

**FOLKSONG RESEARCH AND NATIONAL IDENTITY  
IN WEST GERMANY, 1949-1970**

By

Ryan Michael Maier

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies  
of the University of Manitoba  
in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts in History

Department of History  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg

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**FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

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**MASTER OF ARTS**

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## ABSTRACT

By investigating how folksong research transformed in the transition from Nazi Germany to the Federal Republic of Germany, this thesis inquires into changes of German national identity. It examines the writings of a group of folksong scholars who played an important role in reshaping German identity in the aftermath of the Second World War and the National Socialist regime in Germany. The thesis traces how the meanings with which scholars invested folksongs changed, and it explores the ways in which these musicologists used folksongs to promote at different times different national and supra-national communities.

In Nazi Germany, officials fostered and supported research on German folksongs, because they believed that these songs expressed the essence of German national character. The other way around, musicologists of folksongs contributed to the Nazi enterprise by infusing their research with *völkisch* terms and concepts. They argued that German music was superior to the music of other cultures and legitimized a politics of war, expansion, and conquests.

After the defeat of Nazi Germany and the creation of the West German state in 1949, some scholars continued to propagate ideas of musical nationalism and German cultural superiority in their work. Yet, as the first West German government worked to integrate the FRG into the community of Western capitalist nations and discouraged old-style nationalist agendas, music scholars changed their approach to folksong research and helped to engineer a metamorphosis in German national identity. Instead of identifying the folksong with ideals of German racial superiority, folksong musicologists denationalized their research methods and re-invented the folksong as a symbol of a common European heritage. Some the scholars who had previously promoted an aggressive and exclusivist nationalism in their work, now used folksong research to propagate a German identity that understood itself as a part of a democratic and cosmopolitan Europe.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CDU	<i>Christlich-Demokratische Union</i> (Christian Democratic Union)
DVA	<i>Deutsches Volksliedarchiv</i> (German folksong Archive)
EC	European Commission
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
LV	<i>Landschäftliche Volkslieder</i> (Regional folksongs)
NSDAP	<i>Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiterpartei</i> (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> (German Social Democratic Party)
SS	<i>Schutzstaffel</i> (Pretorian Platoon; National Socialist elite formation)

## SECTION 1

### INTRODUCTION: HISTORIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

This study on folksong research explores an aspect of the history of the transition of Nazi Germany to the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). In 1945 there was no real “zero hour” in which something ended and something completely different began.<sup>1</sup> In West Germany, due to the failure of Allied denazification programs, much of the old political structure remained intact and cultural elites that had held prominent positions in the Nazi years retained power and influence. Nevertheless, fascism came to an end under the guidance of the Allies, and the Germans in the Western zones erected a parliamentary democracy while retaining a capitalist economy.

The fundamental question I address in this thesis concerns the shifting of German national identities. Music, both classical and folk, has played a significant role in defining German national identity, and German musicologists have historically had a large influence on Germans’ musical self-understanding. Through an examination of the published works of folksong musicologists in this era of transition, I investigate the ways in which German self-understanding changed. I argue that postwar folksong scholars interpreted the national significance of the folksong in ways that reflected their own personal adjustments to life in Nazi Germany and in the FRG. In particular, I describe how postwar musicological claims to identifying the existence of a European folk culture offered intellectual support for the West German government’s policies of European economic and cultural integration during the first decades of the Cold War.

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<sup>1</sup> Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will, “In Search of German Culture: An Introduction,” in *Modern German Culture*, eds. Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 13.

On the other hand, I show how some scholars continued to promote forms of musical nationalism in ways that had changed little since the Nazi years. In fact, assertions of German musical superiority survived in a number of postwar writings, and some musicologists continued to pursue a politics of cultural imperialism. Thus, my study on postwar musicologists tells a complicated story of continuity and change. The lives and writings of these scholars help us to gain insight into the ways in which Germans maintained and altered the boundaries and the character of their musically-imagined national communities between the 1930s and the 1970s.<sup>2</sup>

### The Musicologists

To explore this topic, I chose to examine the writings of a group of musicologists whose works have been largely neglected in studies of German national identity and nationalism. The study of folksongs has been predominantly the domain of comparative musicologists, or ethnomusicologists, and many of the scholars I discuss in this thesis worked in this particular field of musicology. With them, folklorists, folksong collectors, and scholars of various disciplinary stripes formed a professional community who frequently referred to each other's research and occasionally engaged in dialogues. Most of these music scholars had started their careers during the Nazi era or even before, and they continued their scholarly activities in the postwar decades. Indeed, it is precisely the fact that so many scholars who were employed in Nazi-sponsored projects quickly

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<sup>2</sup> I adopted the concept of a musically imagined community, itself derived from Benedict Anderson's notion of imagined communities (see also page twelve of this introduction), from Georgina Born. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, eds. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 35-6.



resumed their research after the Second World War that makes this group such an interesting object of investigation.

