiated it as a gift from the Chinese government, and it opened in Dakar on 6 December 2018: a circular building of some fourteen thousand square metres designed by the state-owned Beijing Institute of Architectural Design, reported as modelled on the traditional houses of the Casamance, and financed by China at a figure the reporting puts at between thirty and thirty-four million dollars.[37] It opened with room for eighteen thousand objects and many of its galleries empty, having acquired the reputation of a grand building without a collection well before it opened, and it opened days after the Savoy and Sarr report on restitution was delivered to the French president, with Senegal's culture minister asking for the return of every identified piece.[38]

Set the two designs side by side and the doctrinal irony is exact. The formal programme article 3 of the 1978 law had asked for, inspiration drawn from Negro-African building, was finally executed on a Senegalese national institution by a foreign state architecture institute, thirty-seven years after the Senegalese state gave up on it and thirteen years before the article itself was repealed. The mechanism Chapter 2 reconstructed, in which the capital's principal projects arrive with their financing and their designers attached, has not stopped running. Only the sponsor has changed. Luce Beeckmans makes the same point about planning: the Plan directeur d'urbanisme de Dakar Horizon 2025, financed principally by the Japanese cooperation programme, is openly modelled on the Ecochard plan, and she expects it to share its fate.[39]

Murphy and Vincent close their essay with a question this chapter should answer rather than borrow. Given that the African arts scene has, over two or three decades, learned to work in ways that do not depend on state-sponsored infrastructure, they ask whether a reopened Musée dynamique might turn out to be another white elephant.[40] The question is the right one and its premise is too narrow. What the Senegalese cultural sector has demanded since 1992 is not exhibition space, which Dakar now possesses in quantity and which stood substantially empty in 2018. It is the return of a specific building that was taken from it by soldiers. The demand concerns custody rather than programme, and on that reading a reopening would not be redundant even if the galleries stayed thin.

36. Berankova and Melot, "Entretien," 14, 16.
37. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 82; Brown, "Senegal Unveils a Vast Museum"; Katz, "Sprawling Museum of Black Civilizations Opens in Senegal." Brown gives thirty million dollars, Katz thirty-four on the BBC's authority; the divergence is reported rather than resolved.
38. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 82; Katz, "Sprawling Museum of Black Civilizations Opens in Senegal."
39. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," 865.
40. Murphy and Vincent, "Inside Dakar's Musée Dynamique," 94.

/ BRIDGE TO CHAPTER 8

Four answers, then. The programme ended for reasons that were mainly economic, and its only legislative trace was extinguished in 2021 by an act of regional administrative harmonisation, which is the least ideological ending available to it. The buildings are argued for locally and documented, funded and registered from abroad, which is the asymmetry Chapter 3 found in the historiography reappearing in the conservation apparatus. Senegalese authorship, when it finally arrived, did not by itself carry the doctrine forward. And the uses to which these buildings were put, together with the museum eventually built in place of the one Senghor wanted, show the same transfer mechanism operating under a different sponsor.

None of this settles what the thesis has established, only where its findings now sit. Three research questions were posed in Chapter 1 and have been answered in pieces across six chapters, and the answers have to be assembled in the terms the questions were asked. That, together with the two results this study offers to research other than its own and an account of what it could not establish from documentary sources alone, is the work of Chapter 8.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

This thesis set out to establish what it meant, in practice, for a state to use architecture to say what it was. That Senegal did so between 1960 and 1980 was never in question, and no chapter here was written to prove it. What was in question, and what six chapters of documentary work were needed to settle, is what that instrumentalisation actually consisted of, what part of it the doctrine bearing Senghor's name performed, and who has been in a position to describe any of it since.

The three answers can be stated before they are argued. The state's instrument was the commission, the site and the occasion rather than the form, and where a national claim was made in the fabric of a building at all, it was made in an applied layer that later owners removed. The doctrine of parallélisme asymétrique legitimated, it named, and after 1978 it regulated procedure; it did not generate a form, and in none of the cases examined here did it precede a design. And the history of these two decades has been written under a division that has outlived the decades themselves: Senegalese scholarship has carried the meaning of the period and foreign scholarship its evidence, and the apparatus that argues today for the preservation of these buildings reproduces that division almost exactly.

