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1   In 2013 the famous West Indian band Kassav'—which launched Zouk into international orbit—set off on their "Mawonaj Tour" which was to last several months. At the time, the singer Jocelyne Béroard declared that this reference to marronage expressed "a revolt against the music industry" (Gene 2022: 276), but this name also situated the tour in a memorial *mise en abyme*. Kassav' celebrated at the same time the release of their album *Sonjé* ("to remember") dedicated to Patrick Saint-Éloi (their singer who had passed away in 2010), the performance on stage of their musical repertoire, built up over a career of more than thirty years, and the memory of the forms of marronage which had in the past left a profound imprint on the creation of West Indian music and dance practices, including the gwoka from Guadeloupe to which the *Sonjé* album is an explicit act of homage. Kassav's "Mawonaj Tour" is thus an instance of the way in which the polyphonies of memory interweave and manifest themselves through performative and artistic practices in post-slaveries contexts. The layering of references to memory through music leads us to scrutinise the "musical memorial" as a place of (re)transmission of memories of slave trades and slaveries.

2   From the time of western abolitions in the Black Atlantic (Aterianus-Owanga & Guedj 2014; Bonacci 2009; Gilroy 1993), but also in the post-slaveries societies of the Indian Ocean (Desroches & Samson 2008; Parent 2018; Servan-Schreiber 2010), the Maghreb and the Persian Gulf, music has continually been called upon as a way of facing up to the "ghostly legacy of slavery" (Rice & Kardux 2012). In the Maghreb and the Arabian

Peninsula, communities of the descendants of the enslaved, such as the Gnawas in Morocco (Becker 2020), explicitly link, or, like the Stambali rites in Tunisia (Jankowsky 2006: 405), do not link, their musical practices with the history of slave trades and slaveries. In a different register, the African American author Toni Morrison (1989) quite specifically articulated the idea that jazz, the blues, and spirituals were musical memorials essential for the creation of a literary space for recollection at a time when there was not as yet any place or monument which allowed for it (Rice 2010: 102-52). Nowadays, the institutionalisation of memory can assume different forms, and can be taken up in dialogue with artists. But pre-existing musical memorials, such as those mentioned by Toni Morrison, offer particular heuristic opportunities for grasping the performativity of the processes whereby music is associated with the memory of the descendants of enslaved peoples, and for understanding its effects on the imagination, whether of individuals or of the community as a whole.

3   By addressing precisely this interweaving and layering of memorial processes through music, this issue of the journal aims to contribute to the existing literature around the politics of memory and traditional memorials relating to the slave trades and slaveries in the Americas and Africa (Araujo 2012, 2014, 2015; Bonniol 2004, 2007; Braxton & Diedrich 2004; Carmignani 2017; Ciarcia 2016, 2020; Jong & Rowlands 2007; Rice 2010; Smith and *al.* 2011). The literature has shown, through documentation and critical analysis, how, in particular at a supranational level, the memorial and heritage policies pursued by UNESCO from the 1990s onwards have contributed to the (re)creation of spaces for transmission and recollection on sites explicitly linked to the slave trades. Forts, ports, market places for selling human beings or natural sites have thus been reinstated while museums, monuments and sculptures have been erected to create memory trails, such as at Ouidah in Benin or Gorée in Senegal. The oversights, amnesia and silences of memory, as indeed the absences and/or failures of the projects intended to institutionalise memory, have been emphasised and thoroughly condemned in works of recent years (Chivallon 2006; Ciarcia 2020).

4   Yet despite the well-known capacity of music to transmit and embody memory (Aterianus-Owanga & Santiago 2016; Aubert & Charles-Dominique 2009; Bennett & Janssen 2017; Bithell 2006; Shelemay 2006), music has not been analysed in the context of these large-scale memorial initiatives. UNESCO has fostered performative forms linked to the legacy of the slave trades and slaveries (music, dance, carnivals, processions, religious rites etc.), and has inscribed some of them, including the maloya from Reunion in 2009 and the Guadeloupean gwoka in 2014, on the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. This classification confers on them a status and legitimacy which can on occasions mean that they are called upon to represent a whole community or group of descendants of enslaved people. It is therefore remarkable that the inclusion of these kinds of music in the heritage economy may have frozen their ability to project and retransmit memory, whereas it is the sites which have been built—and the memorial scenography being played out on them—that in some cases foster the establishment of performative forms to convey the memory of the slave trades and slaveries.

5   Thus by choosing the expression "musical memorial," this issue aims not to set music in a mnemonic materiality infused with the notion of a memorial, but rather to restore to the musical domain the fulness of the projections of memory that it catalyses, performs and disseminates. Without confining themselves to the memory of slaveries, many studies have in fact shown how music and dance, among other forms, are liable

to transmit not only types of memory linked to traumatic historical events such as genocide and war, but also to become living archives, brought to life by performing or listening (Apter & Derby 2009; Bernstein 2007; Buckland 2001; Djebbari 2021; Parfitt 2021; Roach 1996; Taylor 2003; Velasco-Pufleau & Atlani-Duault 2021). We intend to put into proper perspective works on music and memory which rarely come into dialogue because of the disparity of the objects, contexts and time-frames that they discuss. In point of fact the gathering together of this important body of critical literature, drawn furthermore from a wide variety of fields (literature, history, anthropology, ethnomusicology, performance and postcolonial studies) does not in itself provide a sufficient foundation for the definition of a musical memorial as we propose to conceptualise it in this issue of the journal *Esclavages & post~esclavages / Slaveries & Post~Slaveries.*