Walter Wiora (1906-1997) was one of the most influential and well-published of these musicologists. He first found a home for himself at a leading research institute, the *Deutsches Volksliedarchiv* (German Folksong Archive, hereafter DVA), established in 1914 by John Meier at Freiburg im Breisgau, in 1936 and worked there to 1941. During the Second World War, he also conducted research for Nazi institutes and published in Nazi-sponsored journals. After the war, Wiora returned as an archivist to the DVA (1946-58), assumed a professorship of musicology at Kiel (1958-64) and later at Saarbrücken until he retired in 1972. Additionally, he was an editor for the West German series *Musikalische Zeitfragen* (Current Questions in Music) and a member of the International Folk Music Council Committee (1955-65).<sup>3</sup>

Fritz Bose (1906-1975) was appointed to the Berlin University as a director of the Acoustics Institute (1934) and later became an assistant lecturer (1941). Frequently using racial categories in his publications, Bose was hired in 1935 by the Race and Resettlement Office of the SS. After the war, he was appointed director at the *Institut für Musikforschung* (Institute for Music Research) in Berlin (1953) and taught at the Technical University in Berlin from 1963 to 1971.<sup>4</sup>

Guido Waldmann (1901-1990) was a member of the Nazi Party and authored a number of publications on the usefulness of racial theory in musical research during the Nazi years. In 1939, Waldmann took a professorship in Stuttgart at the State University

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<sup>3</sup> Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht: 'Wiora, Walter,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com.proxy2.lib.umanitoba.ca>>

<sup>4</sup> Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht & Pamela Potter: 'Bose, Fritz,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007).

of Music. After the war, Waldmann was appointed as a director of the Institute of Music in Trossingen in 1952.

The career of Joseph Müller-Blattau (1895-1976) spanned the Weimar, Nazi, and postwar years. First appointed to the Königsberg University in 1922, he became a member of the Nazi Party and the SA after 1933. In 1937, Müller-Blattau replaced his former teacher and colleague, Wilibald Gurlitt,<sup>5</sup> as a director at Freiburg University and later accepted a position at Strasbourg in 1941. After the war, he was named professor at Saarbrücken in 1952.<sup>6</sup>

Werner Danckert (1900-1970) finished his *Habilitation* (the qualification to become a university professor) at Jena in 1926 and thereafter worked as a music critic for the *Thüringer Allgemeine Zeitung* (general newspaper for the region of Thüringen) from 1932 to 1937. Danckert was then appointed to Berlin in 1937 and during the war worked in Alfred Rosenberg's cultural bureau (the organization in charge of the Nazi Party's ideological training).<sup>7</sup> Because of his Nazi affiliations, Soviet authorities expelled Danckert from a position he had taken at Rostock, East Germany, whereupon Danckert settled in Krefeld, West Germany. Unsuccessful in resuming a university career, he continued to publish musicological works independently and worked as a music teacher.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Dismissed because he refused to divorce his Jewish wife, after the war Gurlitt was re-appointed to Freiburg.

<sup>6</sup> M. Elizabeth, C. Bartlett & Pamela Potter: 'Müller-Blattau, Joseph Maria,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007).

<sup>7</sup> The Rosenberg bureau, or *Amt Rosenberg*, was given the official title of *Dienststelle des Beauftragen des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP* (Office of the Führer's Commissioner for the Supervision of All Intellectual and World View Schooling and Education of the NSDAP).

<sup>8</sup> Israel J Katz & Pamela Potter: 'Danckert, Werner,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007).

In fact, Danckert was one of the only few Nazi-era musicologists who failed to resume a university career after the war.<sup>9</sup>

Not all scholars who assumed academic positions in West Germany after the war were as implicated in Nazi-sponsored research as those just listed. From 1917 to 1934, Hans Mersmann (1891-1971) served as the director of the *Musikarchiv Deutscher Volkslieder* (Musical Archive for German Folksongs)<sup>10</sup> and as an assistant professor at the Berlin Technical University. Because of his advocacy of modern music, the Nazis dismissed Mersmann from his positions in 1934. After 1945 he was appointed to the Munich Music University (1946) and thereafter to the University of Cologne (1947-58). A founder of the German Music Council, Mersmann helped to establish the series *Musikalische Zeitfragen*.<sup>11</sup> Ernst Klusen (1909-1988) likewise had no significant Nazi past. He had founded the Lower Rhine Folksong Archive in 1939, had fought in the Second World War, and after 1945 continued his studies of Rhineland songs. In 1962, Klusen was appointed to the *Pädagogische Hochschule* in Neuss where he also founded the Institute for Musical Folklore (1964).<sup>12</sup>

Thus, born between 1890 and 1909, most of these scholars who worked before as well as after 1945 were approximately in their early forties when they resumed activities in West Germany. Only two of the more prominent scholars I examine were younger and

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<sup>9</sup> One among them was Ludwig Schiedermair, a musicologist who was forced to retire after the war because of his Nazi affiliations and pro-Hitler writings. See Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 248.

<sup>10</sup> In 1917, Max Friedlander established the *Musikarchiv Deutscher Volkslieder* in Berlin as a "parallel musical institute" to the DVA. The *Musikarchiv* contained sound recordings that were intended to complement the purely textual materials, such as lyrics and printed music, housed at the DVA at the time. In 1927, the DVA itself began to collect musical recordings through the efforts of John Meier and Alfred Quellmalz. After the Second World War, the *Musikarchiv* was relocated to Regensburg. See Wolfgang Suppan, "The German Folk Song Archives (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv) 1914-1964," *Ethnomusicology* 8, no. 2 (May 1964), 167.

