SOUNDING THE SPACES BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: RUPTURE, RESISTANCE, AND REVIVAL IN THE RE-MEMBERING OF GERMAN AND AMERICAN HISTORY

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> The nearer one approached, the more one was enveloped by roaring din. Though I customarily find myself free here to move about on my own, I had to hold on tightly to Herr Shi-shmi's arm. From the thousands of gongs, drums, and rattles there came an unstoppable flood of shrieking noise. It should be music.
>
> (Letter from Kao-tai to Dji-gu, describing his first encounter with Oktoberfest; Rosendorfer 1983: 133)

Prologue – Entering the Oktoberfest Season

Late September and the onset of autumn in the American Midwest and the many other global sites of German migration signal the beginning of "Oktoberfest Season." The countless street festivals, park concerts, and civic events meant to encourage the public consumption of libation have become ubiquitous, not just in Bavaria, Germany, and elsewhere in Central Europe, but throughout North America and the world. The question is not really whether Oktoberfest is a ubiquitous symbol of Germanness, but rather whether it spurs on certain processes of globalization that have come themselves to serve as emblems of German migration. In my own home city of Oak Park, Illinois, September brings with it numerous festivals displaying a German accent, and each of these in turn unleash a dizzying array of events, all of them embracing official Oktoberfest themes.

Figure 1 – "Downtown Oak Park's 11th Annual Oktoberfest"

Alcohol from the Old World, of course, is not the only emblem of a true Oktoberfest. Music is, in different ways, just as important, and it can hardly be surprising that musical events will abound in Oak Park's Oktoberfests. Inevitably, a fair share of musical events will encourage the appropriate nostalgia for the Old World. The "Polka Dance Contest" announced in Figure 1 surely attracted many to the main shopping streets of Oak Park. The main schedule of events in autumn 2002 (Figure 1), nonetheless, contained few indices to Old World culture. Instead, the most visible billing went to "Koko Taylor and her Blues Machine," "Liquid Soul," and "Nick Colione." As an Oak Parker myself, I know my fellow citizens, denizens of one of the New World's most socially progressive and politically engaged communities, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century they choose to celebrate Oktoberfest in the largest numbers by listening to the blues and soul. And why not?

I am hardly the first to observe that Oktoberfest has become Americanized, or rather it has become an Americanization of what we imagine to be German. It becomes a calendric holiday in one of the most American suburbs, which historically has not attracted large numbers of German-speaking immigrants. As a cultural space, Oktoberfest has opened up, accommodating African American music and musicians no less than German-, Austrian-, or Bohemian-American music and musicians. The blues makes just as much cultural sense as polka, and arguably polka is today just as American as the blues. How about klezmer? The Oktoberfest season usually overlaps with the Jewish High Holy Days.

It is also fair to observe that Oktoberfest in the Old World is also no longer a quintessentially German or Bavarian holiday. In Bavaria, too, it takes place in September as often as not. The festival's history has become inseparable from tourism, from distinguishing Bavarianness from Germanness, and from responding to modern Germany. When Herbert Rosendorfer's fictional time traveler from tenth-century China, Kao-tai, lands in twentieth-century Munich, he like many tourists must inevitably encounter Oktoberfest, where, as the epigraph to this essay reveals, what should be music is in fact a mishmash of every imaginable sound, which ceases by its very din to signify the arrival of autumn in southern Germany, instead realizing a musical tower of Babel.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Oktoberfest has surely become very global indeed, but it has become global by absorbing the local and allowing it to proliferate. As a holiday and as a marker of cultural identity Oktoberfest has itself migrated, to places where German emigrants and immigrants have settled, and far beyond, where some measure of the imagination and celebration of Germanness provides a place in the modern and postmodern worlds. The sounds of Oktoberfest surely do fill two worlds – and many, many more.

Figure 2 – *Oktoberfest* in Rio Grande du Sul, CD cover

Sounding Space – Music and the Narration of Spaces In-Between

As the "Sounds of Two Worlds" conference began to take shape, it was particularly intriguing to follow the discussions and even the debate that led the conference planners, Antje Petty and the staff at the Max Kade Institute, to pin down the theme. Or perhaps, better stated, *not* to pin down the theme. Particularly impressive was the unwillingness to embrace the more threadbare themes of immigration as a unidirectional process, unfolding as teleological change as one world gives way to another. We might, therefore, turn briefly and rather literally to the themes that Max Kade Institute employed to establish the framework for the conference.

We might begin with "sound" itself, which of course refers to music, but it is much more. Sound signifies the performative and, by extension, the very spaces the performative brings into existence. These are the spaces in which language is used to communicate. These are the acoustic spaces of the family and the community. Sound is crucial to the performative space articulated by the sacred, be it the Wisconsin Synod church choir or the call-to-prayer, the *adhan*, five times daily in Ankara and Aachen. Sound creates the crucial spaces in which we perform our identities, and in this performative way sound allows for the creation and re-creation of meaningful worlds.

"Music" is a particular form of sound, which is to say, it gives form to sound. It calls attention to what sound is doing by locating human beings in the spaces sound creates. Connected to sound in this way, music is far more than the notes on a page, the grooves on a record, or the digital information on a

CD. Music calls performers and audiences into being. It demands specialists who perform and non-specialists who consume. The world of music becomes a cultural space with a very diverse population.