6   If moreover the music of the African diaspora and Creole peoples taken as a whole does transmit images which shape memories of the slave trades and slaveries, it is important to distinguish music produced in the context of slaveries, music which continues to be (re)interpreted or which comes down to us in fragmentary form, from that which was created at a later date. Songs composed by the enslaved have made it possible to identify places, historical figures, stories of marronage and conflict, reflecting resistance to being enslaved, the brutality of forced migration and the challenges of adapting to a new social space. In the case of such songs, what is needed is to shed light on the often-neglected ways in which witnesses and survivors of the slave trades and slaveries were able to transmit their memory to succeeding generations (Aje & Gachon 2019). The power of song lyrics to document the moments of separation, places of origin and itineraries of enslaved appears crucial for Africans deported to the region of the Persian Gulf (Khalifa 2006) or to what is now the Kingdom of Morocco. In the Gnawa religious and spiritual tradition in Morocco, the songs of descendants of slaves bear witness to their differing origins in West Africa and the south of the country, and to their reinvention of the fictitious category into which the Black diaspora had been bundled irrespective of any shared linguistic or ethnic reality (Hamel 2008).[1] Like Gnawa music, certain other musical genres have developed in close connection with local memories of an enslaved past: take for example the maloya from Reunion (Lagarde 2007), the Cuban rumba (Daniel 1995), the Uruguyan candombe (Biermann 2017) or the Brazilian capoeira (Assunção 2022).[2] The historical links between these music and dance forms and enslavement are beyond dispute, to such a degree that their supposed African origins frequently dominate discussions of them in a way which occludes both the processes of Creolisation, and the role of traditionalist politics which have steered the evolution of these practices in a direction emphasising the idea of resistance. Elsewhere, some performative forms have by contrast been trapped in the brutal mechanisms of *blanqueamiento* ("whitening") which blanked out the contribution of the descendants of enslaved people, as was for long the case, for instance, of the Argentinian tango (Chazelle 2001; Karush 2012). While certain of these forms witnessed the disappearance from their history of some of the actors who had contributed to their birth, other forms of music which emerged in post-slaveries societies in more recent times were completely integrated by their creators into the lines of descent from the history of slavery that they asserted. Jamaican reggae singers exemplify this: they continue to link the memory of the past with the condemnation of the inequality and violence which persist in a post-colonial age. In attempting to view music which has appeared at very different moments of time from the same perspective, this issue

aims to shed new light not only on the interweaving of history and memory (Halbwachs 1925; Ricoeur 2000), but also on the widespread interpretations and political movements to which they have given rise.

7　　Without in any way meaning to equate the long history of different musical genres, or the individual expression of artists in more or less recent periods, the various examples quoted in this introduction show how the links between music and the memory of the slave trades and slaveries are constructed, connected, disseminated, (re)thought and (re)transmitted. By identifying the interplay between the perception of "collective memory" as a framework (Halbwachs 1925), and the application by means of music—in a great diversity of forms—of collective or individual memorial strategies, this issue sets out to reveal the intermingling of these memorial injunctions (Ciarcia 2016). The specific nature of the materials that make up the composite and potentially controversial entity that is a musical memorial requires some consideration of the associations and dissociations between "legitimate" custodians, practitioners and audience, on different scales and across a range of cultural, media and artistic circuits.

8　　By placing music at the centre of our enquiry—and taking into account the complex arrangement of its layers of memory—we have given this issue a twofold purpose. On the one hand, to shed light on the performative routes whereby the memory of slaveries and the slave trades is made perceptible, audible and visible through music, both before and after the growing recognition of this history in the 1990s by national and international programmes. On the other hand, to study the memorial processes, alternative, dialogical and sometimes contentious, that are established between political or institutional actors and the creators, listeners and audiences of the musical memorials.

9　　Each of the articles gathered in this issue brings specific light to bear on these questions, but at the same time they reveal quite distinct understandings of what a musical memorial might be. This introduction takes its inspiration from this stimulating variety of interpretations, and is intended in itself to be a contribution capable of filling out certain aspects of the enquiry to which this special issue is dedicated.[3] As we conceptualise it, a musical memorial consists of two key dimensions which may at first sight appear difficult to reconcile, but which we believe must be considered together if their heuristic value is to be fully appreciated. By emphasising the performative dimension of the musical transmission of memory, we are giving prominence to the underlying continuum of the very fabric of the musical memorial from its production to its reception. In this introduction we place ourselves at the two poles of the continuum, in quite different contexts and timeframes. On the one hand, our aim is to show how the materials that make up a musical memorial are not limited to the musical content *per se*, but take on additional values in the light of the media and platforms which make the production and dissemination of this content possible. On the other hand, an equally significant part of the shaping of a musical memorial is due to its reception and the use made of it by a multiplicity of actors in a variety of contexts, setting off real polyphonies of memory. As a consequence, a musical memorial is profoundly composite and almost haphazard in character, made up of resources that are at once material and symbolic. It is precisely this combination of two different dimensions that gives it the perpetually renewable performative ability to hand down the memory of slave trades and slaveries.