<sup>11</sup> Thomas M. Langer & Pamela Potter: 'Mersmann, Hans,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Philip Bohlman: 'Klusen, Ernst,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007).

had not worked in the field of musicology before 1945: Wolfgang Suppan (born 1933) and Felix Hoerburger (1916-1997). Educated in Austria, Wolfgang Suppan worked as an assistant at the East German Folklore Institute (1961-3) and Freiburg University and later he became a director at the DVA (1963-74). Felix Hoerburger worked at the University of Regensburg from 1947 to 1968, then transferred to the University of Erlangen, and two years later returned to Regensburg where he remained until his retirement.<sup>13</sup>

Others belonging to the West German community of folksong musicologists and contributing to publications and debates were scholars, music teachers, and collectors who published only once or twice in edited volumes or in folksong collections. More on the margins of musicological scholarship, many of these researchers published as contributors to a project undertaken by the DVA in which a large anthology of German folksongs was compiled in a forty-four volume series (published from 1924 to 1972), called *Landschäftliche Volkslieder mit Ihren Melodien* (Regional Folksongs and Their Melodies: hereafter referred to as the LV project).

It seems that most of the musicologists who concentrated on folk music found themselves working in Federal Republic after the war, and in fact my study exclusively explores the politics of music research in the context of West German history. The formation of the East German state, its cultural politics, and the work of the GDR's musicologists do not fall within the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, I need to qualify that during my research, I have come across only two female folksong scholars who worked in West Germany in the postwar period. The works of Barbara von Wulffen and Doris Stockmann, however, are not relevant to the issues I discuss in this thesis.

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<sup>13</sup> Robert Schumacher: 'Suppan, Wolfgang,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007); Philip Bohlman: 'Hoerburger, Felix,' *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007).

Moreover, the absence of women musicologists was not particular to music scholarship. For most of the twentieth century, German academia was an overwhelmingly male affair and the years of National Socialism and the first decades of the Federal Republic did not form an exception. Only during the last quarter of a century did women begin to enter universities in significant numbers and as late as 1983, only 16.8 percent of women sought a university education, whereas the figure for men was 25.8 percent.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it is hardly surprising that the musicologists in this study are all men.

### The Historiography of German Nationalism and Music

Presently, the body of scholarship on German musicology and its relationship to German national imagination is largely confined to the era before 1945. Recent histories that have addressed German musicological traditions in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century are mostly the result of extensive research by Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter.<sup>15</sup> Celia Applegate explored the practice of musicology and its relationship to the growth of the folksong's national significance in nineteenth century Germany as well as inquired into musicologists' roles in creating a canon of German national music in this period. Applegate has given us valuable insight both into the growth of musicology as a scholarly discipline and its role in transforming music into an imaginative component of German identity. In her studies of early German composers

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<sup>14</sup> Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation*, trans. Stuart McKinnon-Evans (Oxford: Berg, 1989), 317-18.

<sup>15</sup> Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002); Celia Applegate, "Saving Music: Enduring Experiences of Culture," *History and Memory* 17, no. 1 (Fall 2005): 217-237; Pamela Potter, *Most German of Arts: Musicology and Society From the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Pamela Potter, "Did Himmler Really Like Gregorian Chant? The SS and Musicology," *Modernism/Modernity* 2, no. 3 (1995): 45-68; Pamela Potter, "Musicology Under Hitler," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 70-113.

and their writings, Applegate argues that early critiques and reviews of classical and folk music legitimated the act of writing about music as a key part of understanding music: expressing the national significance of music was achieved through writing about music as well as through actual composition.<sup>16</sup> Musicologists of both classical and folk genres helped to shape the aesthetic views and tastes of many Germans within specific national, class, religious, and political contexts. My study builds on Applegate's research. Like her, I explore the relationship between folksongs and their musicological treatment on the one hand, and expressions of national identity on the other.

In her monograph, *Most German of the Arts*, and in a series of related articles, Pamela Potter has explored the continuities in the relationship between musicology and German society during the Weimar and Nazi periods. Potter argues that connections between musicology, the state, and the German people existed before and during Nazi rule.<sup>17</sup> While not limiting her studies solely to musicologists of folksongs, Potter describes the ways in which musicologists focused on proving their general usefulness to society during the turbulent Weimar years. Thus, musicologists increasingly used politically fashionable terms and concepts that often closely conformed to conservative ideologies. Musicological research often aimed at promoting national pride. Furthermore, Potter argues that the Nazi Party considered music a central part of Germany's national and historical legacy, and thus co-opted the conservative and nationalist discourse of musicologists. After 1933, the relationship between the Party and musicologists benefited both sides. Musicological studies gave scholarly and intellectual support to the Nazis' racial, imperial, and nationalist policies, and in return many

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<sup>16</sup> Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music': Genealogy of an Identity," in *Music and German National Identity*, 3-6.

<sup>17</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 196-199.

musicologists gained economic and professional stability. My findings show that during the transition from the Nazi years to the first decades of the Federal Republic, musicologists held on to some of these nationalist and imperialist conceptions of German folk music. At the same time, however, this study breaks new ground in revealing that postwar scholarship also lent cultural support to West German political and cultural policies.<sup>18</sup>

Continuity is a prominent theme in another important study of folksongs and German national identity. In his investigation into the DVA-sponsored LV project, Philip Bohlman explores the identity-producing processes involved in the practices of folksong collecting. Bohlman follows the history of the LV project through the various periods of the twentieth century and argues that the act of folksong collecting had been influenced by political contexts from the start and that the publications of the LV project had a “nationalizing task.”<sup>19</sup> Directed at a lay readership (issues were pocket-sized for portability), the project tied “the geographical parts of a complete German folksong landscape together as a national identity.”<sup>20</sup> From Weimar Germany, through the Nazi years, and into the postwar era, the purpose and the framework of the project did not change. Its editors consistently compiled songs from German speech areas outside and inside Germany’s contemporary borders. Each volume contained songs that presented a timeless, almost “placeless” national landscape, and “contained items that connect it to ‘Germany’ as a whole.”<sup>21</sup> My research confirms Bohlman’s findings. As I will show in