We can recognize, too, that the conference organizers at the Max Kade Institute thought a great deal about whether "migration" would be the most appropriate concept for the conference theme, especially if the "two worlds" were to evoke more complex meanings than "Old" and "New." "Migration" is an ambiguous, yet multivalent type of movement between several worlds. In its more biological use, migration suggests a type of movement that is ongoing and unsettled. In a more historical use, say, as a description of population movement in a modern reality parsed according to the economic realities of "first, second, third, and even fourth worlds," migration contains yet another unsettling notion, namely of displacement. Migration takes place in global spaces that are all-too-often inhospitable, that are closed even more often than they are open (see, e.g., Bammer 1994; Lavie and Swedenburg 1996; Enzie 2001).

It is surely not by chance that there is a mixed metaphor in the conference title and theme: "Music as a Mirror." I point this out not to suggest grammatical ambiguity. Quite the contrary, there could not be a more effective metaphor for urging us to think about what it is music does, especially as sound, as space, as performance, and as the spaces created through migration. "Music as a Mirror" asks us to think much more about what music does and can do. As a mixed metaphor, it asks us to look beyond metaphor, beyond the looking glass of mere memorywork.

Does music really contain space? Move through space? Make space palpable so that it affords cultural identity? We might turn briefly to a single song, known only too well but perhaps not well enough, the "Deutschlandlied," which appears in two versions from its history of oral and written transmission in the *Liedersammlung* that accompanied the conference.

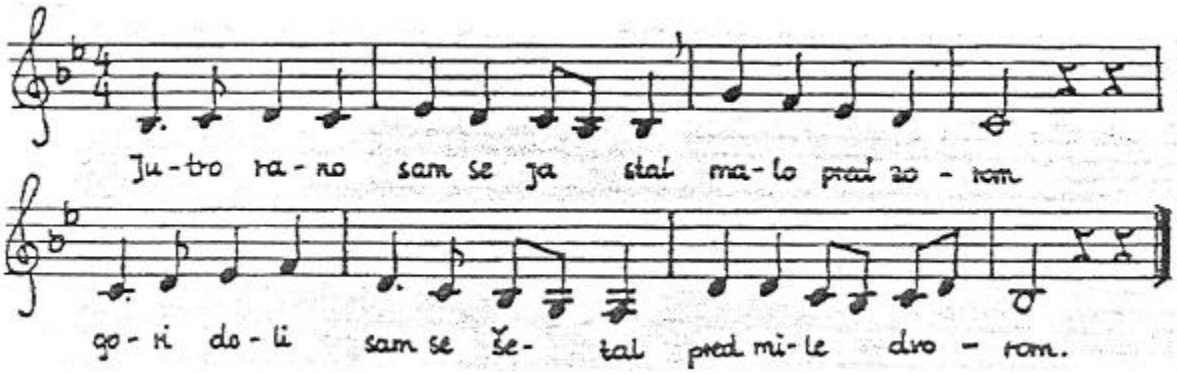

Figure 3 – "Jutro rano sam se ja stal" (Hemetek 2001)

