Introduction: Dancing with Memory

I begin with some reminiscences, you might say a genealogy.

My mother took me to ballet classes in a nearby Surrey village when I was a child. She later told me that as a young girl of Portuguese descent born in Guyana (then British Guiana), her love of music and dance had been kindled by hearing the steel bands parading through the streets of Georgetown and waiting for the Masquerade dancers and musicians to knock on her door at Christmas time. While she enjoyed these West African rhythms, she also wanted to attend local ballet classes, but did not have the opportunity. She emigrated to the UK in her mid-twenties, married an Englishman, started a family, and when I was four and a half, she enrolled me in a local ballet school. After several years of Mrs Conrad's strict instruction, my requests for different styles were satisfied with classes in tap, modern, disco, Latin American and ballroom dancing.

I began learning salsa in 2002 when I moved to Clapham, south London, at the start of my PhD. My hips, which refused to stay in turn-out but happily moved rhythmically in response to Latin music, seemed better suited to salsa than ballet. I enjoyed the sense of embodied connection salsa gave me to my mother's Caribbean homeland, which was otherwise hard to grasp in my Anglicised upbringing. I also revelled in the rapid changes of partner that allowed me to embed myself in twenty-something south London social life. Salsa somehow connected my intangible ancestral past to a future I was working hard to create.

On 21st March 2020, only days after the first COVID lockdown in the UK had halted all social dancing, a salsa friend from New Zealand who I had danced with for many years at The Bedford pub in Balham, tagged me in a Facebook link he had posted to the salsa track 'Lady' by Orquesta La Palabra. I replied, "This had me dancing around my room in nostalgic reverie! Oh, for the days of Balham salsa (or any kind of salsa, since corona shutdowns!). Thanks for helping me to relive a very social past in very anti-social times."

Months later, on the eve of the second UK COVID lockdown, and not having danced salsa for months, I asked Alexa to play salsa music. I shuffled in time with the clave rhythm towards my husband (who I had met through salsa friends in Balham) and we managed to dance a few bars before I felt an overwhelming sense of simultaneous loss and joy. Tears began streaming down my cheeks as we continued to dance.

Reflecting on these recollections as I form them into language, I am struck by the complex ways that memory weaves and morphs across geographies, generations, modes of transmission, media and bodies moving to popular rhythms. A childhood memory migrates across the Atlantic and becomes diasporic memory, embedded in the body of the next generation through dance lessons. Caribbean desire for Britishness becomes British desire for Caribbeanness as memories pass from the migrant to the second generation. Popular dance translates diasporic memory into social identity in London. Social media converts affective memory into nostalgia. And the COVID pandemic, a global crisis of physical contact, bestows a palpable intensity on embodied memory.

Popular dance practices are intimately intertwined with both personal and collective dimensions of memory. As embodied forms they can retain bodily knowledges over long periods of time through repeated movement sequences, rhythms, dynamics, spatial patterns and performer relationships. And yet, they often privilege improvisation, allowing skilled dancers and teachers to adapt the

memories they perform to changing contexts. Frequently transmitted through social interaction, community classes or popular media (films, music videos, television, social media), popular dance practices allow memories to be shared and transformed across communities bound by social, cultural, diasporic, sexual, generational, religious and fan-based identities. As such, popular dance practices can become sites of contestation over genealogies, the use and meaning of the past and its implications for identities in the present. Their mnemonic charge can also make popular dance practices targets of cultural control and vehicles for shaping body politics around nationalistic, heteronormative, White, capitalistic values through moral panics, policing, censorship and appropriation – disciplinary techniques that attempt to regulate forgetting as well as remembering. Traces of dancers' responses to contested memories and efforts to contain or co-opt their mobility are often embodied in the movement itself, so that popular dance practices become archives of their own conflicts over what can be remembered and forgotten.