10   This introduction falls into three distinct sections. Firstly, we shall examine the processes whereby memory of slaveries and the slave trades is (re)transmitted by music, which necessarily entails an understanding of the various media and technological formats involved, whether in the collection and creation of archives (printed, sound etc.) or in their dissemination. The role played in these processes by new technologies such as records, which appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, and more recently digital formats and the internet, will also be examined. We shall then address the issue of memorial polyphonies so as to place in perspective the sequences in which music of different kinds is enlisted as an early or more recent source or resource for transmitting the memory of slaveries and the slave trades, either independently of, or in correlation with, more or less institutionalised memorial narratives. This will lead us to consider the way in which musical memorials can make some forms of the music and memory of communities of descendants of enslaved people visible, ultra-visible, or on the contrary invisible, to the detriment of other such forms. Finally, the presentation of the articles which make up this issue will show a variety of understandings of what a musical memorial is. Setting up a dialogue between these contributions has the advantage of generating interrelated dynamics which make it possible to identify more precisely the forms of construction and agency that go to make up a musical memorial.

Media and (re)transmission of memory

11   The first point to be emphasised is the role of technology and media in the construction of the musical memorial. Beyond oral transmission, music bearing witness to or embodying a relationship with slaveries in the past has circulated in differing degrees as text, image or sound, and more recently, in digital form. Such music has until now been studied principally for the documentation it provides of representations of the history of slaveries and the slave trades (Béru 2011; Bousquet 2019; Djebbari in this issue), as have other artistic forms and in particular literature and films made in the United States and the Caribbean (Allen & Seretham 2012; Eckstein 2006; Halloran 2009).

12   The different systems and time-scales inherent in the media that accompany the emergence of each new technology have a real impact on relations with memory, on the symbolic weight of the narratives and images transmitted, and on the categories of actor who make use of them (Hutton 1993; Manuel 1993; Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy 2011). Song albums and record sleeves, cylinders, vinyl records, cassettes, CDs and more recently MP3 files have all made significant contributions to the creation of musical memorials. These "objects" can themselves become bearers of memory, and historical sources. Record sleeves are a good instance of this duality: beyond the musical content cut into the disc and released for the listener by the stylus running through the grooves, the images and texts printed on the sleeve can become sources of research for the historian or music-lover, conveying specific realms of imagination related to the music. Albums of Jamaican reggae, for instance, by enlisting recurrent images of captives, slaves, boats, chains, plantations and whips, both in the words of the songs and on the record sleeves (Bonacci 2020; Bousquet 2019; Cooper 1995), have contributed to the strengthening of the link between this musical genre and the legacy of the slave trade which is central to the artists' concerns. Furthermore, on account of their physicality, or on the contrary their potential intangibility, media and the various

combinations of them can blur the distinctions between the audible, the visual and the textual in the retransmission of memory, to the benefit of a multimodal—and consequently multisensory—perception of memory. The range of media involved also stimulates the imagination and aspirations of the artistic, political or scientific actors who have sensed that the music of enslaved people is the best means of strengthening collective memory of slaveries and the slave trades. To shed new light on these developments, the focus of this issue will fall on the context of particular media and technologies in order to grasp how their use to disseminate music contributes to the shaping of a musical memorial.

13   In the 19th century, one of the principal means of dissemination was the transcribing of songs, which made it possible to translate their words (Eaklor 1988; Kelley 2022). The publication of musical transcriptions and collections of the songs of enslaved people and abolitionists was particularly developed in the United States, where the latter for example were disseminated in free Black communities, in abolitionist meetings, and on the battlefields of the Civil War.[4] This active transmission became widespread at a time when it was important to show that there were visions of freedom and memories of struggle, to set against representations of submissive slaves incapable of organising themselves to fight against the system of slavery.[5] Magazines published in particular the words of songs composed during the period in which revolt was intensifying, from the 1780s to the 1830s. In 1886, George Washington Cable published in *Century Magazine* an English translation of one of the earliest of these, which celebrated the hero Juan San Malo, the leader of a Maroon colony near New Orleans, captured and hanged in 1784. "The Dirge of St. Malo," was itself adapted from a Creole poem from Louisiana ("Ouarra Saint Malo") (Diouf 2014:180-185). During the second wave of abolition, fugitive former slaves such as William Wells Brown made their own use of the publication of song-collections to reinforce a memory that was at odds with the omnipresent representation of the supplicating negro, transcribing words at variance with the racist songs of the Minstrel shows, or titles encouraging militant action and revolt.[6]

14   The rise of the gramophone in the 1920s led to a "musical revolution" (Denning 2015), and marks a turning-point in the history of the musical transmission of memory, lending an unprecedented resonance to the struggles in territories marked by the sequels of slavery (Redmond 2013). Avant-garde poets were fascinated by anthropologists' pioneering recordings of Afro-Caribbean music, seeing in them the possibility of recognising the cultural contribution of enslaved Africans, in particular in Puerto Rico and Cuba (Quiñones 2013). Yet, with a few exceptions, these poets paid little attention to the history and social conditions of the former slaves, and even reinforced and promulgated racial stereotypes (Moore 1997: 199). It was the composers of enslaved descent who re-established the links with the history of slaveries through music, and were able for the first time to get wide circulation for their songs. Artists worldwide recorded old songs which linked the memory of slaveries to narratives and demands which had previously only been heard by a local public. In the Indian Ocean, the 78rpms of the Zanzibar singer Siti binti Saad and her Taarab group, recorded in 1928 in the Columbia studios in Bombay (today Mumbai), left an enduring mark on the East African memory of the slave trade and slaveries (Fair 2001). Coming from a family of servile farmers, and not from the learned Islamic or urban milieu from which the best-known Swahili poets sprang, Siti binti Saad gave poetic expression to the social grievances that were circulating on the island between the two wars. Her songs

condemn the colonial regime that was reinforcing social and gendered inequality in the post-abolitionist world of Zanzibar. In Cuba, in 1936, the singer and *tres*[7] player Arsenio Rodriguez recorded "Bruca maniguá," in which he alternates freely between Spanish and Kikongo, the language of his grandfather, formerly enslaved in the Kingdom of Kongo, and assumes the point of view of a slave condemning the Whites (*mundele* in Kikongo). The lyrics express his wish to flee to the *maniguá*, the "bush" (*bruca!* in the title means "run!"), which represents a space of refuge and recovery for runaway slaves, deep in the structures of the memory of the African diaspora (Branche 2014: 70).