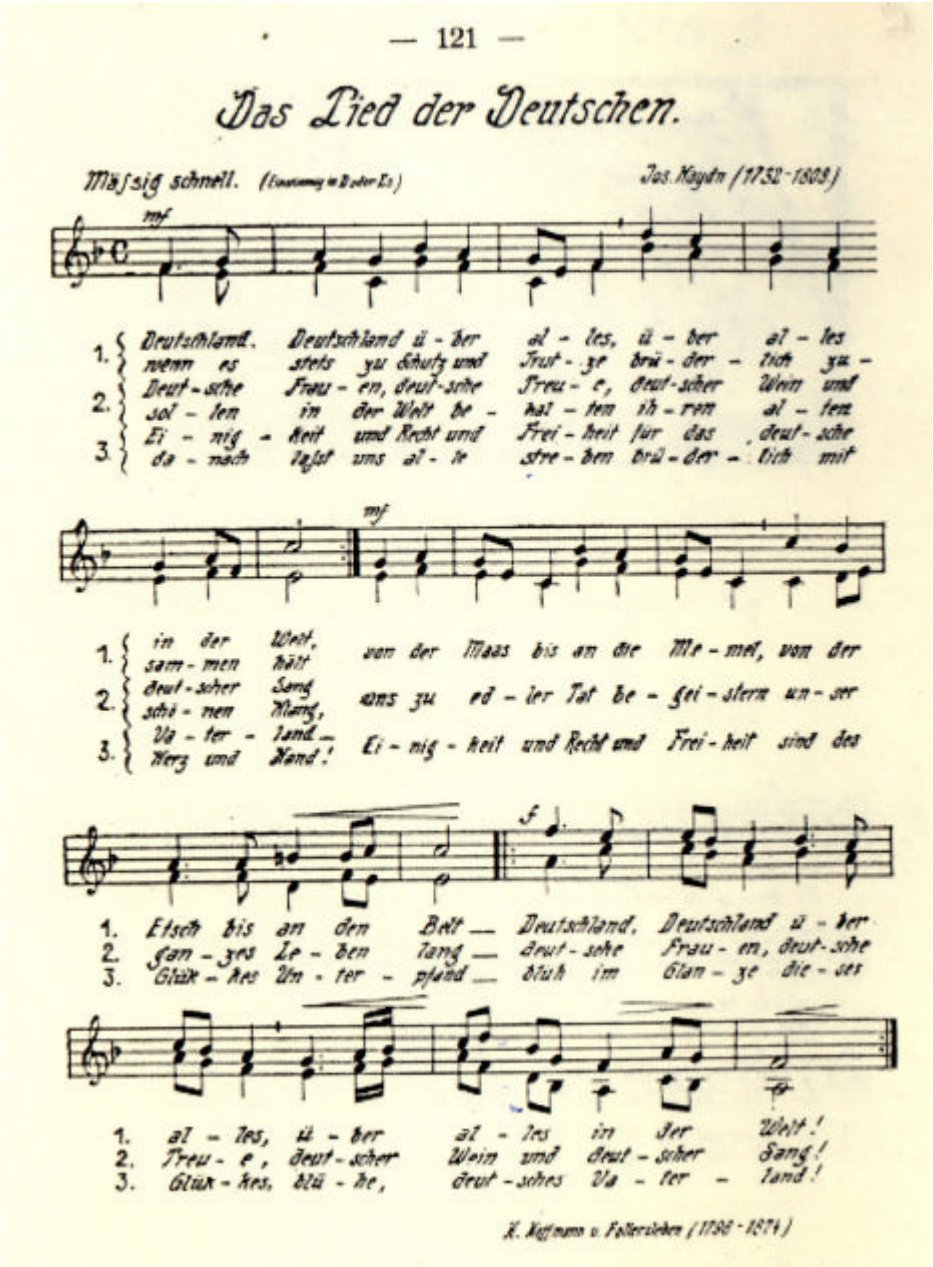

Figure 4 – "Das Lied der Deutschen," published in Brazil

Depending on the musical mirrors we use, the "Deutschlandlied" might be a Croatian folk song (Figure 3), a movement in a Haydn string quartet, the multicultural emblem of Habsburg imperialism, a nostalgic emblem in Brazil remembering the Old World (Figure 4), an anthem of rising German nationalism, a reminder of the Holocaust, or a claim for German reunification. None of these meanings just happened. We can trace musical reasons for each, be it the seemingly innocuous imposition of *Bar-Form* on a melody that would have no reason to have it, or the poetic fantasies of the Silesian poet,

Hoffmann von Fallersleben, on the British island of Helgoland. Together, all this is about displacement and the human response to replacement (see Kurzke 1990).

German-American I – Historical

I now wish to employ musical examples to move rhetorically in this essay between two worlds, rather as if they were mirrors that both reflect and refract the sounds charting the paths of migration. I begin with the two historical worlds of German America and Central Europe taken in historical perspective. And I then move to the ethnographic present, reframing old and new worlds in the mirrors of modernity.

I begin with a few reflections on German-American hymnody, one of the first areas of my own historical research, especially in Wisconsin and the Midwest. Traditionally, scholars have viewed German-American hymnody as one of the most stable of all forms of musical expression and cultural identity. It relies on written traditions and their transportability. In the history of German-Americans of various religions and denominations hymnody provided one of the most crucial foundations for ethnic publishing traditions. We might wonder, then, just how hymnody could witness the displacement that accompanies migration (see, especially, Holzapfel 1998).

I could—and perhaps someday I shall—take a full monograph to answer that question, but here I must restrict myself to a few brief answers. First of all, we should look in a place least likely to be considered a site for displacement and mobility: the texts. German-American hymn texts, in fact, have always borne witness to the narratives and experiences of migration. Amish and Hutterite hymns, for example, serve as individual epics of the trials and travels of their leaders, transforming the hymns themselves into metaphors for the ongoing migrations at the beginning of our century. To make a somewhat different point, I should like to suggest that hymns provided German-speaking immigrants with some of the most effective ways of negotiating the spaces they needed to cross in order to become Americans.

The 1840 *Pennsylvanische Sammlung für Kirchen-Musik* (“ Pennsylvania Collection of Church Music”), to take one example, charts a musical roadmap of centuries of exchange between and among German and American Protestant sects in its pages. The fact that the *Pennsylvania Collection* was a shape-note volume even more vividly reflects the degree to which performativity was immanent in, not restricted by, the physical nature of a written tradition. Hymnody, not surprisingly, became a source for sounding the meaning of space and place, even transforming sacred songs into secular functions.