What follows sets out how the argument was built, answers the three questions in the terms Chapter 1 poses them, states the two results this study offers to research other than its own, and says plainly what could not be established from documentary sources alone.

A research idea

CHAPTER 1, **INTRODUCTION** — poses Q 1–3

Three questions, posed against a literature that appears to have settled them.

What conditions allowed architecture to carry a national claim at all?

CHAPTER 2, **HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT** — Q 1

At every scale, declaration and execution were different hands. Authorship is contested throughout.

If every origin is disputed, who has been permitted to narrate this period?

CHAPTER 3, **HISTORIOGRAPHICAL FRAMING** — Q 3

A late, compiled literature, divided by domain: meaning written in Senegal, evidence written abroad.

What can be argued from documentation produced by the parties just counted?

CHAPTER 4, **METHODOLOGY AND CASE STUDY SELECTION** — method

Argue from buildings. Three criteria, seven categories, and a map of evidence density drawn before any comparison.

Fill the frame only as deeply as each record allows.

CHAPTER 5, **THREE CASE STUDIES** — Q 1

Twenty-one positions, filled to conspicuously unequal depths.

The inequality of the record must be accounted for before any comparison.

CHAPTER 6, **COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS** — Q 2

The doctrine never preceded a design. It legitimated, named and regulated procedure. It generated no form.

If the layer carrying the meaning is the first to go, who argues for it now?

CHAPTER 7, **LEGACY AND CONTEMPORARY CRITIQUE** — Q 3

An economic ending, an administrative revoke, and a protect system split the same way as the historiography.

The answers now have to be assembled in the terms the questions were asked.

CHAPTER 8, **CONCLUSION** — answers Q 1–3

Three answers, one procedure, one proposition, and the limits of a documentary method.

Q1 /the instrumentalisation and its place - Q2 /the work of the doctrine - Q3 /the narration and its apparatus

Fig. 8.1. The argument of this thesis as a chain of forced moves. Each entry states what a chapter established; each line between entries states the question that finding left open and that the following chapter was written to take up. The right-hand column records which of the three research questions each chapter contributes to. Diagram produced by author.

1 /THE ARGUMENT AS IT WAS BUILT

Six chapters, and the question each one left for the next

The chapters of this thesis do not sit side by side as facets of a subject. Each was made necessary by the finding of the one before it, and each closed off a way of proceeding that had been available until then. Setting out the chain is therefore not a summary of contents but a statement of the argument's form (fig. 8.1).

Chapter 2 reconstructed the conditions under which architecture could be assigned a national role at all, taking them in the order in which they had to exist: a doctrine, a territory, and a body of practitioners able to draw. At each of the three scales it found the same distance between what was declared and what could be done, and at each the distance turned out to be a distance between hands. The origin of the state's architectural doctrine is disputed between a Senegalese scholar of aesthetics who reads it as a description already present in traditional sculpture and a French architect who remembers it as an improvised remark at a planning meeting. The meaning of the capital's principal housing programme divides the two historians who have studied it most closely, one finding selection and expulsion, the other appropriation and desire, in a programme that built 3,426 houses for some thirty thousand people in a decade when Dakar grew by a hundred and fifty thousand, and that proceeded alongside roughly eighty thousand evictions.[1] The founding of the institution meant to produce Senegalese architects is credited to a French practitioner by the editorial apparatus around his interview, contradicted by his own words inside it, and attributed to presidential will by the school's own graduates. Contested authorship was not an incidental feature of these materials. It was the chapter's most consistent finding, and it produced the question the chapter could not itself answer: if the origins of a doctrine, a housing policy and a professional school are all disputed along roughly the same line, then who has been permitted to narrate this period cannot be separated from what happened in it.