15   The 20th century development of the music industry gave greater opportunities to artists, but also to political and commercial actors, to take part in the creation of musical memorials. In the 1970s, LPs recorded by the Reunion Communist party also contributed to the recognition of the maloya as an indicator of the African and Madagascan origins of a section of the Creole population (Desroches & Samson 2008: 211). The record market began and continued to support the transformation of the landscape of the island's memory: it became easier to see and to hear ceremonies devoted to ancestors, societies dedicated to memory, and commemorative events and monuments. In the 1990s, when CDs and the World Music sector were booming (Erlmann 1996; Feld 2000), marketing strategies built upon the development of heritage policies—at the heart or in the margins of which more individual projects were emerging (see the editorial of this issue)—contributed to the foregrounding of the remnants of the history of slaveries and the slave trades to be found in certain Creole and African diaspora musical genres (Martin 2012). A number of creations of this period also embody what we here consider to be a musical memorial. For example, the African salsa group Africando[8], founded at the beginning of the 1990s by the Malian musician Boncana Maïga who had been sent to Cuba for musical training in the 1960s, and by the Senegalese producer Ibrahima Sylla (founder of Syllart Records), make evident the links shared over time by the music created on the two sides of the Atlantic, and most particularly by that of Cuba and of certain West African countries (Djebbari 2015, 2020; Shain 2002). In the *Gombo Salsa* album published in 1996, the song "Walo" opens with a tribute to the singer Pape Seck, a member of Africando who had recently died. Sung to a cha-cha-cha, the lyrics recall a 19th century "historical event" which occurred on what is now the border between Mauretania and Senegal. "At that time the Moors tended towards slavery, that is to say, human captivity" declares the singer Médoune Diallo, telling how, in the village of Nder the women put up a fierce resistance to a raid by the Moors, preferring collective suicide to being captured: "And so the village of Nder was never submitted to slavery." In this song, a subtle interplay of multiple references to the slave trades and slaveries—both Trans-Saharan and Transatlantic—is transmitted as much by the music as by the words. The combination of the piece "Walo," the *Gombo Salsa* album and the music of Africando gives rise to a layered polyphony of memory which resonates with that conjured up by Kassav's "Mawonaj Tour."

16   In recent years digital forms and media have also opened up new spaces for the (re)transmission of memories of the slave trades and slaveries through music. The website "Musical Passage: A Voyage to 1688 Jamaica" (musicalpassage.org), for instance, deploys digital means to reconstruct the music of the enslaved. This project, the brainchild of the historian Laurent Dubois, the composer David K. Garner and the modern literary and musical specialist Mary Caton Lingold, explores three scores published in the travel journal of Hans Sloane which reproduced music played by

enslaved Africans in the British colony of Jamaica in the 1680s. These notations are one of the earliest archival records of African music in the Americas before the 19th century, and allow us to hear a contemporary interpretation of fragments of a performance long before the arrival of sound recording (Lingold 2017, 2020; Rath 2018). The digital project increases the possible ways of linking this music to the collective memory, particularly by encouraging musicians to revisit this colonial narrative of a journey through the lens of improvisation and performance—a method which has been applied by the Jamaican members of Inna de Yard, a Rastafarian Nyabinghi group led by the guitarist Earl "Chinna" Smith, and by the choir of the University of the West Indies at Mona, in 2017. Presented almost as if it were itself a musical memorial, the website gives listeners several interpretations of the pieces against a background, evoking the Middle Passage, of the sound of waves breaking on the shore.

17   Retransmitting by digital means and with sound the memory of the slave trades and slaveries offers the possibility of making new musical memorials. At the same time, these initiatives allow a wide variety of actors to propose their visions and interpretations of memory independently of institutional projects, and by the same token enable them to be seen and heard by different audiences. But moving beyond the technology and media which contribute to the construction and transmission of a musical memorial, we shall now turn to the polyphonies of memory implied by the act of its construction and its reception by varying categories of actors.

Polyphonies of memory in the age of political and institutional projects

18   By investigating the memory of the slave trades and slaveries through music, this issue of our journal aims also to show how today the musical memorial often exists in parallel with local, national and international memorial policies, but can also be marginal to them, and even challenge them. Certain performatives practices linked to music (dances, carnivals, processions, religious rites, etc.) have become heritage musical memorials, offsetting in some instances the gaps, oversights and denials that affect memory. As mentioned above, UNESCO has deployed a number of ICH listings to recognise the importance of music and dance in the transmission of the memory of the slave trades and slaveries. Yet there are other musical practices which can lay claim to a similar depth of involvement with memory, but which are not recognised as such by the institutional authorities. Or this element of their history tends to be ignored in the discourses surrounding their institutionalisation. This was the case for the Congolese rumba, labelled ICH by UNESCO in 2021. Although the links between the emergence of the rumba in the 1940s and the popularity of Cuban music on the African continent in the 1930s (thanks to the series of GV Records under the RCA Victor label) were recognised locally (Dorsch 2010; Kazadi 1998; Tchebwa 1996; White 2002), any mention of these origins was missing in the nomination jointly submitted to UNESCO by the two Congo.[9] It is paradoxical that, at a time when memorial initiatives were growing exponentially, those supporting the candidature of this music did not put it forward as a musical memorial, despite the fact that it had all the potential characteristics of one. Instead, the nomination emphasised the local origins of the Congolese rumba, without showing how it reflected the cultural consequences of the slave trade, and its essential role in the local construction of a transatlantic memory.