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<sup>18</sup> For additional links between the state and the arts and for continuities from the Weimar Republic to the Nazi state, see Alan Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, & Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

<sup>19</sup> Philip Bohlman, “Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich: German Folksong in the Nexus of National Identity,” in *Music and German National Identity*, 108-110.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.

the next section, the LV project was just one part of a larger undertaking in folksong research that was framed by linguistic definitions of Germanness.<sup>22</sup>

Scholars of postwar German music have analyzed how performers as well as audiences continually redefined what constitutes German music. These scholars have begun to examine previously neglected genres of music. Mechtild von Schoenebeck has examined what she calls the “folk-like” songs produced from 1990 to 1996. Based on a purely textual analysis of song lyrics and imagery, Schoenebeck argues that these newer songs communicated traditional and conservative values through the lyrical and visual (in music videos) representations of local regions (*Heimat*), stability, national pride, and patriarchal social order.<sup>23</sup>

Edward Larkey looks at popular music of the postwar era, concentrating on the German *Schlager* (popular hit), *volkstümliche* music (a blend of folkloric melodies and pop music - similar to Schoenebeck’s “folk-like” songs), “German” rock ‘n’ roll, and the *Neue Deutsche Welle* (new German wave), a genre of electronic music. Each of the genres examined by Larkey was associated with different and competing conceptions of postwar Germanness, and his work sheds light on the cultural, political, and social dimensions of the Cold War. For example, *Schlager* lyrics often expressed *Heimat* sentimentality, while the genre’s success associated the *Schlager* with West German consumerism. *Volkstümliche* music, popularized through radio and the pop music industry, derived images of *Heimat* and national pride from its folkloric roots. “German”

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<sup>22</sup> For more on the political implications of music scholarship, see Philip Bohlman, “Musicology as a Political Act,” *The Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 4 (Autumn 1993), 419, 423.

<sup>23</sup> Mechtild von Schoenebeck, “The New German Folk-Like Song and Its Hidden Political Messages,” *Popular Music* 17, no. 3 (October 1998): 279-292.



rock 'n' roll and the *Neue Deutsche Welle* both reflect an increasing American and British influence on German popular music.<sup>24</sup>

My study complements Schoenebeck and Larkey's research on postwar musical culture in West Germany. While I do not rely on a textual analysis of the songs themselves, my research broadens our understanding of how German national identity was negotiated through the study of music. I analyze how a group of scholars treated their subject, that is, German folksongs, and I thereby gain insight into the cultural, political, and social issues of the postwar period.

### On Nationalism and National Identity

The historiography of nationalist and national identity theory has grown substantially in the last twenty-five years, and theorists of European nationalism are generally in agreement on its principle creed: national units have tended to strive for their own political counterpart—the political roof of the state. However, theorists have disagreed on the reasons why and how nationalism developed.<sup>25</sup> One school of thought that has gained wide acceptance posits that nationalism emerged as a political force only in the last few hundred years. This is generally known as the modernist position, and its proponents have given us many useful tools for understanding nationalism and national identity in Germany. Ernest Gellner, for example, understood nationalism as connected to the process of industrial modernization. More precisely, Gellner proposed to understand nationalism as a form of cultural homogenization in response to increased

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<sup>24</sup> Edward Larkey, "Postwar German Popular Music: Americanization, the Cold War, and the Post-Nazi Heimat," in *Music and German National Identity*, 234-250.

<sup>25</sup> Abigail Green, *Fatherlands: State-Building and Nationhood in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2.

social mobility, to the division of labor in modern society, and to the requirements of education that an industrialized, capitalist economy demanded from the late eighteenth century onward.<sup>26</sup> The history of German nationalism appears to confirm Gellner's theory, as the German national movement took shape during a period of economic and political modernization in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. Gellner's focus remained limited largely to the moments of the initial nationalist agitation, yet other modernists have investigated aspects of nationalism that will be more relevant to the period of time covered by this thesis.

In his seminal book, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson has likewise argued that the origins of national consciousness were rooted in capitalism. Specifically, Anderson drew attention to "print capitalism" and its role in the dissemination of vernacular languages.<sup>27</sup> According to Anderson, the relationship between language and print was essential for creating an "imagined community" that allows an individual to perceive a sense of communion and commonality with others of the same group, or nationality, without ever having seen each other face-to-face.<sup>28</sup> Anderson's theory helps us to understand how song collections, such as the LV project, played a role in mapping territories throughout Europe as German. As I will explain in section two of this thesis, for example, mapping a musically-imagined Greater Germany contributed to the imperialist and expansionist politics of the Nazi era since these scholarly endeavors

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<sup>26</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983). For a review of old and new debates on nationalism, see Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000). The modernist position in these debates forms one end of a spectrum. On the other end is the primordialist approach to nationalism, which holds that nations and nationalism have existed for thousands of years.

<sup>27</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 1983), 37-46.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

highlighted the fact that the boundaries of the German language did not match the boundaries of the German state of 1933.