Embodied memory: interdisciplinary movements between memory and popular dance

Bodies have long played a role in the development of ideas about cultural memory. The concept of embodied memory forms a thread through this interdisciplinary history, even as it gets pulled between and reshaped around notions of habit, ritual, resistance, performance, repertoire and archive. But understandings of embodied memory have developed only sporadically, often overshadowed by memory objects that ostensibly persist with greater stability over time, such as texts, monuments, films and photographs. Catalysts for shifting approaches to embodied memory have been the turn towards performances as key sites of memory transmission, and consideration of memory practices that emerged under the dehumanising conditions of colonisation, slavery and racial prejudice in the Atlantic world. This section traces ideas about embodied memory across philosophy, literature, history, anthropology, sociology, dance studies, performance studies and popular dance studies, offering one, inevitably selective, genealogy for the chapters in this book.

Henri Bergson's (2004) philosophical work *Matter and Memory* and Marcel Proust's (1992) epic novel *À la recherche du temps perdu*, originally published in 1896 and 1913 respectively, both dwelt on the memory-making capacities of bodies, either to form habits or to trigger involuntary sensory recollections, and distinguished embodied memory from a more cognitive "image-memory" (Bergson 2004). French historian Pierre Nora later interpreted this distinction temporally, romanticising gestural and habitual memory as part of authentic *milieux de mémoire* (environments of memory) that characterised "primitive and archaic societies" (1996), but were depleted in modern life. For Nora, modern memory is located not in the body, but in the images, recordings and documents of the archive, as a discrete, artificially constructed *lieux de mémoire*. Nora's concept of places of memory has proved incredibly productive in memory studies, but his approach neglects the vibrant ways in which memory practices have remained embodied in modernity.

Approaching the question of *How Societies Remember* as an anthropologist, Paul Connerton (1989) reframes Bergson's habit-memory and image-memory as different kinds of memory practices: incorporating practices and inscribing practices. Incorporating practices take place via live bodily activity, whereas inscribing practices use media, such as writing, photographs or computers, to store the memory beyond the temporal and spatial limits of corporeal presence. Importantly for dance and performance scholars, Connerton sees incorporating practices epitomised most formally in commemorative ceremonies of ritual re-enactment, such as coronations, religious rites and the Olympic Games, reflecting his belief in "the importance of performances, and in particular habitual

performances, in conveying and sustaining memory" (1989). It is for this reason that Connerton's work has been so influential in later work on memory in dance and performance.

Like Nora, Connerton perceives a shift in the roles of incorporating and inscribing practices in the course of human history, and specifically in the "transition from an oral culture to a literate culture" (1989). The rise of inscribing practices has, Connerton asserts, led people to "devalue" and "neglect[…]" (1989) rituals of re-enactment and incorporating practices more generally, particularly under the conditions of modernity. But unlike Nora, Connerton does not view the status of commemorative rituals of incorporation in modern life as characterised entirely by depletion and loss. Rather, in the face of modernity's "logic of capital", which "denies the idea of life as a structure of celebrated recurrence", commemorative practices act as a "compensatory strategy", reviving "the sense of life as ritual re-enactment in secular vocabulary" (1989). Connerton, thus, identifies a *raison d'être* for corporeal practices of memory in capitalist modernity.

The value that Connerton attributes to the persistence of "bodily social memory" (1989) in modernity is limited, however, by his commitment to ritual re-enactments as exemplary incorporating practices whose function is memory preservation. The value of commemorative ceremonies, for Connerton, is their apparent resistance to the kinds of reflection, comparison and interrogation to which we submit inscriptions, such as texts. Existing only in the moment of performance, and not as persistent, tangible objects of contemplation, Connerton considers incorporating practices to be immune to "the process of cumulative questioning entailed in all discursive practices" (1989). In this quality lies their mnemonic power, he continues, as they have the capacity to preserve social values beyond reproach. However, Connerton's argument might be challenged here on several counts. Firstly, it is not self-evident that an immunity to critical questioning necessarily renders social values more memorable. Hannah Arendt writes that, on the contrary, events such as the American Revolution tend to be forgotten "unless they are talked about over and over again" (1990). Secondly, it is questionable whether commemorative ceremonies are more impervious to challenge than tangible inscriptions, since the repetition and social context of rituals provides plenty of opportunity for critique. Connerton, in fact, provides an example of the critique of ritual in his description of the early days of the French Revolution, when the deputies of the Third Estate (representing the peasants and bourgeoisie) challenged the convention of requiring deputies to wear costumes representing their estate, leading to several waves of French fashion innovation during the 1790s (Connerton 1989). Finally, even if ritual re-enactments could be regarded as inherently conservative, they would not be representative of incorporating practices in this respect, which are often founts of improvisation and innovation. As Lyn Spillman and Brian Conway point out in their analysis of memories of Bloody Sunday in Northern Ireland, even commemorative ceremonies "are never done exactly the same way twice" (Spillman and Conway 2007). The power of performance to transmit memory resides not in its rigidity, but in its capacity to "convert the dead hands of the past into living presences that deviate from what went before" (Lhamon Jr. 1998).