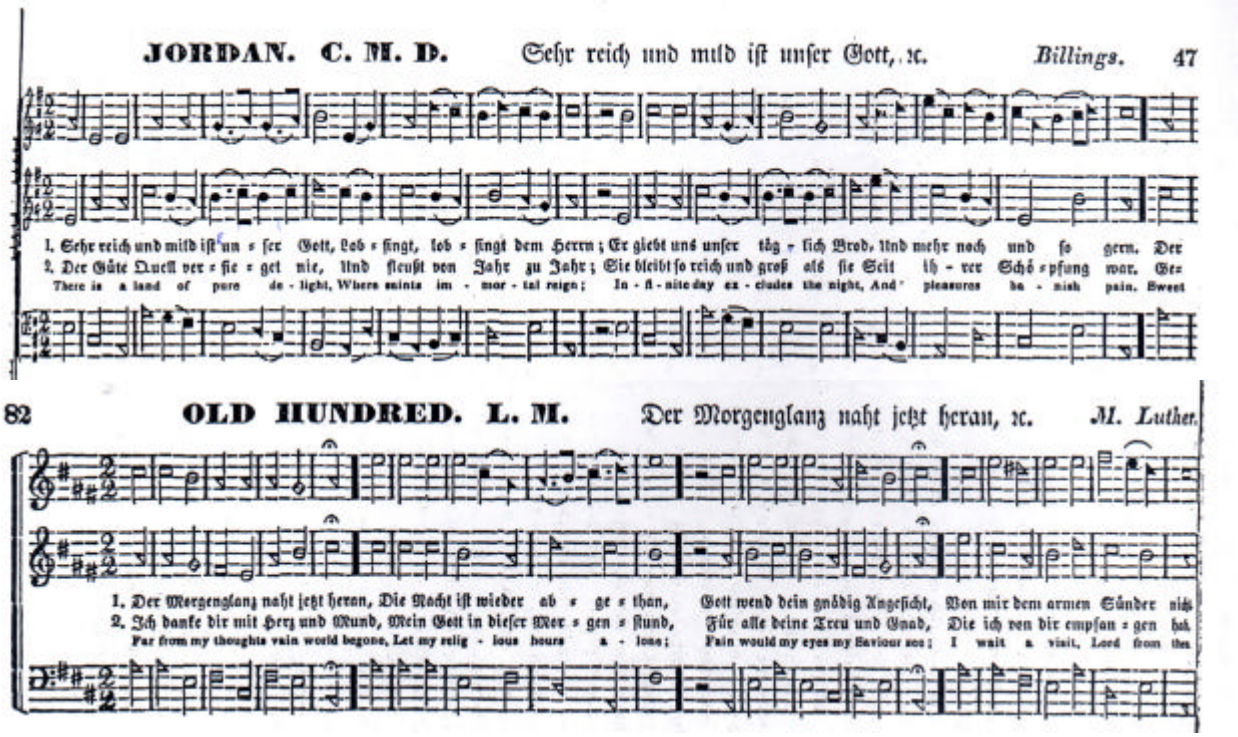

Figure 5 – Shape-note versions of hymns by William Billings and Martin Luther in the *Pennsylvanische Sammlung*

Hymns and hymnody do not simply lie on the page. They come to life because they are sounded, and in the history of German America it has been the chorus that has often sounded them. The chorus belongs to the history of "choralism," a phenomenon distinctive because of the mobility that choralism instills among choruses. This mobility is something anyone who has sung in a chorus knows only too well: Choruses like to go on tour, to compete, and in general to imagine themselves as a community on the move.

Choralism might provide us with a sustained history of opening spaces through the specific movement of musicians, whose identity, moreover, is expressed through performativity: the acts of sounding their community. Choralism is by no means strange to studies of German-American music, as Alan Burdette and others illustrate with their essays from the "Sounds of Two Worlds" conference. In German-American studies, surely, the comparative study of *Männerchöre*, not to mention mixed choruses, is surely a topic for considerable future research, especially comparative studies of choruses in different immigrant groups. I think, for example, from my own researches, how the *Männerchor* and the *kibbutz* chorus in Israel lend themselves to critical comparison.

Choralism also bridges the sacred and the secular domains, creating in some ways parallel worlds that respond to historical change in different ways. The synagogue chorus, which today is one of the most visible cases of choralism in the New Europe, has also provided a musical footing for the history of

Reform Judaism in the United States. The power of Reform Jewish choralism, with its history in the German Enlightenment and the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskala*, lies at a deep ontological level in the music and the liturgy of the synagogue, for the chorus with its multivoice texture and mixture of male and female singers forcefully establishes new ways for the community in diaspora to express itself collectively. That transformation may even follow songs across the diaspora itself, from the solo voice of the Old World to the choral voice of the New, perhaps even in the songs of in the University of Wisconsin's own songbook (1906), such as "Heil dir im Siegerkranz," sung to the tune of "God Save the Queen" or "My Country 'Tis of Thee" (see Figure 6).

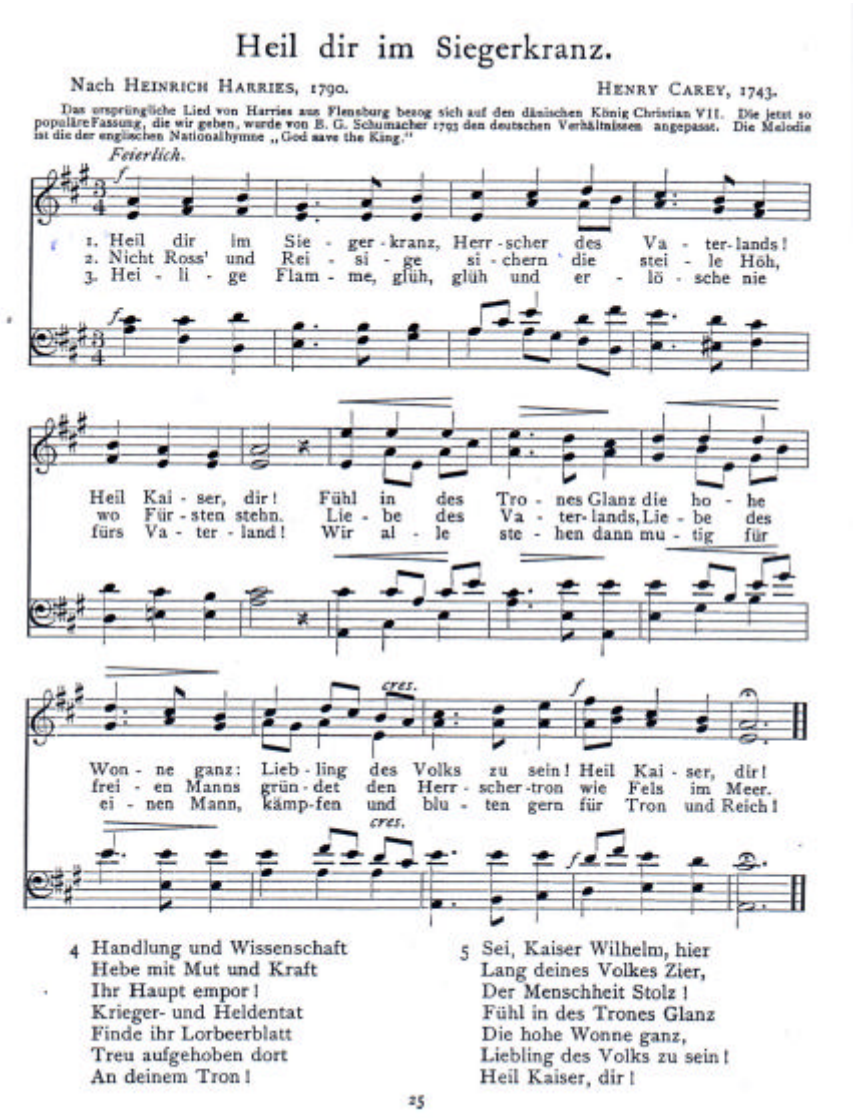

Figure 6 – "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz"