Also part of the modernist consensus in the historiography on nationalism, Eric Hobsbawm has discussed problems of politics and power. Hobsbawm's concept of "invented traditions" helps us to understand the ways in which political powers legitimized particular state formations and governments. Hobsbawm suggested that legitimation is achieved through elaborate, but often not so very old, traditions and rituals. These traditions and rituals "seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."<sup>29</sup> In other words, nations are often based on a manufactured sense of history, and it is this history that has made contemporary nations look more natural and legitimate. As we will see in this thesis, German music scholars promoted the tradition of folksong in ways that it successively legitimized the politics two very different nation-states: the National Socialist state and the Federal Republic.

Miroslav Hroch did not focus on how nations are imagined or on how nation-states legitimate themselves, but he looked at the social dimensions of national movements. According to Hroch, a national movement evolved in three stages: Phase A, when a small core of intellectuals postulate the actual existence of a nation; Phase B, when patriotic agitators (including academics, writers, teachers, officials, etc.) begin to spread the message of nationalism; and Phase C, when the masses are drawn into the

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<sup>29</sup> See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1. See also Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

nationalist project.<sup>30</sup> Although Hroch directed this categorization mainly towards investigating European nationalist movements of the nineteenth century, his ideas are still relevant to my work. Before 1945 and after, the German music scholars whom I examine worked as patriotic agitators to propagate the existence of two particular sets of national or supra-national communities.

The modernist theorists have greatly advanced our knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of nationalism, and we today acknowledge that the nation-state and nationalism are distinctly modern in many of their aspects. As Liah Greenfeld has summarized:

[I]n the modern world social consciousness takes the form of national consciousness. Nationalism is the cultural framework of modernity; it is its main cultural mechanism of social integration, and therefore, construction. It is the order-creating mechanism which invests with meaning, and as a result shapes our social reality, or the cognitive medium, the prism through which modern society sees this reality.<sup>31</sup>

More recent scholarship on nationalism and national identity has begun to fill in the theoretical and conceptual gaps left by the main theorists discussed above. Anne McClintock and Michael Billig have both investigated nationalism after the nation-state is fully established.

McClintock and Billig argue that nationalism does not disappear after state construction, but it remains relevant and is continually expressed in the mundane and subtle routines of day-to-day life. McClintock discusses the significance of what she calls “national fetishes,” or the items of culture that are invested with national meaning. Often, she believes, “nationalism takes shape through the visible, ritual organization of

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<sup>30</sup> Miroslav Hroch, “From National Movement to the Fully-Formed Nation: The Nation-Building Process in Europe,” in *Becoming National: A Reader*, eds. Geoff Eley and Ronald G. Suny (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 63.

<sup>31</sup> Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 39.

fetish objects—flags, uniforms, airplane logos, maps, anthems, national flowers, national cuisines and architecture as well as through the organization of collective fetish spectacle.”<sup>32</sup>

In Michael Billig’s discussion of “banal nationalism,” he similarly argues that nationalism, as a conceptual term, should not be restricted to nationalist agitation, separatism, and the politics of state formation. Equally important are the more innocuous routines and symbols of everyday life that continually “remind” people of their nationality, such as raising a flag or singing a national song.<sup>33</sup> My research also investigates nationalism and national identity after the process of state-building. In particular, I am interested in answering the questions of how and why national identity can shift over time and in exploring the ways these shifts are articulated.

Up to now, few studies exist that examine how German national identity has changed over time. In his article, “Shifting National Identities: The Case of German History,” Klaus von Beyme compares the modes of state legitimation for each of Germany’s state-political constructions. For example, he argues that the various forms of German political organization had irregular and shifting modes of national or political legitimation. Factors of economics (the welfare state), politics, (democracy), legality (equality before the law), and culture (nationality) existed in tension with each other from Bismarck’s Empire, established in 1871, through the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany, into the German Federal Republic. Von Beyme also analyzed public surveys in order to gauge popular conceptions of German identity. He notes, for example, that

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<sup>32</sup> Anne McClintock, “No Longer a Future in Heaven: Nationalism, Gender, and Race,” in *Becoming National: A Reader*, 274.

<sup>33</sup> Michael Billig, “Banal Nationalism,” in *The Language, Ethnicity and Race Reader*, eds. Roxy Harris and Ben Rampton (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 128-131.

national chauvinism declined in West Germany as citizens increasingly based their identity as Germans on their economic system and their democratic political system at the expense of ethnic identifications.<sup>34</sup> Because of this shift in modes of identification, von Beyme and several other historians, such as Stefan Berger, have described a growing trend towards a “post-national consciousness” in West Germany.<sup>35</sup> My discussion of folksong research during the Nazi and postwar years gives depth to the general observations of these scholars.

Prasenjit Duara’s theory of hard and soft community boundaries will help us to conceptualize the changes in national identification and the relationship between folksongs and shifting identities in German history. Duara believes that nations are fluid and contested intellectual constructs, and he thus concludes that the constitutive elements of a nation, and the meanings of these elements, are subject to change. According to Duara, music, including folk music, as a cultural practice, can mark the boundaries of a national identity, and people who practice music or musicology are in a key position to shape these boundaries and make them softer or harder.<sup>36</sup> This is what the German musicologists whose work I examine did.

In the history of German nationalism and national identity, regionalism played a significant role. All political constructions of the German state possessed a federalized structure, which points to the strength of regional identities in Germany.<sup>37</sup> In fact, the

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<sup>34</sup> Klaus Von Beyme, “Shifting National Identities: The Case of German History,” *National Identities* 1, no. 1 (1999), 44-48; See also John Breuilly, “German National Identity,” in *Modern German Culture*.