Chapter 3 took that as a historiographical question and answered it by counting. The literature of these two decades passed through an initial critical silence, a recovery under the heading of African Modernism, and a decolonial critique of that recovery, and it divides almost evenly between African and European or North American authors. The tally proved to be the least interesting result. What mattered was that the division falls by subject rather than by volume: doctrine, aesthetics and pedagogy are written almost entirely by African authors, while the archival reconstruction of what was planned, financed, commissioned and built is almost entirely European and North American. A second asymmetry sat underneath the first and concerned access, since the European scholarship was read whole while much of the Senegalese material reached this thesis relayed through other scholars' footnotes. The chapter closed on an awkward question rather than a finding: what can be argued from a building whose documentation was produced, for the most part, by the parties it had just counted?

1. Beeckmans, "Development Syndrome," 361–62, and 378, citing Seck, Dakar, 131, and Diallo, "La SICAP," 15.

Chapter 4 answered that the argument had to be made from buildings, and it argued the point negatively. Reading the doctrine on its own terms was ruled out, because the doctrine's central phrase was dismissed as an empty formula by the architect closest to its drafting and appears nowhere in the enacted articles of the law said to carry it. Reading the historiography on its own terms was ruled out too, since its vocabulary is borrowed from the doctrine it is meant to assess. What remained was the buildings, for the reason Chapter 4 gave: they are the only term in the problem that neither the doctrine nor its historians authored. From that the chapter derived three criteria of selection, seven analytical categories applied uniformly to every case, and a matrix recording how densely each category was evidenced for each building. That matrix set a condition that the comparison would later have to satisfy.

Chapter 5 filled the frame. Twenty-one positions were reconstructed across three buildings taken in the order in which they were commissioned, and they were filled to conspicuously unequal depths: the museum best served on how it was decided and worst on how it was made, the fairground documented element by element in its present fabric and hardly at all in the scholarship, the hotel resting on a single author and a single witness at fifty years' distance. The chapter closed by naming two things the next one would have to deal with. The first was that the inequality of the record was not a defect in the reconstruction but the first thing a comparison would have to account for. The second was that a sample chosen for symbolic charge, documentary sufficiency and typological spread could not, by construction, answer three questions bearing directly on the thesis, and that three reference points from the same years would have to be introduced to answer them: ENAM - École nationale d'administration et de magistrature for what the same practitioners did when display was not the point, the Musée des civilisations noires for what happened where execution never arrived, and the École d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme for whether the doctrine could pass to Senegalese authorship at all.

Chapter 6 took the archives before it took the buildings, as Chapter 4 had required, and established that documentation here tracks later institutional adoption rather than importance in 1966, 1974 or 1977. Only then did it compare. Setting the doctrine's dates against the designs' brought the sequence apart: the doctrine was named in 1974, five years after the fairground competition and eight after the museum opened, and the law arrived in 1978 when all three buildings were finished. Four unrelated channels of appointment all terminated in the same small pool of French practitioners, and even the one channel open by design, the competition, was won from Paris. Where the national reference sat could be located precisely, and it sat in the applied layer rather than in the structure, with the museum standing as the control case because nothing was ever applied to it. The verdict followed from those three findings together, and it is set out under the second question below. The chapter ended by observing that if the part of a building carrying its meaning is also the part that comes away first, the question that follows is who argues for it now, and on what terms.

Chapter 7 answered that question in four parts, all of them lying after 1980 and admitted on one ground: a doctrine that generated no form may still have generated a vocabulary, and a vocabulary shows who is speaking. The programme closed for reasons that were largely financial, and the single clause of law that had ever named the doctrine was struck out in 2021 to bring professional practice into line with a regional directive, which is as quiet an ending as was available to it. Advocacy for these buildings is local; the surveys, the grants and the registers are not. Senegalese authorship, when it came, did not carry the doctrine with it. And the uses these buildings were put to, together with the museum finally built in place of the one Senghor wanted, show the same machinery of transfer at work with a different state behind it.

The chain has a shape worth naming, because it is the shape of the thesis's method as much as of its narrative. Each chapter proceeded by subtraction. Chapter 2 removed the possibility of treating declaration and execution as one act, Chapter 3 removed the possibility of reading either the doctrine or its historiography on its own terms, Chapter 4 removed significance as a sufficient ground for choosing what to examine, Chapter 5 removed the assumption that three buildings could be compared as though their records were of the same depth, Chapter 6 removed the doctrine as an explanation of form, and Chapter 7 removed the expectation that any of this ended when the presidency did. What survives that sequence is narrower than what the thesis began with, and it is correspondingly harder to overturn.