Immigrants to Central Europe I – Historical

Song and dance in Central Europe have historically demonstrated a remarkable capacity to specify local meaning and cultural geography. There are many reasons that I might offer to justify such a sweeping, if provocatively essentializing, condition of Central European meaning, but let me concentrate on only one: Narrative genres play an unusually important role, and they do so by drawing upon specifically German and Austrian linguistic and aesthetic factors.

Narrative song genres, for example, depend on the interplay between dialect and literary languages. German-language ballads, indeed, are overwhelmingly in *Hochdeutsch*, even when circulating locally in places that the literary language is not otherwise utilized. Dance, too, draws upon narrative gesture to express local and regional meanings. At the beginning of the twenty-first century we may not think about narrative gesture in such ways, but it is the specific meaning of danced set-figures that connects a *Ländler* to the *Land*, the local world where its meanings can be very specific indeed.

By localizing identity, Central European musical genres, narrative or otherwise, also respond to the various ways in which competition for cultural space between what Ursula Hemetek calls *Mehrheit* and *Minderheiten*—we might say, selves and others—take place (see Hemetek 2001, and Ritter 2001). Figure 7 illustrates a song that draws us closer to this representation and instantiation of competition. "Die Jüdin," or "The Jewish Woman," is a German ballad, notable for its remarkable range of versions and variants, which cross the border regions between some of Central Europe's most contested cultural areas (cf. the chapter on "Die Jüdin" in Bohlman and Holzapfel 2001). The song gained canonic status once published by Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano in the 1806/1808 *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. In this collection and other sources of German Romantic literature and folk song, "Die Jüdin" caught the attention of composers and arrangers, surely best known to us today in the setting by Johannes Brahms.

"Die Jüdin" also moves through the cultural spaces of Jewish, specifically Ashkenazic, Europe, where, arguably, it lived an alternative existence. It circulated, for example, in Yiddish. It appears with some frequency in areas that had substantial Jewish populations prior to the Holocaust, for example, in multicultural Burgenland along the Austrian-Hungarian border, home to the *Sheva Kehillot*, the "Seven Holy Cities" of the Jews. In a word, "Die Jüdin" is about the spaces between Europeans and Jews, and ultimately about the impossibility of negotiating those spaces. The version in Figure 7 originates in the Lake Constance area, where this version was recorded from oral tradition in 1960.

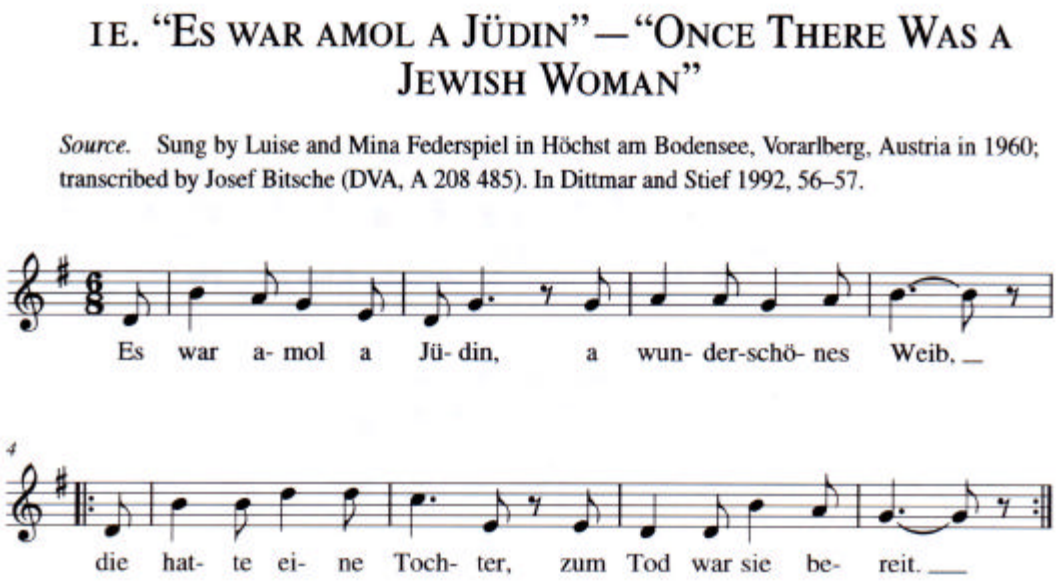

Figure 7 – "Die Jüdin"

the encounter with modernity faced by Jews entering the Habsburg metropole in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. The song in Figure 8 represents what amounts to a Jewish cover of *the* hit song of fin-de-siècle Vienna, Gustav Pick's "Wiener Fiakerlied," "The Viennese Coachman's Song." Pick (1832-1921) was himself a Jewish immigrant, again from Burgenland, and the rags-to-riches tale of his coachman had more than a few autobiographical overtones. The "Viennese Coachman's Song" appeared in countless languages soon after its publication in 1884. One consciously Jewish broadside version circulated widely in fin-de-siècle Vienna, made famous by one of the stars of Jewish cabaret, "Adolphi," who appeared frequently in the Jewish cabarets of the Leopoldstadt, home to the growing swell of immigrants to Vienna in the nineteenth century. This "Jewish Coachman's Song," moreover, is only one of thousands of examples of Jewish popular song and cabaret that contained narratives of migration. It is not the least bit ironic, indeed, that the "Fiakerlied" was one of the most frequently covered songs by Jewish exile cabarets during the Holocaust, among them the "Arche Revue" of New York City (see the CD, *Dancing on the Edge of a Volcano,* for variants; New Budapest Orpheum Society 2002).