19   In the colonial days of the Belgian Congo, Afro-Cuban rhythms were in fact felt to be familiar and closely connected to the region, showing even then that there was a memorial interpretation of the relationship between Africa and the music emanating from the slave contexts of the other side of the Atlantic (Grabli 2020; Tchebwa 1996; White 2002). Furthermore, the streams of Cuban music which flowed into the Congolese rumba serve to refute the argument, advanced in particular by the colonial authorities, that jazz was the only creation of the African diaspora worthy of being commemorated and emulated in the Congo (Grabli, under press). Countering this with the evidence of the history and aesthetic affinities linking them to the Afro-Cuban and South American musical worlds, Congolese orchestras such as Franco and OK Jazz were thus able to build an alternative musical memorial. They questioned the uprooting of the tradition from a sensory perspective as well as the possibility of building a memorial in Africa, and not, as conventionally, in the afro-diasporic worlds. In the context of increasing decolonisation in the 1950s, the Congolese rumba took on an undeniably political dimension, particularly by reviving discussions of the slave trade and the potential for an Afro-Atlantic dialogue. This example highlights what we consider to be the polyphonies of memory which can be carried by and embodied in music. Such interwoven paths, whether in harmony or discord, once again illustrate the well-known capacity of musical material for taking on quite distinct values and meanings according to the actors and contexts involved. What is more, and this is the reason for our interest in the processes that may be set in motion by the conversion into heritage, this example reveals the unfolding of the various moments and different time-scales of the reception of the musical memorial that is borne by the Congolese rumba: the popularity of records of Cuban music; discussions around jazz; colonial politics and, today, the demands of the heritage industry. The complex history of the various forms of compliance with, or rejection of, the politics and representations of memory is just as much part of a musical memorial as is the unique expressive quality of the musical material at its origins.

20   In addition to the content of discussions around certain musical practices, whose potential as memorials of the slave trades and slaveries is made more or less (in)visible, the registration of memorial sites promoted by UNESCO or other local or national institutions in the interests of tourism equally contributes to the creation of paradoxical situations in which musical memorials available locally are not enlisted, and may even be marginalised, while in fact they existed before the arrival of these official memory sites and trails. That is the case for instance in Benin, where alongside the "Slave Route"[10] fostered by UNESCO from the 1990s onwards (in particular at Ouidah) (Araujo 2012; Ciarcia 2016; Forte 2007), musicians and dancers have taken over the salsa as an Afro-Atlantic space of memory (Djebbari 2020; Kabir 2018). By (re)activating transatlantic links, especially with Cuba on account of the slave trade, through music and dance, the Benin *salseros* and *salseras* make the dance floor an alternative memorial space, where their bodies convey a performative incarnation and transmission of this memory. Yet their "Beninised" version of salsa is not accorded any institutional or political recognition, even though it is an integral part of the history both of local heritage and of transnational memory, and is thus able to convey the memory of the Atlantic slave trade (Djebbari 2020)—as much as, if not more than, the sculptures of Cyprien Tokoudagba that line the memory trail at Ouidah.

21   In other cases the national character of the construction of musical memorials may also reveal competitive dynamics and modifications of memory involving references to the slave trades and slaveries combined with other forms of subjugation and forced resettlement such as engagism.[11] In Reunion, for instance, where the ethnic boundaries are fluid and where sociocultural allegiances vary from one generation to the next, the maloya challenges the prevailing inequality inherited from the colonial period, and the instrumentalisation of populations left there by slavery or engagism, while at the same time recognising its own African, Indian, Madagascan and Comoros elements (Desroches & Samson 2008). Moreover, ethnomusicological research analysing the conflicts which marked the nomination of the Reunion maloya or the Guadeloupean gwoka for UNESCO ICH status has pointed up the underlying political issues and the tensions inherent in the nationalisation on the part of metropolitan France of overseas practices which had for long been disregarded and marginalised (Roda 2016; Samson 2011; Spielmann & Cyrille 2019).

22   Aside from those forms of the heritage industry that lay emphasis on the relations between particular forms of music and the history of slaveries and the slave trades, there are other political and historical pressures that tend to blur, and even to dissolve these links. This is particularly evident in the disagreements that arose at the time of the creation of the Nation States in western Arabia, where the politics of memory dissociated the possession rites of the *leiwah* from the descendants of the enslaved people of East African coastal origin who created them (Sébiane 2015). On a different scale, the musical, danced and instrumental contributions of descendants of enslaved people repatriated to Sierra Leone and Liberia at the beginning of the 19th century, or those of the Afro-Brazilian communities established along the Gulf of Guinea on the West African coast, have gradually been reappropriated in their own localities. The gumbe drum, for instance, invented by runaway slaves in Jamaica and spread across West Africa following their expulsion (Bilby 2011), was in some places given such new local meaning as to be completely dissociated from its "Creole past" (Jackson 2012: 129) and adopted by particular populations as an ethnic marker of their identity.