The critical and creative capacities of embodied memory to refashion the past into a new future have emerged powerfully in writing that reflects on the ruptures and restitutions of embodied memory caused by colonisation, Atlantic slavery and race relations in the Atlantic world. Writer Wilson Harris gives poetic form to the idea that the traumatic memories of colonisation in the Caribbean and Guianas nevertheless contain seeds of cultural innovation and nourishment that he calls "an art of subsistence of memory" which "feed[s] imagination in the future" (1970). He exemplifies such visionary capacities of memory in the figure of the limbo dancer, remembered from

his childhood in British Guiana in the early 1930s. Forced to move under a gradually lowered bar on the slave ships of the middle passage, the limbo dancer embodied not only the painful threshold between the old world and the new, but "the renascence of a new corpus of sensibility that could translate and accommodate African and other legacies within a new architecture of cultures" (1970). Sociologist Rafael F. Narváez has more recently developed the idea of embodied collective memory as a ground not just for "somatic compliance" but "somatic resistance" (2012). Drawing on the history of race in the United States, as well as the work of Bourdieu and Freud, Narváez demonstrates how embodied collective memory does not condemn those who possess it to reproduce the existing social order, but also allows "social actors [to] collectively detach themselves from what that past prescribes for their bodies" (2012). Under the pressure of forced migration, violence and persistent racism, embodied collective memory, Narváez argues, becomes a repository of "renewal, resistance, and creativity" (2012), allowing Blackness to perform collective futures as well as collective pasts.

Dance studies began to consider the importance of marginalised memories in the 1990s through African American studies scholar VèVè Clark's (1994) work on the performance of memory in Afro-Caribbean dance. Pre-empting postcolonial critiques and correctives of Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire* project that continue to this day (for example, Achille et al. 2020), Clark applies Nora's rereading of the French Revolution and his notions of *milieux* and *lieux de mémoire* to the practices of African diasporic memory arising from the French Revolution's often-forgotten twin, the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804). Clark traces the "memory of difference" (1994) performed in choreographer Katherine Dunham's work as a creative dialogue between the Caribbean *milieux de mémoire* where Dunham conducted research, including religious rituals and secular popular dance, and the *lieux de mémoire* of her performances. According to Clark, this "research-to-performance method" (1994) allowed Dunham to develop cultural critique and sometimes political protest in her stage choreographies. The memory of difference was not lost in its transfer to the stage, but transformed and transmitted through the uneven and developing literacy of dancers, audiences and critics for Black dance.

Sociologist and historian Cindy Patton (1993), writing in parallel and in dialogue with Clark's developing work, considers what happens when the memory of difference is transferred not to the stage, but to the popular cultural site of music video. Focusing on Madonna's evocation of the queer, Black performance culture of voguing in her 1990 music video *Vogue*, Patton asks what happens to the popular memory of homosexuality when it shifts from the underground to the mainstream popular culture of MTV. Following Clark's recognition of the memory of difference even in the *lieux de mémoire* of stage performance, Patton identifies in mass media renderings of popular memory, such as *Vogue*, "the bricolagelike combination of kinetic moments of resistance, performances of difference, perspectival visions from the margin, and mute recognitions of power effected against the self" (1993). In opposition to assumptions that mass mediation appropriates and "obstruct[s] the flow of this popular memory" (Foucault 1996), Patton argues that the "[c]o-optation of locally meaningful forms, then, may highlight the memory of difference as much as it dilutes and commodifies the form and subversiveness of anti-establishment dance" (Patton 1993). Just as Clark opens up the stage to memories of difference embodied in popular dance, Patton opens up mass media as a site of popular memory's struggle and transmission.