Figure 8
"Jüdisches Fiaker Lied" – "Jewish Coachman's Song"
Song by Gustav Pick; Text by Carl Lorens

Viennese Dialect

1. Iach hab' zwa faine Rappen,
Mei Wag'n, der is e soi!
Denn iach bin e Fiaker
Von Baden und Vösloi.
Mein Wagen der ist koscher,
Er dürft' von Rothschild sein,
Iach fahr auch lauter fainer Leut,
Ka Bocher steigt nix ein,
E Trapp gehn meine Rappen
E Trapp – soi eins, zwei, drei!
Iach fahr als wie e Dampfmaschin',
In zwa Täg bin iach schon in Wien.
E Tax thu iach nich kennen,
Steigt ein e Passagier,
Laß iach bei zwa Gülden handeln,
Sag: "Geb n Sie halt e Einserl her!"
Statt Geld nehm' iach auch Werthpapier,
Versatzzetteln, ist Aner stier,

Refrain

Denn iach bin e Fiaker a koscheres Kind,
Gebor'n auf'n Salzgries und leicht wie der Wind.
Mei Mame, mei Tate hab'n mit mir e Freud'.
Denn ich bin e Fiaker von ünsere Leut'.

2. Iach, war als klanes Jüngel
Vor'm dreinundsiebziger Jahr
E Laufbursch an der Börse,
Bevor der Krach noch war.
Dann bin iach wor'n e Kutscher
Beim reichen Silberstein,
Hab' geführt e Equipasche
E soi! Nobel, superfein!
Doch wie der Krach gekümmen ist,
Püh! haben Sie gesehn!
Kapores war der Fleckeles,
Der Silberstein, der Schmeckeles!
Das war e groiß' Gewurre!
Iach muß es frei gestehen,
Man hat uns Alles weg' gepfänd',
's war nix mehr da am End.
Sechs Jahr hat kriegt der Silberstein,
Iach bin gestanden ganz allein.

Refrain

3. Gebor'n bin iach am Salzgries
Mei Tate war e Jüd,
Der hat gelebt, gehandelt,
Das liegt soi im Geblüt,
Mit alte Hoisen, Stiefeln,
Zerbroch'ne Paraplui.
Mein Mame war ä Ganslerin
Am Salzgries, vis a vis.
Mich hat nix gefreut das Handeln,
Hab' g'sagt zum Tateleb'n:
"Iach möcht emal Fiaker werd'n."
"Zerbrach den Krag'n, iach werd Dich lehr'n!"
Hat er zu mir geschrieen, doch
Iach hab nix aufgepaßt,
Iach bin gleich auf e Bock gestiegen,
Und auch Fiaker blieb'n.
Beim Wettfahr'n bin iach Erster g'wiß,
Weil mei schöne Nas die längste is.

Refrain

Americanized Lyrics

1. My carriage has two horses,
Both strong and sleek and fine!
I'm proud to be a coachman.
At work I really shine.
Take note: My coach is kosher.
No riff-raff rides with me.
I once drove Rothschild through the park.
Says I, "The ride is free."
Clip-clop, you'll hear me coming,
Clip-clop, all over town.
"Just climb aboard, right up that stair.
Sit tight, I'll get you anywhere."
This guy jumps in my taxi.
He looks so dignified.
"Oh no," he says. "My wallet's gone.
I can't afford this ride."
He seemed to me an honest Jew.
I gladly took his IOU.

Refrain

I drive a Fiaker, a nice Jewish boy.
I fly through Vienna's streets, just like a goy!
My mother and my dad are still proud of me.
I drive a Fiaker for all to see.

2. Right after my bar-mitzva,
Way back before the crash,
I worked for Moishe Silver.
Oh boy, did he have cash.
I started as a go-fer,
Helped keep his carriage clean.
I soon became his main chauffeur,
The best you've ever seen.
But then the market tumbled,
And Silver lost his wealth.
It ruined all those millionaires,
And people mostly said, "Who cares?"
So, Moishe went to jail,
And me, I lost my job.
But the biggest loser of this tale
Was Silver, that poor slob.
They took him off to prison, sure,
But as a coachman, I'd endure.

Refrain

3. I live in Vienna's ghetto,
My dad, a kosher Jew.
He ran our family business,
A small-time merchant, nu!
He sold old pants and *shmates*,
And old umbrellas too.
My mother's pious family
Were small-time merchants too.
I felt that I was different,
Declared to my old man,
"I want to be a coachman, dad."
"You must be crazy, son," he said.
"I simply won't allow it."
I did not even care.
I climbed up in that driver's seat,
And my new life was there.
When racing, my hack really goes.
I'll come in first place by a nose.

Refrain

German-American II – Ethnographic Present – Historicism

As we return to the ethnographic present, the modern German America that our colleagues at the Max Kade Institute so intensively study, it is critical to remember that the migrant experience leads to disjuncture and fragmentation, rather than the usual notion of continuity and connection we might more wishfully associate with immigration. Music provides complex ways of understanding the disjuncture, for it provides us with ways of taking fragments and re-membering them. Re-membering is very much a performative process. And re-membering, too, mixes metaphors in crucial ways, on one hand, cognitive memory that provides historical space to represent the Old World, and on the other, the physical performance of spaces in the New World.