23   Elsewhere, creations which were linked to an enslaved past are disseminated without generating a memorial narrative about the context in which they had emerged, or without retaining any memory of their origins, as in the case of the musical practices influenced by enslaved Muslims in the Americas. According to Sylviane Diouf, the role they played in the development of the blues is "one of the most familiar but also the most hidden and forgotten contributions of African Muslims to American culture" (Diouf 2013: 275).[12] The erasure of this memory is partly due to the extraordinary growth of Christian churches across the United States, but also to the tendency of anthropologists interested in African questions to ignore the importance among the descendants of enslaved people of cultural practices linked to Islam (Diouf 2013: 265).[13] While the various hypotheses about the sources of the forms of music which have emerged across America can lead to contrasting interpretations, they also allow us to view from a different angle the construction of the musical memorial and the kinds of representation that it may or may not entail.

24   These different examples illustrate the polyphonies of memory that go to make up a musical memorial, whether in silence or out loud. They also show how on the one hand the relationship of certain musical genres to the enslaved past is perceived or ignored in contexts marked by colonial instrumentalisation of racial and ethnic categories, and

on the other how at the present time efforts are being made to rebalance the memorial landscape. By stepping outside an institutional framework to consider relations between music and memory in the light of the everyday dynamics of Creolisation, and from the point of view of the musicians concerned, the contributions gathered in this issue of the journal approach the relationship with the enslaved past from angles which appear both distinct from and complementary to the questions of media and the polyphonic dimensions of the memorial that we have presented here.

Introduction to this issue: archives, Creolisation and memorial agency

25 The articles gathered here approach the making and the (re)transmission of the musical memorial from interdisciplinary points of view that bring together history, anthropology and ethnomusicology. Based on case-studies in the United States, Brazil and the Seychelles, the respective contributions are framed by their authors in the historiography proper to the context studied, and each of them has particular new light to shed.

26 Denis-Constant Martin, exploring for the first time sources which have been neglected, particularly by Francophone scholars, suggests a new line of thought based on the evidence in the Federal Writers' Project (FWP).[14] By revisiting stories gathered from former enslaved people at the beginning of the 20th century in the light of their musical practices, he uncovers valuable data about the situations in which musical performances took place, their repertories and the instruments played. In this way the article reveals the creation of a "memory-bank" drawn on particularly in the 1950s and 1960s, both for political purposes by civil rights activists and for musical purposes by the musicians contributing to the renewal of jazz. In addition, Denis-Constant Martin shows how the processes of musical Creolisation started in the North American plantations and gave birth to musical genres like the spirituals, which in turn nurtured the growth of the blues, jazz and so on. This amounts to an exhilarating paradigm shift in the approach to the musical forms which originated in the United States in the context of slavery. The musical memorial revealed by this bold new reading of the FWP records does not aim to echo the "Africanisms" or the Blackness that numerous scholars, artists and enthusiasts hope to find through jazz or the blues. On the contrary, it shows how the context of plantations brought about the creation of these specific musical forms, which is precisely what we learn from the interviews with the formerly enslaved people. Their collective memory of the violence associated with their subordination and the dynamics of their interpersonal relations thus makes it possible to view the history of African American music in a fresh light. As a consequence, this article opens new pathways for the rereading of the FWP stories, deepening understanding of the processes of Creolisation begun in the context of slavery, and at the same time of the creation of a musical memory by those who survived it.

27 In retracing the development of the jongo and its role in the construction of a musical memorial in Brazil, Susan de Oliveira and Ellen Berezoschi give a diachronic overview with an historical depth which is particularly relevant if we are to understand the political and artistic use made of the potential for memory of certain forms of music. Looking first at the emergence of the jongo out of the Brazilian quilombos in the 19th century, then at the instrumentalization of the songs at the time of abolition, at

the recordings of them made by Stanley Stein at the beginning of the 20th century, and finally at their revival in different forms in contemporary musical productions, the authors reveal a musical memorial in the fullness of its accumulation of layers of memory, and their reception across several centuries by different actors (Maroons, abolitionists, nationalists, scientists, artists) who may succeed or replace or even mix with each other. By aiming to provide a picture of the *longue durée* of the creation of the musical memorial of the jongo, this article sheds light on the complex interweaving of individual intentions and collective projections which underpin the links between the memory of slavery and certain forms of Brazilian music.

28   Elina Djebbari adopts an ethnographical approach to her fieldwork in the Seychelles to investigate the creation of a post-colonial and nationalist musical memorial in this archipelago in the Indian Ocean. She focuses on the song lyrics produced by a number of Seychellois musicians since the 1980s, taking these repertories of Creole songs as a source allowing her to explore the political and creative uses made by artists of the memory of the slave trade and slaveries through music. With its slant towards expressing Creoleness, this musical memorial can be seen as composite and inclusive in the combined references that it makes to different genres of Seychellois music and dance. The lyrics analysed by the author also show the influence of nationalist rhetoric, which portrayed the Seychelles at the moment of independence in 1976 as a figurehead of the Creole world, with artists fully aware of the social and cultural dynamics that connect the archipelago with the Indian Ocean at large, and with other Creole territories on a transoceanic scale. The musical memorial that is reflected in this article assumes multiple spatial and symbolic dimensions, opening out to a pan-Creole world rather than enclosing its actors in a narrow framework of "national" reference. The ability of the musical memorial to free itself of geographical frontiers and transcend territorial limits, while still remaining anchored in local history, suggests exciting lines of enquiry into the circulation and representation of music linked to the symbolic economies of the processes shaping the memory of the slave trades and slaveries on a global scale.

29   The conversation set up between these contributions in the present issue also allows interdisciplinary consideration of the various processes involved in bringing music into play to evoke the memory of the slave trades and slaveries.