2 /THE THREE QUESTIONS ANSWERED

The answers assembled in the terms the questions were asked

The first question asked what the Senegalese state's instrumentalisation of architecture actually consisted of between 1960 and 1980, and in which part of a building the national claim came to rest.

It consisted, first, of the channel rather than the form. The state's operative instruments were the commission, the site and the occasion, and all three can be documented where a stylistic policy cannot. The museum was proposed by a UNESCO consultant and accepted within days, without competition, and delivered to its curators in time for the festival that gave it its meaning; the fairground was placed on open ground six kilometres north of the city and opened as an international event; the hotel took the principal square of the capital and its name. Behind all three stood a mechanism inherited rather than invented, in which the capital's major projects arrive with their financing and their designers already attached, a mechanism established under FIDES in the late colonial years and, as Chapter 7 showed, still running in 2018 under a different sponsor. Independence changed the client, the flag and the rhetoric. It did not change the drawing board.

It consisted, second, of an applied layer. Where these buildings make a national claim in their fabric, they make it in a layer added to a frame that is international and eco-

nomical: the seven regional pavilions at CICES carrying murals of stone, shell and horn, cast as panels from full-size prototypes and fixed to the buildings afterwards;[2] the projecting hoods over every window of the hotel; the crushed Rufisque stone, laterite cobble and Saloum reed ceilings at the school of administration. The Musée dynamique is the exception that establishes the rule, since the one decorative programme proposed for it was refused and the building was left as its architects had drawn it.[3] Its claim was made by its colonnade, which holds the roof up. That distinction decided what survived. Where the reference was applied it was available to be removed, and at both buildings that anyone later had reason to refit it was removed, while the pavilions nobody refitted still carry their murals. Survival was settled by whether there was a reason to touch a thing, not by what the thing meant.

The second question asked what work Senghor's doctrine of parallélisme asymétrique performed in relation to the buildings raised under it.

It performed three kinds of work, and none of them was formal. The first was legitimation. A president who needed his capital to look African had, in buildings already under commission, something to point at. The second was naming, and the naming came after the drawings: a phrase supplied at a meeting, in front of a model, to describe what had been decided elsewhere. The third arrived only in 1978, and it was regulation of procedure rather than of appearance, requiring an architect above a cost threshold, referring every public monument to a ministerial commission, and promising free assistance to builders of modest dwellings. All three effects are real, and all three are administrative.

What it did not do was generate a form. No building examined here looks the way it looks because of the doctrine, and the two designs Chapter 6 found closest to the vernacular, the school of administration and the museum that was never built, were the two furthest from any public performance of it. A condition on the doctrine's work explains why this outcome was close to structural. The doctrine called for an architecture that would be authentically African, and the profession available to produce it was French: four unrelated ways of choosing an architect all ended in the same small pool, because that pool held the only firms with offices, staff, credit and site experience in the country. The architects the doctrine was written for were students throughout the years in which it was formulated, named and legislated, and by the time they were practising the state had stopped commissioning. The doctrine's most durable function turned out to be curatorial rather than architectural. It survives as the label under which a European heritage platform argues for the preservation of a Senegalese building, while the single sentence of Senegalese law that ever named it was retired in 2021, together with the clause directing architectural creation to Negro-African and Sudano-Sahelian values, as part of a regional harmonisation of professional practice.[4]

2. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 37.
3. Taylor, "The Spiral and the Crossroads," 55; Allais, "Joyau, équipement, cadre," sec. "Ébauche et réalisation," nn. 45–46.
4. SOS Brutalism database entry, "Hôtel Indépendance," excerpting Herz, SOS Brutalism: A Global Survey; Loi n° 2021-22, art. 35 and exposé des motifs.

The third question asked who has narrated this period, with what omissions, and whether the apparatus that argues for these buildings today reproduces the same division.