Re-membering contains processes rendered visible by the cultural geography of European ethnic popular dance in North America, the "Polka Belt," which illustrates how processes of re-membering shape ethnic North America. As a cartographic realization the "Polka Belt" is meant to emphasize dynamic processes, in other words, the very real movement of musicians and dancers, and of the exchange of musical products as sheet music, radio broadcasts, and fan networks (see Figure 9 from Pietsch in Bohlman and Holzapfel 2002).

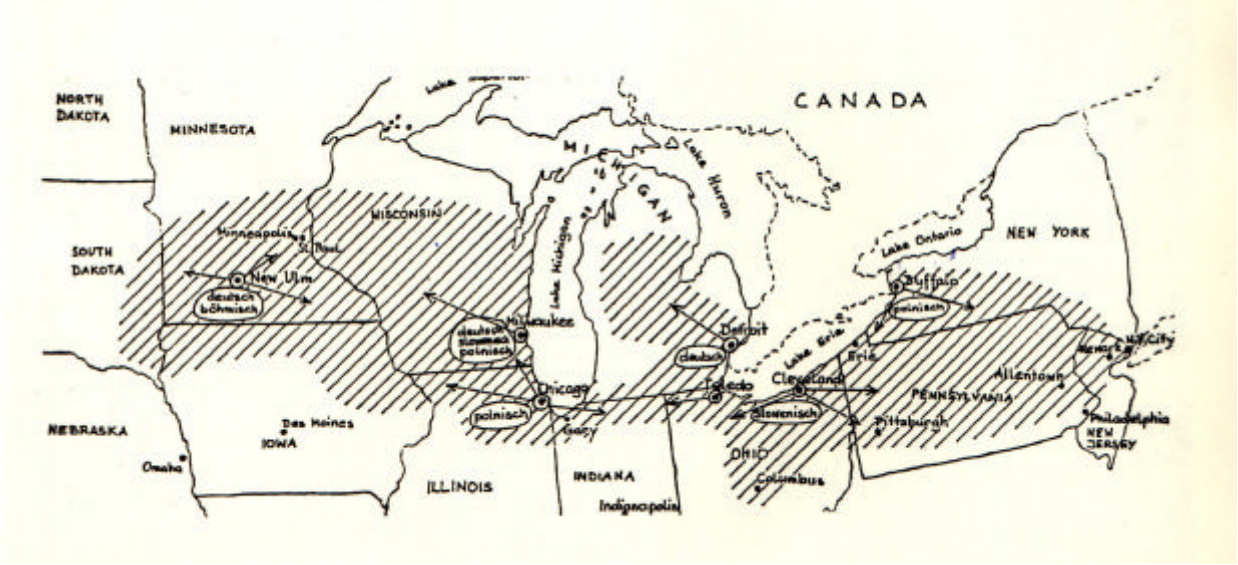

Figure 9 – The "Polka Belt" (Bohlman & Holzapfel 2002; cf. Bohlman 2002: 86)

Re-membering forms a complex counterpoint with another process of musically negotiating the spaces between past and present: revival. At the beginning of the twenty-first century revival has increasingly proved critical to the ways in which music allows us to pose questions about a twentieth-century history that brought about destruction and fragmentation. Revival, we must remember, is not

about something that has died, but rather that has been uprooted. The klezmer revival provides an obvious case in point (cf. Joel Rubin's essay in the present collection). We must keep in mind the way in which that revival responds to immigration to the United States from 1880 until the 1930s, the Holocaust, and the redrawing of the boundaries of Ashkenazic Europe and Germany. Most of all, we cannot forget that musical revival constructs spaces for the past in the present, and these exponentially expand the very real possibilities for meaningful memorywork.

Immigrants to Central Europe II – Exploding the Myths of Germanness

Revival has preoccupied me over the past decade, particularly the movement and migration in the revival of pilgrimage as a healing force in the New Europe since 1989. Revival has provided the context for much of my European fieldwork in the ethnographic present at the turn of our own century. As an ethnomusicologist I draw myself closer to revival by participating in numerous pilgrimages myself, most of which have provided occasions for communities displaced by World War II and the Cold War to reconstitute themselves. I mention this here not to spend time with migrant communities such as Banat Germans, with whom I have spent a great deal of time, but rather to talk about the ways in which reviving music reconfigures the spaces of Germany (see Bohlman 1999).

In revival and through re-membering, music creates new spaces and what we might call counterhistories for the New Europe. The force of these counterhistories lies particularly in their potential to explode many of the most dangerous and debilitating myths of the past, not least among them those myths that bound the spaces of Central Europe as impenetrably German. The music of Germany's and Austria's immigrants powerfully challenges the myths of Germanness and German and Austrian nationalism. I wish even to go several steps farther, arguing that it is precisely in the music of the new immigrants—the "New Europeans" as they now deserve to be called—that we witness a transformation of German and European identity.

Unquestionably, the music of Turkish *Gastarbeiter* has played a significant role in the opening of musical spaces for Islam, thus calling into question the historical myths about Europe as essentially Christian (e.g., the Holy Roman Empire, which geographically parsed Central Europe in the Middle Ages). Locally and globally, the music culture of Turkish "guest workers" transforms the spaces of the New Central Europe by—and this is a crucial point—breaching the cultural barriers that have separated Germanness from what was imagined to be otherness. The new music of Germans of Turkish ancestry does indeed set new mirrors in place, which reflect a new reality, even when public policy and sentiment too often lag behind.