In the same year that Patton's chapter on *Vogue* was published, Paul Gilroy's seminal book *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (1993) mapped a new geopolitical frame for tracing memories of difference. *The Black Atlantic* expanded questions of remembering and forgetting Africa, slavery and migration to an oceanic scale. In the wake of Gilroy, performance studies scholars

began to consider how popular performance practices transmit memory within the enlarged Atlantic and hemispheric fields that have framed histories of colonisation, transatlantic slavery and their aftermaths. Joseph Roach foregrounds the continual acts of "surrogation" (1996) or substitution that allow both continuity and forgetting after death in the circum-Atlantic rim. Celeste Fraser Delgado and José Esteban Muñoz expand Clark's and Patton's grounding of *lieux de mémoire* in the diasporic dancing body to "Afro-Caribbean and Latin dancing as a whole", arguing that "[d]ance vivifies the cultural memory of a common context of struggle" (1997). And Diana Taylor's distinction between the "archive" and the "repertoire" (echoing Connerton's inscribing and incorporating practices) aims at "revalorizing expressive embodied culture" as "vital acts of transfer" in the Americas (2003).

Roach's and Taylor's work, in particular, has stimulated renewed interest in cultural memory in dance studies. Scholars of contemporary dance have considered the play of cultural memory on the stage in relation to diaspora (Mitra 2009), virtual community (Burt 2009), re-enactment (Lepecki 2010; De Laet 2013; Franko 2017) and historical trauma (Bernstein 2007; Fortuna 2019). The sub-discipline of popular dance studies has also enthusiastically incorporated theories of cultural memory, perhaps due to popular dance's difficult relationship to official histories. Until the rise of popular dance studies in the last twenty years, "the traditional periodization of dance studies [had] neglected [social, vernacular, and popular dance], favouring instead the study of concert dance and well-known dancers and choreographers" (Malnig 2009). Popular dance scholar Julie Malnig attributes this exclusion of popular dance from the dance canon to dance studies' attempts to establish and legitimize itself as a discipline in a wider academy that "viewed [dance] as unintellectual, intuitive, and uncritically expressive" (Goellner and Shea Murphy cited in Malnig 2009). In the face of such Cartesian prejudices, dance studies constructed the history of dance through the lineages of ballet and modern dance, widely valued as high culture.

The roots of many popular dance forms in rural, working-class and/or Afro-diasporic cultures also affected their exclusion from the dance canon. Not only did the young discipline of dance studies distance itself from lower-class and Black dance forms, but these forms had often developed their own oral and embodied archives, precisely because of their exclusion from, or rejection of, the elite investiture of power in the written word (Dillon 2014; Parfitt Forthcoming). Popular dance forms are often based on a corporeal vitality, improvisatory principle and body-to-body mode of transmission (even via the interface of a screen) that position them as a "counter-memory" (Foucault 1977) to official histories. Theories of cultural memory alleviate some of these tensions between popular dance and historical method.

The concept of cultural memory encompasses a wide variety of memory practices, including monuments and museums, written histories and memoirs, films and photographs, gossip and gestures. Therefore, although 'archivable' materials still form a large part of the evidence base, memory studies also offers ways to think about the past through memory practices beyond traditional definitions of the archive, such as family stories and dance.[1] English literature scholar, Marianne Hirsch, who traces traumatic memories across generations through stories, gestures and photographs, writes that she "turned to the study of memory out of the conviction that, like feminist art, writing, and scholarship, it offered a means to uncover and to restore experiences and life stories that might otherwise remain absent from the historical archive" (Hirsch 2012). Similarly, the pasts transmitted in popular dance are often those of marginalised communities, of response to conflict and cultural trauma, of dispossession, appropriation and contestation, and simply of dance as everyday practice. Popular dance scholars have turned to memory studies to think about how these pasts can be excavated, valued and put into dialogue with other kinds of historical narratives.