The narration is late, compiled rather than accumulated, and divided by domain rather than dominated in any simple sense: Senegalese scholarship carries the meaning of the period and foreign scholarship carries its evidence, with the one substantial exception, a round table of the school's own graduates, being a transcript of recollection rather than archival research. That division can now be given a weight rather than a head-count. Chapter 3 counted the authors and found them roughly evenly split, six or seven a side. Counted instead by the citations actually placed in this thesis, 465 of them across 354 notes, European and North American scholarship carries 309, against 125 for African-authored work and 31 for the Senegalese state's own documents. The head-count is even. The load is not, and the load is the better measure of whose reconstruction of this period a study like this one is obliged to build on.[5]

The omissions can be named individually. The Musée dynamique, the most explicitly state-commissioned cultural building examined here, appears in no entry of the volume that recovered this architecture for an international readership.[6] No account available to this thesis states the structural system, the wall construction or the finishes of either the museum or the hotel, so that a comparison of construction across the sample would have been a comparison of one documented structure with two silences. And the density of documentation, where it exists, records a later decision to adopt a building rather than any judgement made about it at the time, a pattern set out in section 3 below.

The apparatus does reproduce the division, and it does so almost exactly. Post-1960 construction, the eight-per-cent share recorded in Chapter 5, and not one of Senegal's fourteen properties on the UNESCO World Heritage List and tentative list is a work of the independent state.[7] Locally, the case for these buildings is made by architects and writers arguing against demolition and speculation. The survey that documents them, the grant that pays for the survey and the register that would protect them all originate elsewhere. What Chapter 3 found in the writing of this history, Chapter 7 found again in the institutions that now decide what of it is kept.

5. Counted from the consolidated note lists of Chapters 2 to 8, with every Ibid. resolved to its antecedent and works cited at second hand excluded; where a note reports that one author is quoted in another, the citation is counted toward the source consulted. Authorship is classified as in Chapter 3, section 4. Two items sit awkwardly on that classification and are counted as African-authored: the CICES conservation management plan, whose authors are African but whose funding is not, and Melot's article of 1977, by a French practitioner in a Senegalese journal, counted here as European following Chapter 3.
6. Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, Senegal section, 143–269; the Musée dynamique appears in no entry.
7. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 62 and 152–53.

3 /WHAT THIS STUDY CONTRIBUTES

One procedure, and one consequence

Two results of this thesis are usable outside it. Neither is a fact about Dakar.

The first is a procedure, and it follows from a diagnosis. The archives behind these three buildings differ in density, and the differences do not correspond to anything that happened between 1960 and 1980. Four substantial studies of the museum have appeared since 2016, written by festival historians, art historians and one architectural historian, none of whom asked what its walls were made of. The fairground was surveyed room by room under a foreign conservation grant, on a site the architectural literature had covered in a single appreciative entry. The hotel had neither a curator nor a conservator, and in place of a literature it has one author writing twice and one participant remembering at fifty years' distance.[8] Three different reasons for a document to exist, and not one of them is that the building mattered at the time. Documentation of this kind records a later decision to adopt a building. It does not record importance, and it does not record neglect either.

The consequence is not that some findings are less certain than others. It is that an asymmetric record manufactures findings that look substantive. If the museum's commission is documented in correspondence and the hotel's is not, a comparison will report that the museum was more deliberately commissioned, and the report will be an artefact of two reading rooms. A difference between two buildings and a difference between two archives are indistinguishable in the output. They can only be separated in the method, and only before the comparison, not after it.

The procedure this thesis used, and offers, has three steps. Map the density of the record category by category and building by building before any comparative claim is made, so that the shape of the silence is visible as a shape (fig. 4.5, restated at the opening of Chapter 6 as fig. 6.1). Compare only across cells of comparable density. And apply one rule where they are not comparable: where the archives can be set against each other only at a point on which one of them is silent, the silence is reported and the comparison is not made.