Two brief examples serve as illustrations, revealing the very different ways in which music might mirror the complex spaces between Germany and Turkey. The first example is by one of the most popular Turkish singers of the past few years, Tarkan. Immensely successful in Germany, Tarkan does *not* provide us with examples of songs by a Turkish guest worker. He was, in fact, born in Germany, the child of such guest workers, but when he was still young his family returned to Turkey, where he was raised and now lives. Tarkan's songs make a crucial point not because they are somehow associated with the Turkish community, but rather because they frequently forge their way into the German and Austrian pop charts. For all intents and purposes, Tarkan's pop repertory, sung by a singer whose Islamist sympathies are explicit, has been fully integrated into German popular culture.

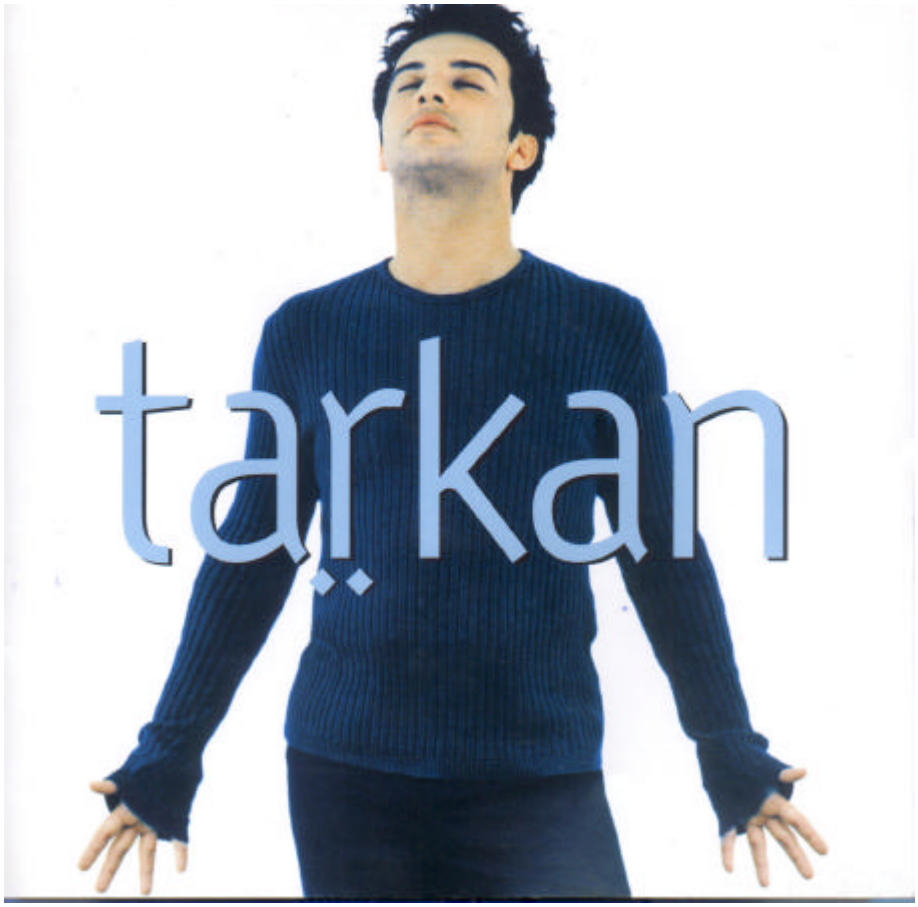

Figure 10 – CD Cover from Tarkan's Album, *Tarkan*

As a final illustration we might turn to one more popular song, in which the distinctions between Germanness and Turkishness have become entirely reconfigured. Sung by the Turkish-German group, Sürpriz, "Reise nach Jerusalem" ("Journey to Jerusalem") was the German entry in the 1999 Eurovision Song Contest. "Journey to Jerusalem" contains a welter of metaphors about movement and migration,

which might well be said to function as no less than a hall of mirrors transforming two worlds into multiple worlds. Germans, as many readers of this essay will know, know "Reise nach Jerusalem" as a children's game, much like musical chairs, in which players scramble for increasingly diminished space when the music stops. More literally, the 1999 Eurovision Song Contest took place in Jerusalem. Perhaps the crucial point to keep in mind is that the multitude of metaphors signifies a modern German culture available, theoretically that is, to a complex, multicultural society.

Figure 11 – Sürpriz: "Reise nach Jerusalem" (CD circulated prior to the Eurovision Song Contest, 1999)

Epilogue: (Re)membering as a History of German Music

In conclusion, we must not forget the obvious: In the course of German history, migration is normative, not exceptional. German history has formed from the many tensions produced by the need to compete for space at the center of Europe. We witness this in the many chapters of German history, from the Holy Roman Empire, to the fourteenth-century pogroms against the Jews of the Rhineland, to the Thirty Years War, to German and Austrian colonialism in the nineteenth century, to the world wars in the twentieth century. German immigration from the Old World to the New, too, was no less a product of competition for space.

It is, moreover, in the multitude of the musics that we call German or Austrian, German-American or Turkish-German, that we find ourselves drawn into musical worlds made richer by a diversity that belies musical styles proclaiming the stasis of Germanness. If we listen harder and beyond "Germanness" in music, we hear not one world but two worlds, if not many worlds. This is what Johann Gottfried Herder had in mind when he mapped the world metaphysically by coining and then locating the word/concept, *Volkslied* (Herder 1778/1779). The process of sounding multiple worlds suggests powerfully that German music was and is a work in progress, and that German immigrant history is no less a work in progress, shaped and reshaped by migration that ceaselessly moves in fits and starts, struggling to re-member itself by sounding the musics of its complex past and present.

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