<sup>35</sup> Klaus Von Beyme, “Shifting National Identities,” 49; Stefan Berger, *Germany*, (London: Arnold, 2004), 165-97.

<sup>36</sup> Prasenjit Duara, “Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When,” in *Becoming National: A Reader*, 151-177.

<sup>37</sup> James Sheehan, “What is German History? Reflections on the Role of the Nation in German History and Historiography,” *The Journal of Modern History* 53, no. 1 (March 1981), 7; Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 62-3, 105.

tensions that exist between loyalties to the nation and to a particular region have been examined by a number of relatively new studies. In his work on the region of Württemberg from 1871 to 1918, Alon Confino explores the “negotiations between local memory and national memory and how the multitude of local memories in Germany constructed a local-national memory.”<sup>38</sup> Confino proposes the metaphor of a whole and its parts as a useful framework for conceiving of the complexities of German national identity. This metaphor helps us to understand how Germans have grasped the connection between localness and the abstract notion of the nation.

Philip Bohlman’s study of the LV project similarly emphasizes the regional nature of German self-understanding. Each volume of the forty-four volume series was a collection of folksongs from a region where German was spoken, either in Germany itself or in other parts of Europe. Methodically collecting songs from region by region throughout Europe, the scholars who carried out the project aimed at creating a body of work that together minimized the perception of regional differences and formed a “musical simulacrum for national identity.”<sup>39</sup>

Both Bohlman and Confino stress that German national identity was able to incorporate identities that were at once loyal to the local *Heimat* and to the national unit. Nancy Reagin, in her survey of the most recent literature on German national identity, confirms that the awareness of the regional component is one of the more important developments in studies of German identity today.<sup>40</sup> In the same vein as Philip

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<sup>38</sup> Alon Confino, *The Nation as Local Metaphor: Württemberg, Imperial Germany, and National Memory, 1871-1918* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 8-9.

<sup>39</sup> Philip Bohlman, “Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich,” 106.

<sup>40</sup> Nancy R. Reagin, “Review Article: Recent Work on German National Identity: Regional? Imperial? Gendered? Imaginary?” *Central European History* 37, no. 2 (June 2004), 284; see also Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Abigail Green, *Fatherlands*.

Bohlman's work, my study shows that musicologists have persistently framed their work on German folksongs in a way that allowed regional and national identities to coexist.

### Key Definitions and Core Concepts

For the purposes of this study, I found Anthony Smith's definition of nationalism most useful. He defines nationalism as an "ideological movement for attaining and *maintaining* autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation.'"<sup>41</sup> This definition not only accounts for an emergent nationalism, or a nationalism that still seeks political fulfillment in a state, but it also refers to nation-states that already exist. Thus, nationalism is not only a political movement, but also "a consciousness of belonging to the nation," and a "language and symbolism of the nation."<sup>42</sup> This is most fitting for my study as I am concerned with a period of time long after Germany's political realization as a state.

Over the course of the past two hundred years, German national identity has tended to combine a cultural (linguistic) and biological (ethnic) definition of nationality.<sup>43</sup> Thus, Germans have understood the German nation as composed of people who distinguish themselves by their language and their ability to prove German descent. Without long-standing parliamentary or institutional traditions, German nationalists of the early nineteenth century promoted the idea of a common language and ethnicity for propagating German national allegiance.<sup>44</sup> During the years of National Socialism, Nazi

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<sup>41</sup> Anthony Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 3. Emphasis added.

<sup>42</sup> Umut Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism*, 181.

<sup>43</sup> See Abigail Green, *Fatherlands*, 4.

<sup>44</sup> Abigail Green points out, however, that recent historians have also argued that Germans may have identified with the political entity of the Holy Roman Empire; thus, "the discrepancy between cultural and political nationhood was not absolute." Abigail Green, *Fatherlands*, 4. See also Bettina Westle,



politics built on these premises of ethnic Germanness and translated them into grotesque racial policies. Yet still in the twenty-first century, the main requirements of German citizenship are based on language and on ethnicity. Therefore, I follow Anthony Smith and call this particular German way of constructing national identity an “ethno-linguistic” definition of nationhood.<sup>45</sup>

The important role played by culture in German identity formation led to the association of Germanness with a specific cultural production: music, and in particular, the folk music of German-speaking areas. In Nazi Germany, for example, both musicologists and the Nazi authorities believed the German folksong to be the expression of a pure Germanness that could be traced back for centuries. I argue that this link between folksongs and German identity persisted into the postwar era, albeit it took more moderate forms. However, I do not suggest that folksongs indeed were bearers of a “really-existing” German culture. Rather, I propose that musicologists, as cultural interpreters, used these songs to prove the existence of specific “German” or “European” cultural formations. As culture is constantly redefined and contested, interpreters of culture can refashion the meanings of cultural symbols to suit particular interests or to match political circumstances.

That folksongs could lend themselves to various interpretations also stems from the fact that there is no self-evident definition of a folksong. The definition of what constitutes a folksong depends on the perspective of the observer. Thus all attempts to determine which songs are folksongs are arbitrary. In Germany, two dominant theories

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“Collective Identification in Western and Eastern Germany,” in *Nation and National Identity: The European Experience in Perspective*, eds. Hanspeter Kriesi et al. (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004), 175.