The rule has a cost and the cost should be stated, because a procedure whose cost is hidden will not be adopted. It forfeits findings. This thesis could not compare construction across its three cases, which for a study of buildings is not a small forfeit, and it could not do so because no account available to it states the structural system of either the museum or the hotel. The alternative was not a better finding. It was a finding about French publishing habits presented as a finding about Senegalese architecture. Where the rule pays for itself is that the empty cells stop being a defect in the study and become evidence about the field: the pattern of what was never written down is one of the more legible things about this period, and it is only legible if it is mapped rather than worked around.

8. Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 13, 62, 66; Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 192–97.

Nothing in this procedure is specific to Senegal. It applies wherever the record of a body of building was assembled, long afterwards, by institutions other than the society that commissioned it, which is the ordinary condition of postcolonial architectural history rather than an exceptional one.

The second result is a consequence rather than a procedure, and it concerns where symbolic content sits in a building. Chapter 6 located the national reference in these three buildings and found it in an applied layer: murals cast as panels and fixed to finished pavilions, hoods hung over windows, stone and reed brought to the surfaces of a frame that was international and economical. Chapter 7 followed what became of that layer. It went at the two buildings that were refitted, and it survives on the pavilions that were not. The museum, where the claim was carried by a colonnade holding up a roof, kept its claim through every subsequent change of use, including uses with no interest in preserving it, because the claim could not be edited out without demolishing the building.

Stated generally, and on a sample small enough that it is a proposition to be tested rather than a law: where a state's architectural doctrine operates on an applied layer, the meaning of a building has a shorter life expectancy than the building, and how long it lasts is decided by the economics of refitting rather than by any judgement of its significance. Where the doctrine operates on the plan or the section, the meaning lasts as long as the structure does.

> "A meaning that was applied stays exactly as long as nobody has a reason to refit."

Two things follow that bear on practice. The first is a caution for heritage instruments. Registering a building as significant registers the durable part and leaves the fragile part unnamed, since the frame will survive without intervention and the layer carrying the claim will not. For architecture of this kind, protection has to be specified at the level of the element. The second is a caution for reading. An applied national reference is easy to commission, easy to photograph, and easy to remove, and its disappearance from a building is weak evidence that anything changed politically. At the fairground it recorded only that nobody had a reason to touch a pavilion, and at the hotel only that somebody did.

4 /WHAT THIS STUDY COULD NOT ESTABLISH

The limits of a documentary method, and what would remove them

This thesis rests on published research and not on fieldwork. No building discussed here has been visited by its author, and every statement about present condition derives from published surveys, photographs and one conservation plan. Those statements are therefore as recent as their sources and no more recent, and where a building has changed since its last survey this study would not know.

The Senegalese press of the period was not consulted. Dakar-Matin and, after 1970,

Le Soleil would have carried the opening of the fairground, the completion of the hotel and whatever was said publicly about the doctrine in the years when it was being formulated, and neither is comprehensively catalogued in the indexes available from a European library. The consequence has to be stated exactly, because it constrains a whole class of claim made above. This thesis has not proved any absence. Where it reports that something was not said about these buildings, it reports that the literature reachable from European and North American indexes does not say it. The distinction is not a formality. The finding that Senegalese scholarship carries the meaning of this period and foreign scholarship its evidence would look different if a run of Le Soleil turned out to contain sustained architectural criticism.

Some of the material this thesis depends on was read at second hand and is marked as such throughout, and the bibliography separates those items into their own list, cited as evidence that a body of coverage exists and never as evidence of what that coverage says. Where a Senegalese source reaches this study through a French or American footnote, the interpretation that reaches it comes with the footnote.

Three specific things could not be established. There is no structural specification for the museum or the hotel in any source available here, which is why the comparison of construction was not attempted. The drafting record of the 1978 law was not located: this thesis can show that parallélisme asymétrique appears in the memorandum and in none of the enacted articles, but it cannot show who wrote that memorandum, on whose advice the phrase entered it, or why it was not carried into the text that was voted.[9] And the question of whether the doctrine could have passed into Senegalese authorship cannot be answered inside the period at all, since the first cohort trained in Dakar qualified in the years when the state had stopped commissioning. Chapter 7 could show that nationality does not settle the question. It could not run the test, because the test was never set up.