Theories of cultural memory have featured in popular dance research at least since popular dance studies began to coalesce as a field around the turn of the millennium.[2] In 2001, dance historian and ethnographer Theresa Buckland argued that dance, and particularly "traditional forms of danced display" such as Morris dance, foregrounds and publicly enacts "cultural memory as embodied practice by virtue of its predominantly somatic modes of transmission" (Buckland 2001). Buckland drew on Connerton's distinction between incorporating and inscribing practices to think about how the Britannia Coconut Dancers of Bacup in Lancashire transmitted their repertoire (2001). In the same year, dance scholar Lisa Doolittle investigated memories of mass social dancing in Alberta, Canada, in the 1930s and 1940s, citing Roach's articulation of the incorporation/inscription binary. Noting that popular dancing was "largely absent from the existing historical records of this time and place", Doolittle was faced with the question of "how to investigate such an ephemeral phenomenon?" (Doolittle 2001). Her response was to use oral history interviews, "actual experiences of dancing with older people" (2001) and contemporary choreography to triangulate "oral, embodied, and artistically transformed [memories] of the region's social dance story" (Doolittle 2001).

Some of the more recent intersections between popular dance studies and memory studies have disrupted the binary opposition between the archive and the repertoire (Taylor 2003) by reconceiving the archive as a mediated collection of popular performances that are accessible to and curated by their communities of practice. For example, popular dance scholar Dara Milovanović (2020) uses the example of Bob Fosse to argue that popular screendance generates its own continually updated archive by quoting and referencing previous screen choreographies. A further example of recent work in this area is the AHRC/RCUK/Newton Fund/Colciencias-funded research project 'Embodied Performance Practices in Processes of Reconciliation, Construction of Memory and Peace in Chocó and El Medio Pacifico, Colombia' led by dance scholar Melissa Blanco Borelli (2020). The project aims to co-create a digital archive of the embodied performance practices that have emerged in majority Afro-Colombian communities affected by the ongoing armed conflict (1964-), questioning how these practices affect discourses of post-conflict memory, trauma and reconciliation.

Cultural Memory in Popular Dance emerged from an AHRC-funded research project called 'Dancing with Memory' that I led from 2014 to 2016. The project investigated how popular dance forms transmit cultural memory not only through embodied performance, but also through the written, artistic and cinematic forms that represent them.[3] The research focused on the case study of the cancan, and particularly its participation in the Atlantic circulation of popular dance practices in the Age of Revolution (Parfitt Forthcoming). The project also engaged with other popular dance practices through two project symposia which attracted a wide range of international scholars.[4] These gatherings were the seed for *Cultural Memory in Popular Dance* and four of the chapters were originally presented as papers at these symposia (Batchelor and Mulholland, Lopez Yanez, Robinson and Satin). The remainder of the contributors joined the collection in response to a call for contributions. A variety of disciplinary perspectives are represented in the chapters, including dance studies, sustainable development, sociology, theatre and performance studies, Central and Eastern European studies and ethnomusicology. The contributors are located across the globe, including Australia, Canada, Ecuador, France, Ghana, New Zealand, the UK and the US (from Texas to Alaska). They also encompass the full spectrum of career levels, from post-Masters to senior scholar. The authors have been in dialogue through the symposia and by peer-reviewing each other's chapters. In this process, and in response to the cross-cutting histories of popular dance and cultural memory

research outlined in this section, four clusters of research have emerged, which form the structure of this book.