<sup>45</sup> Anthony Smith, *The Nation in History*, 11.

of the folksong rose to prominence in the 1920s. A scholar by the name of Joseph Pommer proposed that folksongs were songs that originated among the people and continued to be folksongs as they were sung by the populace. Conversely, John Meier, who had established the DVA in 1914, agreed that folksongs were songs that were the property of the common people, but he argued that folksongs were created by trained musicians.<sup>46</sup> As we shall see in the third section of this thesis, debates about which songs constitute folksongs continued into the postwar era among West German scholars. Yet the international community of musicologists settled in 1954 on a definition of the folksong that has remained unchanged to this day. According to the International Folk Music Council, which was established in 1947, folksongs are mainly an oral tradition that satisfied the following three requirements: “continuity which links the present with the past; variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; selection by the community which determines the form or forms in which the music survives.” In addition, a song can be a folksong if it is “uninfluenced by popular or art music ... and has originated with an individual composer and is subsequently absorbed into the unwritten living tradition of a community.”<sup>47</sup>

### Folksongs, Musicology, and Nationalism to the First World War

The German folksong is as much imagined as German national identity. In the 1770s, Johann Gottfried Herder coined the term *Volkslied* (folksong) and declared the “German folksong” to be foundational for German culture.<sup>48</sup> Herder argued that the

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<sup>46</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 193.

<sup>47</sup> Isabelle Mills, “The Heart of the Folksong,” *Canadian Journal for Traditional Music* (Accessed 10 August 2007), <<http://cjt看.icaap.org/content/2/v2art5.html>>

<sup>48</sup> Philip Bohlman, “Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich,” 108.

constitutive elements of the German people were their language and culture. Thus by “discovering” the basic element of a people’s folklore, Herder believed he had found the purest and most authentic form of the nation, or the *Volk*.<sup>49</sup>

Herder’s ideas had a lasting impact, and in the course of the nineteenth century, music developed into an important vehicle of German national identity.<sup>50</sup> Folk music emerged as an aspect of imagined German culture that seemed to provide evidence of an existing German nation. After Herder’s discovery of the *Volk*, numerous collectors, folklorists, philologists, and music scholars had scoured the land searching out and documenting German folksongs. During the nineteenth century, scholars began to publish large anthologies of folksongs with the aim of emphasizing a common national identity. Moreover, lay organizations, specifically voluntary singing associations (*Gesangsvereine*), developed and became a substantial force of German nationalism.<sup>51</sup> During the decades of growing nationalist agitation in the mid-nineteenth century, the public performances of these associations celebrated German-language folksongs as way to raise awareness of a German national culture. Finally, the assumed importance of music to German national identity prompted composers and intellectuals to write about music and to expand on its relevance for national identity. These discourses on music and German nationalism took shape against the background of nineteenth century political movements, and both informed each other. Collecting folksongs, publishing anthologies, and the activities of singing societies all contributed to the canonization of

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<sup>49</sup> John Gledhill, “The Power of Ethnic Nationalism: Foucault’s Bio-power and the Development of Ethnic Nationalism in Eastern Europe,” *National Identities* 7, no. 4 (December 2005), 357.

<sup>50</sup> For more on Herder’s impact on nationalism in general, see Jan Penrose and Joe May, “Herder’s Concept of Nation and Its Relevance to Contemporary Ethnic Nationalism,” *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 18, no. ½ (1991): 165-78.

<sup>51</sup> George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1975), 136-48.

folk music in the Germans' pantheon of national symbolism. As the first German state took shape in 1871, the folksong had a firm place in the German national consciousness, and collections and studies of folksongs were readily available as tools for promoting the idea of German unity.

The German nation-state carved out by Otto von Bismarck and the Prussian monarchy in 1871 left many German nationalists disappointed. First, the boundaries of the new state failed to incorporate millions of German-speakers, especially those in Austria. Nationalists who continued to stress the linguistic basis of German national identity thus referred to the new German state as "*Kleindeutschland*" (smaller Germany). In this view, the nation-building process was incomplete because the German nation existed as far as the German language was heard, that is, all of the German-speaking regions that formed "*Großdeutschland*" (greater Germany). Moreover, Prussia clearly dominated the Imperial state, and this offended many nationalists' desires for a liberal-democratic and federalist Germany. Thus, the Prussian aristocracy needed to find new ways to legitimate its particular construction of the German national state.<sup>52</sup> For one solution to this problem, the new state subsidized a vast array of cultural activities, especially those related to music. By promoting their dedication to German music, the political elite portrayed German interests as Prussian interests.

After 1871, musicology achieved prominence as a scholarly discipline and received generous state endorsements.<sup>53</sup> The Wilhelmine government established numerous musicological departments in German universities (eg. Strasbourg, Berlin,

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<sup>52</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 79.

<sup>53</sup> Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music,'" in *Music and German National Identity*, 8-17; Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 43-48, 81-2; Abigail Green, *Fatherlands*, 100-2.