One further limit is a matter of source rather than of access. For the hotel, the school of administration and the school of architecture, Thierry Melot is at once the principal witness and an interested party, and his testimony is used here because there is no alternative to it and marked wherever the interest is material.

Four things would remove most of these limits, and they can be ranked. Complete runs of Dakar-Matin and Le Soleil come first, because they are the only ones that would convert a limit into a finding rather than merely confirming what is already argued. The Archives nationales du Sénégal come second: material from them already reaches this thesis at one remove, through another scholar's citation of a 1976 report of the Commission nationale d'urbanisme et d'environnement, which is evidence that the holdings are reachable by someone in Dakar.[10] The drawings of the bureaux d'études that produced these buildings come third, and site inspection, with access to the upper floors of the hotel and to the interior of the former museum, comes fourth.

9. Loi n° 78-43, exposé des motifs vs. arts. 1–7.
10. Beeckmans, "Adventures of Michel Ecochard," n. 30, citing ANS, CNUE report, 1 Mar. 1976, 7.

5 /CLOSING

The claim this thesis makes can be put in one sentence. The doctrine that has given post-independence Senegalese architecture its name was announced in 1974, at a meeting convened to authorise a privately financed hotel, in front of a study model that had already been made, and it never appeared in the enacted text of the law that is said to carry it.

> "The doctrine was not applied to a design; it was named in front of one."

That is a narrow result, and its usefulness lies in what it displaces. The buildings of Senghor's Senegal are ordinarily read downward from the doctrine, as though a president's aesthetic writings constituted a brief and the architects had received it. Read in the other direction, from what was commissioned, by whom, through which channel and in which layer of the fabric, the doctrine turns out to arrive after the drawings and to do administrative and rhetorical work rather than formal work. Nothing in that account diminishes the buildings, and nothing in it makes Senghor's project less serious. It relocates the seriousness. The state's real instrument was its power to commission, to place and to stage, and that power was exercised through a professional milieu inherited intact from the administration it had replaced. A vocabulary was found afterwards for what that milieu produced, and the vocabulary was good enough to have outlived both the buildings' original uses and the law that once carried it.

The three questions with which this thesis opened were posed in the belief that the answers were known and needed only to be assembled. They were not. What the assembling produced is a smaller claim than the one the literature offers, resting on a record that has been mapped rather than filled in, and it is offered in that form.

Bibliography

This bibliography is organised in three parts rather than the conventional two, because two independent questions have to be answered about every item and one heading cannot answer both.

The first question is what the source stands in relation to. Was it produced within the period under study, or by someone who took part in the events it describes? That test separates Primary Sources from Secondary Sources, and it turns on participation rather than on date: the enabling law and decree qualify because they belong to the period, and Thierry Melot's testimony qualifies because he designed one of the buildings examined here, even though it was published in 2026. The CICES conservation plan does not qualify, although it is more recent than nothing else here is, because its authors were not present.

The second question is how this thesis reached the source. Was it read in full, or is it known only through another scholar's footnotes? That test separates Secondary Sources from Works Cited at Second Hand. Items in the third list are cited as evidence that a body of coverage exists, never as evidence of what that coverage says.

Several sources in the second list transmit primary material that this thesis reaches only through them: Gabus's mission notes, Lamoureux's and Marin's personal archives, oral-history interviews with participants. Where a claim rests on such material, the note says so.

The third list is kept visible rather than folded into the second, both as a matter of citation honesty and because the unevenness of the surviving record (who wrote directly about this period, and who is reachable only through someone else's reading of them) is itself part of this thesis's argument, developed in Chapter 3, Section 4.

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Appendix

Most figures in this thesis are reproduced from a published source, and the caption beneath each names that source. Where an image has also been altered, the caption records the alteration and this appendix shows the result against the original.

Alterations are of three kinds and no others. Resolution has been enhanced, using the generative tools named below, where a scan was too degraded to print legibly at the size required. Colour and lighting have been adjusted where an original was too dark or too faded. A red highlight has been added, by the author in Photoshop, where a figure is used to direct attention to one element of a larger scene. No image has been altered in any way that changes what it shows: no element has been added, removed, or moved. A selection of the modified figures appears below, each shown against its original.