Mapping the terrain

Section 1 brings together research into pedagogic invocations of Afro-diasporic memory. As the foregoing paragraphs have demonstrated, considerations of the transmission of memory in the Atlantic world forged by colonisation and transatlantic slavery have strongly shaped research at the interface of memory studies and dance studies. Building on foundational research into Afro-diasporic dance forms as embodied knowledge (Daniel 2005) that can be formulated into techniques and curricula (Asante 1993; Welsh-Asante 2000), recent research has turned towards the politics and pedagogies that arise from transmitting Afro-diasporic memories through the formal setting of the dance class. For example, dancer-scholar Dasha Chapman (2016) considers Jean Appolon's Afro-Haitian Dance Classes in Cambridge, Massachusetts, as a space of diasporic re-membering; Ananya Jahanara Kabir traces the circulation of Afro-Latin dances, rhythms and memories across variously commodified circum-Atlantic dance floors (for example, Kabir 2019); and Lucía M. Suárez, Amélia Conrado and Yvonne Daniel (2019) have edited a collection of essays on Afro-Brazilian dance, education, memory and race.

The three chapters presented in Section 1 of *Cultural Memory in Popular Dance* focus not on particular pedagogical settings, but on invocations of Afro-diasporic memory in the teaching methodologies adopted by selected popular dance forms: tap dance, Cuban salsa and Zumba Fitness. Janet Schroeder's chapter develops the concept of "dancestry" to think about how embodied genealogies are acquired, performed and transmitted in tap dance lessons through a citational process that leaves a "corporeal residue". Elizabeth Anaya considers the debate over whether teachers should incorporate sacred Afro-Cuban dances into Cuban salsa in global Latin dance communities, drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Cuba. And Aoife Sadlier argues that Zumba classes produce ritual re-enactments of the uncreolised (that is, uncoupled) African body that make manifest a collective ecstatic spirit in the space of the transnational gym. All three contributors discuss the temporal complexities of invoking Afro-diasporic memories in the dance class, and therefore bringing sacred memories into secular space. Such memory practices variously produce embodied cross-temporal connection (Schroeder), authenticity or alternatively disrespect (Anaya) or memories of collective joy (Sadlier). In all three chapters, then, popular dance classes provide spaces in which the politics, ethics and potentialities of invoking Afro-diasporic memories can be explored through the body.

Section 2 considers how popular dance genealogies can be manipulated and, alternatively, reclaimed. The malleability of memory is a foundational tenet of memory studies. Philosopher Walter Benjamin famously acknowledged that memory is only ever a function of the power-laden present:

> To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it "the way it really was" (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger. […] The danger affects both the content of the tradition and its receivers. The same threat hangs over both: that of becoming a tool of the ruling classes. (Benjamin 2019)

For Benjamin, memory becomes a site of class struggle because whoever controls the past also controls the present. These questions, "Of *what* are there memories? *Whose* memory is

it?" (Ricoeur 2006), were taken up by philosopher Paul Ricoeur, who identified three levels of the abuse of memory: the pathologisation of memory as wounded by trauma, as in psychoanalysis; the manipulation of memory through the use of ideology; and the ethical-political obligation to remember (2006). Julie Malnig's chapter in this volume draws on Ricoeur's work to consider how professional ballroom dance teams manipulated memory to legitimise the new popular dance styles in their repertoires: ragtime dance in the 1910s and rock and roll in the 1950s. These manipulations involved forgetting the African American origins of these new popular dances by rooting them in idealized, Whitened pasts.

The remaining chapters in Section 2 address the question of how particular marginalised communities can reclaim and reconfigure manipulated memories. Ray Batchelor and Jon Mulholland use visual ethnography to trace the circulation of historical imagery of all-male tango couples on the internet. They propose that a queer tango historiography can challenge "nationalism's heteronormative colonisation of the past" by revealing subjugated queer knowledges that are otherwise forgotten. Whereas Batchelor and Mulholland invoke queer theory, Maria Gabriela Lopez Yanez subjects the colonisation of memory to a decolonial critique in her chapter on Afro-Ecuadorian Bomba.[5] Lopez Yanez distinguishes between Bomba as spectacle, developed during the period of Atlantic slavery in response to the demands of slaveholders and now performed for the tourist gaze, and Bomba cimarrona as decolonial performance. Finally in this Section, Terry Ofosu explores the distinct postcolonial politics at play in the popular dances created by youth sub-cultures in post-independent Ghana. Ofosu argues that the young practitioners of these dances respond to the global hegemony of Western popular culture and the Pan-African politics of the Ghanaian government by performing a "double articulation" (Clark et al. 1997) of Western and indigenous Ghanaian movements. Ghanaian popular dances therefore become complex "mnemonic artefacts" for traditional Ghanaian dances. The chapters by Batchelor and Mulholland, Lopez Yanez and Ofosu demonstrate that embodied memory does not condemn its inheritors to repeat the past, but provides the ground on which new collective practices, indeed futures, can be built (Narváez 2012).