30   First, these contributions highlight the importance of the role of archives in the process of constructing a musical memorial, and explain the recourse to fragmentary sources for knowledge of the history of the musical practices of enslaved people, and the way in which they circulated. Even if the emphasis varies from one article to another, according to the nature of the archives and the use made of them, the wide range of materials addressed, and their use as the musical memorial takes shape, are particularly eloquent in this respect. From this point of view, collecting data appears to be a fundamental step in the process of deploying, for the purposes of memory, archives which have been gathered, assembled and distributed. These cut across or run parallel to the oral and musical transmission of memory, as in the case of the jongo. Whether it occurs at the moment when spoken accounts and/or musical recordings are gathered, or later when these data are re(discovered) by actors of different kinds (the scholars, artists or communities concerned), the creation of a corpus given coherence by the implementation of the act of collecting opens the way to possible deployment of the FWP stories, or Stein's recordings, to help construct a musical memorial at different

periods. The role of the archive as a medium essential for the construction—or at least the understanding—of a musical memorial is thus proof not only of the performative potential of the archive, but also of the range of uses (artistic, scientific etc.) to which it lends itself. Although the colonial archives preserved in the Seychelles are of a different order, they still underpin the creation of a narrative and musical thread, while also obliging the artists and scholars involved to take up a clear position in regard to their contents. Whether they have a direct bearing on musical practices captured at a precise historical moment, or serve as sources of inspiration for contemporary musical creations, each of the archives mentioned in the articles thus acquires a different status according to how it is incorporated into the construction of a musical memorial.

31 Next, the contributions address the processes of musical Creolisation by focusing on the formation of musical practices linked to the consequences of the slave trades in the United States, Brazil and the Seychelles. Notwithstanding the particularities of each of these three contexts, the musical memorials under consideration oblige us to rethink certain classifications (Black music, Afro-descendant music etc.) which are also operative in other contexts (among activists and artists in particular) where the music discussed in these articles is concerned. By examining the various forms of labelling (commercial, heritage-related etc.) which may often reify and essentialise cultural productions, the present contributions also allow a more subtle appraisal of the political issues behind the awareness of the processes of Creolisation in post-slaveries and post-colonial societies, and of the symbolic rivalries which may arise from a monolithic reading of such labelling. It is also interesting to observe, when these essays are read in conjunction, that the paradigm of Creolisation, evident in the musical practices under study, is perceived in different ways according to the different contexts. The American ethnomusicologist Michael Naylor (1997: 13) for instance writes: "Generally, in the United-States, the recognition and acceptance of this culture's kreolité has not occurred." Seen in this light, Denis-Constant Martin's contribution is an significant milestone, allowing one to grasp and situate with precision the processes of Creolisation which have actually taken place in the United States.[15] The article on the jongo, by alluding to the vast spread of actors and contexts which contributed to the emergence of this musical memorial and its subsequent reinterpretations, also makes the African descent of this musical practice integral to the processes of Creolisation which make its polyphony of memory possible. In the case of the Seychelles, the paradigm of Creolisation appears to be more readily imaginable and/or acceptable even though the colonial and slave-trade history of the archipelago is in fact much more recent than that of the Americas. It is interesting to note that on the one hand Seychellois Creolisation is considered by artists and by national cultural politics as a "brand" which can be exported, and on the other hand that this brand is part of the relation—in the Glissantian meaning of the term—that it may have with other Creole territories across the world. Addressing the links between music and memory thus contributes to an understanding of the "repeated miracle" of Creolisation, occurring in different contexts of slaveries, but frequently without our having any knowledge of the historical conditions which gave birth to it, as is emphasised by Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2002: 189).

32 Finally, if we find in these articles certain common paths (such as archives and Creolisation) to imagining a musical memorial at different periods of history, the memories transmitted by the various forms of music under discussion are by contrast

relatively distinct. The FWP interviews give access to the everyday experiences of life on a plantation through the lens of music; in Brazil, the jongo is considered a symbol of resistance; the Creole songs of the Seychelles echo not only the world of the plantation but also other much wider dynamics (historical, political, social etc.). The theme of marronage broached at the beginning of this introduction is, however, common to all the contributions. The understanding of the imaginaries transmitted by a musical memorial shows once again how important its reception is to its construction. The sources used by our authors—sound recordings, written accounts, song lyrics—draw attention to different categories of actor, and thereby give a sense of the continuum that goes from the musical production to its reception in a public space. The FWP interviews feature musical practices on the plantations as they were experienced by the formerly enslaved people who shared their memories with the interviewers. Susan de Oliveira and Ellen Berezoschi by contrast consider the reception on the one hand of Stein's recordings (in particular in university circles), and on the other of a historical repertory transmitted by other means and continuing to be received to this day by artists who draw inspiration from them for their own creations. In the Seychelles, the reception by singers of the memory of the slave trade and the imaginative worlds that go with it (social life on the plantation, the pain of forced labour, the violence of human relations, but also the processes of ethnic mixing) is in the end reinforced by mention of the names of the musical genres which emerged from the situation of the enslaved. In this way, if the intention of this issue of the journal was to show how a musical memorial was imagined at different historical moments, it seems that it is also the vehicle for the memory both of the slave trades and slaveries and of more or less fantasised and stereotyped imaginary worlds. The multiple layers of memory which go to make up musical memorials blur the boundaries between what comes from oral accounts and the archives, and the interpretations that may subsequently be put upon them.