Fig. 2.1. Reproduced in Jachec, “Senghor and the Cultures,” 203.



Fig. 2.1. Resolution enhanced with Google Flow (nano banana pro); Red highlight added by author via Photoshop.



Fig. 2.2. Reproduced in Valdespino, “The Cité Is Yours,” 854.



Fig. 2.2. Resolution enhanced with Google Flow (nano banana pro); Red highlight added by author via Photoshop.



Fig. 4.1. Reproduced from ArchDaily, “Exploring the International Trade Fair Centre in Dakar, Senegal.”



Fig. 4.1. Resolution enhanced with Open AI (GPT image 2.0); Color and lighting adjusted by author via Photoshop.



Fig. 4.3. Reproduced from Dakaractu, “*L’Assemblée Nationale, ‘un bâtiment plus vieux que la République.’*”



Fig. 4.3. Resolution enhanced with Open AI (GPT image 2.0); Color and lighting adjusted by author via Photoshop.



Fig. 5.10. Reproduced in Chaouni, Gueye and Salama, CICES Conservation Management Plan, 29.

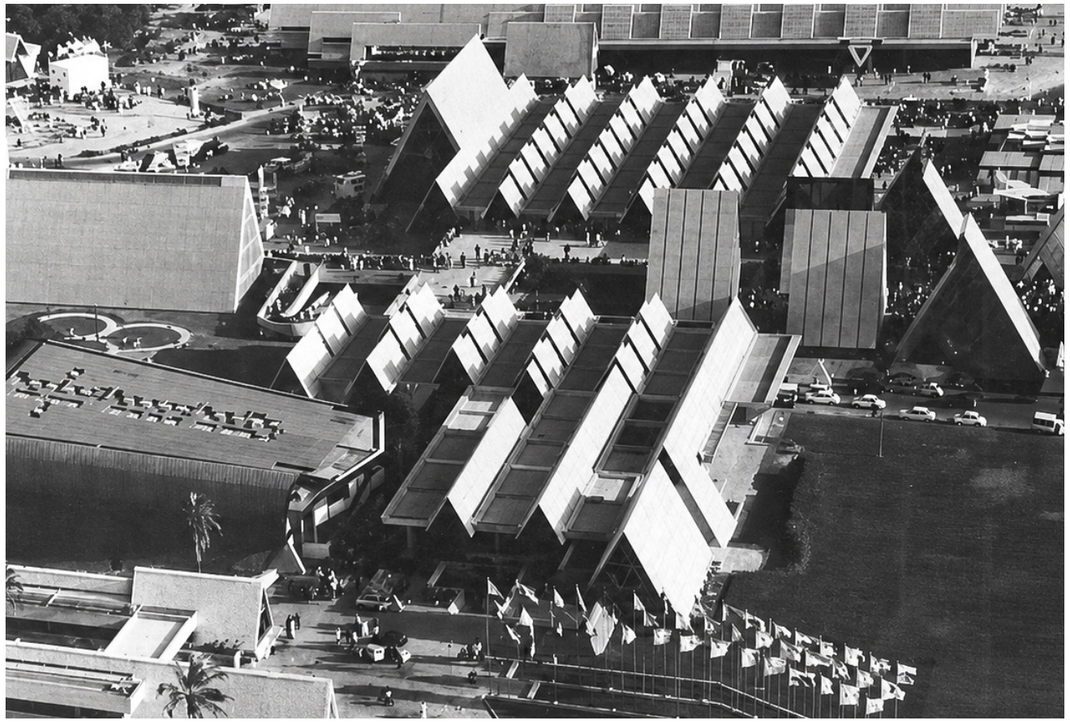


Fig. 5.10. Resolution enhanced with Open AI (GPT image 2.0); Color adjusted by author via Photoshop.



Fig. 5.23. Produced in Herz et al., eds., African Modernism: The Architecture of Independence, 232.



Fig. 5.23. Resolution enhanced with Open AI (GPT image 2.0); Color adjusted by author via Photoshop.