Section 3 exposes the political work of nation-building as memory work that acts, more or less successfully, through the bodies of citizens and their filmic avatars. Nationalism emerged hand-in-hand with modern ideas of popular performance. Cultural studies scholar John Storey goes so far as to say that, "intellectuals, working under the different banners of nationalism, Romanticism, folklore, and finally, folk song, 'invented' the first concept of popular culture" (Storey 2003).[6] One of the first versions of this popular culture was "a quasi-mythical rural 'folk culture'" (2003). For Storey, the idea of folk culture was invented as an act of romantic fantasy, "intended to heal the wounds of the present and safeguard the future by promoting a memory of […] a lost world of the authentic" (2003). Folk culture became the symbolic material that naturalised and legitimised emerging European nationalisms. But if the modern nation was imagined into being through romanticised memory, it was also a work of collective amnesia. French historian Ernest Renan asserted in his 1882 lecture 'What is a nation?', "Forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation, which is why progress in historical studies often constitutes a danger for [the principle of] nationality" (1990). What are forgotten, according to Renan, are the "deeds of violence" and "brutality" (1990) that brought about a unity thereafter remembered as having existed since time immemorial.

The chapters that comprise Section 3 explore the mnemonic and amnesiac processes of 'salvaging', documenting and commodifying folk and popular dances to produce national dance. Kirsty Kay traces the discovery and revival of the Moldavian Csángó folk dance by Hungarians seeking national origins in the minority communities of the former Austro-Hungarian empire, now outside Hungary's national borders. The subsequent two chapters in this section reveal popular dance as a practice of memory in the postcolonial nation, following the previous work in this area by Sabine Sörgel (2007) and Susanne Franco (2015). Declan Patrick considers the types of colonial and postcolonial remembering performed by two folk dances claimed at different times to be the national dance of the Philippines: Cariñosa and Tinikling. Elina Djebbari draws on ethnographic fieldwork and archival research to compare three types of archives of popular Cuban dances: the "classical" archives produced under Fidel Castro's government; the post-archival (Franco 2015) recordings made by the Conjunto Folklórico Nacional; and the dancers' body as an "*archive in the making*". Finally, Priya Thomas examines the cinematic moment when Maria forgets the steps of the ländler in *The Sound of Music* (1965) as a scene that exposes the vulnerability of Austrian, German and American body politics to loss of control and political disorder. Thomas' chapter reveals the stakes involved for the nation-state in the processes of identifying, reclaiming, codifying and archiving national dances, discussed by Kay, Patrick and Djebbari, and the anxiety provoked by the risk of nationalised bodies forgetting the choreographic script.

Section 4 considers how mediated dancing, in the form of archival objects, video recordings, films, photographs and music videos, can transmit memory as feelings or affects. Researchers working at the interface of media studies and memory studies have shown persistent interest in mediated, affective memory, perhaps as a counter to widespread narratives of media's disembodiment.[7] Notions of "haptic visuality" (Marks 2000), "prosthetic memory" (Landsberg 2004) and "postmemory" (Hirsch 2012) have provided frameworks for thinking about how media can carry affective memories within diasporic communities, to mass publics and across generations. The chapters in this section address all these dimensions of affective memory transmission, foregrounding the personal, embodied experience of each author as archival researcher, daughter, dancer and film spectator.