33   By revealing the entwined processes involved in (re)activating, performing and (re)transmitting different ideas of a musical memorial, this issue finally gives prominence to the actors committed to constructing and transforming them. Without claiming to cover all the deep-set multiple facets of musical memorials to the slave trades and slaveries worldwide, we hope to have initiated an enquiry into the ways in which music constructs and transmits memory by emphasising the variety of media, data gathering and exploratory techniques used by the archives and the actors involved.

34   A possible extension of this enquiry might address the resurgence of interest in the links between memory and sensory experience to be found in a number of collaborative artistic projects, some of which bring together artists and scholars who are themselves musicians, and are in certain cases directed toward the history of the slave trades and slaveries.[16] In this issue, for instance, Steven Feld presents the creative and sensory approach to the memory of the Black Atlantic, and more specifically of the slave trade, that he has been developing in Ghana in the course of projects involving film, music and installations with jazz musicians and visual artists. Through recordings and films made in the context of the *Castaways Project*, collaborating with the Australian interdisciplinary artist Virginia Ryan, Steven Feld builds up a "sound memory," well away from the forts on the Ghanaian coast which are central to the institutionalised memory of the slave trade, which investigates the acoustic memory of the violence at the point where the ocean touches the land. Both music and dance, and their

association with other artistic forms, always seem to play a determining role in the responses of contemporary artists, such for instance as the choreographer Bintou Dembélé, to the silences of memory that persist both in institutional and family contexts.[17] Today, when interest in the question of reparations and the struggle against contemporary forms of servitude is reawakening, the musical memorial offers fruitful avenues for considering artistic interventions that confront the ways in which the memories of the descendants of enslaved peoples are marginalised and made invisible.

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NOTES

1. The melancholy song "Lalla Yamma" ("O mother of ours"), for example, quotes Soninké, Bambara, Peul et Hausa ancestors (Hamel 2008: 247).

2. Some musical instruments of the African diaspora have also become indissolubly linked with the processes of memory: for example the banjo, which is used in the Caribbean to emphasise the power and necessity of memory, is conceptualised as a form of therapeutic healing (Dubois 2016: 134).

3. See the call for papers for this issue: journals.openedition.org/slaveries/4639 [last accessed, November 2022].

4. For an analysis of the unprecedented interest shown by the abolitionists in the songs of the enslaved, and the racialised imaginary implied in their transformation, see Eidsheim 2019 and Radano 1996.

5. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2015) has for instance shown how the Haitian Revolution appeared inconceivable in the eyes of the western world.

6. *The Anti-Slavery Harp. A Collection of Songs for Anti-Slavery Meetings* by William Wells Brown, published in 1848 by a runaway former slave, is the earliest collection of abolitionist songs.

7. The *tres* is a guitar originating in Cuba and associated with Afro-Cuban music, and in particular with the *son montuno.*

8. For further information on the Africando group, see Djebbari 2020.

9. The application dossier can be consulted online on the UNESCO website: webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:A10il36wT_8J:https://ich.unesco.org/fr/RL/la-rumba-congolaise-01711&cd=1&hl=fr&ct=clnk&gl=fr&client=safari   [last   accessed, November 2022]. When Audrey Azoulay, Director-General of UNESCO, speaking on Radio France Internationale, hailed the registration of the Congolese rumba, however, she did so in terms of the "the history of slavery from the Congo basin to the Americas and to Cuba" (available online: www.rfi.fr/fr/afrique/20211215-la-rumba-congolaise-de-ses-origines-%C3%A0-son-inscription-au-patrimoine-immat%C3%A9riel-de-l-humanit%C3%A9 [last accessed, November 2022].

10. For more information on the Slave Route (now "Route of Enslaved Peoples") see the UNESCO website: en.unesco.org/themes/fostering-rights-inclusion/slave-route [last accessed, November 2022].

11. Engagism is a labour system based on the immigration of individuals with an unbreakable contract lasting for a number of years. From 1834 to 1922 several million people migrated under these conditions (Northrup 1995).

12. Their influence is particularly audible in the blues, where the call to prayer inspired the *holler* (a type of individual work song, different from the *call and response*, which grew up in the plantations in the US). Sylviane Diouf (2013: 275) notes for example that the "Levee Camp Holler" in Alan Lomax's *Negro Prison Blues and Songs* bears a striking resemblance to the *adhan* of the West African muezzin, with the same ornamentations, lengthened   syllables,   intonations   and   pauses   (www.youtube.com/watch?v=5EH3jsnUo38 [last accessed, November 2022]).

13. On the ambivalent visions behind research into the practices of people of African descent, and the gathering of their music in the 1930s, see Hirsch 2003 and White & White 2005.

14. The Federal Writers' Project, pursued under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration, produced a "Slave Narrative Collection" composed of 2 300 interviews conducted between 1936 and 1938 with former slaves in the Southern States and certain others such as Indiana and Ohio.

15. With the exception of Louisiana, very few areas of the US have been examined in terms of Creolisation (Spitzer 2003).

16. See for example Manifest: www.projectmanifest.eu/call-for-artists-manifest/#Call [last accessed, November 2022].

17. Bintou Dembélé touches on the idea of a memorial by considering the dances which are part of the production inspired by Rameau's "Indes galantes" (performed at the Bastille Opera in 2019) as Maroon movements. See also the operatic project "Santa Marta Operatica" led by the anthropologist Véronique Bénéï (2018), which aims to give visibility to the history of the slave trade and its cultural legacy in the Colombian town of this name. On artists having recourse to archives which contain dissident memories, see Le Lay, Malaquais & Siegert 2015.

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