Danielle Robinson reflects on her physical interactions with the archival remains of ragtime and early jazz social dancing, both in the archive and later in the dance studio. She draws on new materialist theories to propose a new approach to dance reconstruction called "empathetic attunement", in which she engages imaginatively with the diverse people whose bodies, labours and lives are entangled in a specific archival object. Leslie Satin meditates on the fluid and continuous process of recomposing our own life stories which takes place as an iterative dance between memory and media. Like Robinson, Satin engages in imaginative acts of physical and writerly dance reconstruction, in which memory "channeling", story-telling and dance-making converge. The shifting relations between memory and narrative emerge again in Laura Steil's chapter. Steil draws on her experiences as a dancer and ethnographer in the Parisian "Afro scene" to explore how Afro-French young people rework affective memories of "home" though video, digital and social media technologies. For these post-migrants, mediated music and dance create complex, affective, paradoxically immediate relationships between Paris and a Congolese or Ivoirian "home". Elena Benthaus takes the discussion of affective memory to the big screen, unpacking the nostalgic feelings she experienced when viewing the intertextual dance sequences in David Chazelle's film musical *La La Land* (2016). Benthaus draws on Svetlana Boym's (2008) work to distinguish between the restorative

nostalgia for the Whitened, idealised dancing of Hollywood's Golden Age performed in the film's musical numbers, and the reflective nostalgia inscribed in the film's critical reviews, which fragment and augment the polished "technonostalgia" of the film. The chapters in this section foreground the capacity of mediated dancing both to romanticise the past and to bring us into physical encounter with other memories, others' memories, that pluralise the past and allow new narratives to emerge.

The essays gathered in this collection forcefully refute Nora's (1996) claim that embodied memory is depleted in modernity. Following Clark (1994) and Patton (1993), the contributors reveal how memories embodied in popular dance have continued to circulate and proliferate in and across dance classes, performances, social practices, archival objects, films, music videos and the internet. They are not confined to archival *lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1996), but cross back and forth between archives and repertoires, in some cases constituting both at once. The popular dance practices discussed here do not preserve memory in a pre-discursive, uncritical bubble, as Connerton (1989) argued for commemorative ceremonies, but have the capacity to challenge hegemonic pasts and imagine new collective futures. Indeed, they are animated by an ongoing negotiation between multiple dominant and marginalised visions of the past, played out on the bodies of dancers, spectators, teachers, reviewers, and more. In this negotiation, the popular dancing body, often trivialised in public discourse, becomes vital to cultural processes of remembering and forgetting as the pivot between alternative pasts, presents and futures.

[1] Joseph Roach writes that "[o]ften the best hedge against amnesia is gossip" (Roach 1996).
[2] In tracing scholarly interest in popular dance, Sherril Dodds records that "[a] burgeoning interest in popular dance came to fore in the 2001 winter edition of Dance Research Journal, which was devoted to 'social and popular dance' (Dodds 2011).
[3] Further information on the aims and design of the 'Dancing with Memory' project can be found in a chapter written by dance scholar Rachel Fensham on "funded dance research projects" that have "built credible, intensive and paradigm-shifting research programmes" (Fensham 2019).
[4] The two project symposia were: 'Dancing (trans)national memories', 20th June 2015, Senate House, University of London; and 'Muse of Modernity? Remembering, Mediating and Modernising Popular Dance', 16th April 2016, Senate House, University of London.
[5] For further perspectives on decolonising memory in dance, see the special section on 'Dance and decolonisation in Africa' edited by Ananya Jahanara Kabir and Elina Djebbari in the *Journal of African Cultural Studies* (2019) and Tina K. Ramnarine's edited collection *Dance, Music and Cultures of Decolonisation in the Indian Diaspora* (2020).
[6] In my forthcoming book, *Remembering the Cancan: Popular dance and the kinetics of memory between France and the Atlantic World*, I challenge the idea that rural and working-class people had no conception of popular culture before it was 'invented' by middle-class intellectuals. Rather, I root popular notions of a common culture of the underclasses in circulations of knowledge and memory around the transcolonial Atlantic world during the Age of Revolution. This emergent popular culture was a source of both fascination and threat to middle-class and elite observers, who quickly redefined and appropriated it in a way that mollified its danger.
[7] On the importance of gender, sexuality and embodiment in digitally mediated environments, see Neils van Doorn (2011).

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