Munich, Bonn), funded research, and supported musicological publications. By 1914, musicology had established itself as a newer, but rapidly expanding, academic field.<sup>54</sup>

Although scholars, nationalists, and interested musicians had been documenting and collecting German folk songs since the time of Herder, musicologists began to take the study of folksongs more seriously after 1871. A rise in folksong research went hand with the development of comparative musicology (*vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*), an interdisciplinary field of musicology that has since transformed into today's ethnomusicology.<sup>55</sup> The scholars who pioneered this approach, such as Curt Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel, compared scale structures, harmonies, rhythms, and incorporated music psychology, ethnology, biology, and physics in order to "discover the origins and nature of music."<sup>56</sup> Particularly, comparative musicologists aimed at analyzing the relationships between non-Western folksongs and European music. In fact, despite a distinctive Eurocentric bias, comparative musicologists were not that interested in associating the folksong with Germanness, and they largely withheld from joining the *Gesangsvereine* and other musicologists in promoting the national significance of German folksongs. After the end of the First World War, comparative musicology was an established methodological school of musicology and the field that many folksong scholars called home. Moreover, these musicologists could now benefit from the growing inventories of newly established institutes, such as the DVA, established in 1914 at Freiburg im Breisgau. However, political and cultural developments over the next

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<sup>54</sup> Celia Applegate & Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music,'" 17-18.

<sup>55</sup> Comparative musicology became known as ethnomusicology in 1950. Because of its interdisciplinary nature, whether this type of research is its own discipline or a sub-discipline of other subjects, such as music history, ethnology, and anthropology, has been the subject of persistent debates.

<sup>56</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 172-4.

three decades had significant consequences for folksong research in Germany, and thus for comparative musicologists as well.

### The Weimar Republic

The years of the Weimar Republic constitute the formative phase for my topic. Some musicologists whose work I examine, notably Hans Mersmann and Joseph Müller-Blattau, began their careers during this time and many of the methodologies and ideologies that dominated Nazi-era musicology can be traced back to trends prominent in the 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>57</sup> After the First World War, two related ideas began to dominate German musicology: the attempt to define the Germanness of German music, both folksong and classical, and the fear that this German music could be corrupted by what scholars considered foreign musical influences.<sup>58</sup> These themes drew upon ideological trends that had developed over the course of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the *völkisch* movement.

From its beginnings in the early nineteenth century, *völkisch* ideology had been an anti-modernist movement that was a response to the French Revolution and the industrial revolution. *Völkisch* ideologues, such as Heinrich von Stein and Houston Stewart Chamberlain, criticized what they perceived to be Western rational and materialistic values and called for the purification of German life and culture. They claimed that the spirit of the German nation had existed in a purer form in the pre-industrial past, and believed that this German spirit had since been polluted and degraded through the influence of degenerative and foreign forces. *Völkisch* writers hoped for a regenerative

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<sup>57</sup> In addition to professorial duties, both Müller-Blattau and Mersmann were editors of Weimar-era periodicals such as *Das Neue Werk* and *Die Singgemeinde*. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 43.

<sup>58</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 200-213.

struggle that would not only return to the German people their cultural purity, but also achieve the national unification of the Germans people.<sup>59</sup> Many also promoted the idea of *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil), a concept of territorialism that held that Germans had a mystical attachment to the land on which they lived.<sup>60</sup>

In the early twentieth century, the *völkisch* movement had gained a sizable following, and many Germans who promoted its views saw the First World War as the regenerative struggle that would restore Germany to its proper glory. However, Germany's defeat did not weaken the appeal of these ideals. Instead, the end of the war led to a revival of *völkisch* ideology. Large portions of German society, including a nascent Nazi Party, became more vocal than ever before in their calls for cultural purification and national unification.

During the Weimar years, *völkisch* ideology grew in prominence especially as a response to the cultural tensions of the era. For many Germans in the Weimar Republic, the 1920s were a time of innovation and experimentation, in which society and culture appeared to be changing with exhilarating speed. Revolutions in communication and travel brought many Germans into contact with ideas, people, and events around the world. Many circles viewed the rapid internationalization of culture positively. Others, however, in particular the political right and *völkisch* ideologues, associated Weimar metropolitan and cosmopolitan culture with a cultural decline. They advocated fierce resistance to the perceived threats of hedonistic American culture, technological rationality, urban decadence, musical experimentation, alien bolshevism, and racial impurity. Cultural conservatives, *völkisch* ideologues, followers of the growing Nazi

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<sup>59</sup> Roderick Stackelberg, *Idealism Debased: From Völkisch Ideology to National Socialism* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1981), 1.

<sup>60</sup> Iain Boyd White, "Modern German Architecture," in *Modern German Culture*, 295.

Party, and others called for the return to traditional social values (often associated with visions of rural tranquility) and purifying German culture as a means of restoring Germany's national health and strength.<sup>61</sup>

A fascination with all things small-town and rural helped boost the popularity of German folksong in the Weimar Republic. In fact, the folksong seemed untouched by all urban and non-German influences, and for cultural purists and nationalists, it was the opposite of the "non-culture" of "Negro jazz bands" and the "musical bolshevism" of Arnold Schoenberg's atonalism.<sup>62</sup> *Völkisch* nationalists promoted the German folksong because they claimed that it connected the German people to the higher spheres of the pre-industrial age. According to them, the German folksong had the potential to reveal pure forms of Germanness.<sup>63</sup> The *völkisch* movement played a key role in bringing German music and the folksong to the attention of the German public.

In Weimar Germany, the increasing popularity of the folksong formed part of a general trend in which conservative nationalists turned to the myths and symbols that for the last hundred years had served to bind Germans together as Germans. Scholars and lay people began to inquire into what was German about German culture, and what distinguished it from foreign and supposedly weaker cultures. For many, these were questions of great political relevance. A rise in public and scholarly interest in

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<sup>61</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 134-5.

<sup>62</sup> Jost Hermand, *Old Dreams of a New Reich*, 102; Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 90-1, 208-9. Interestingly, the anti-modernist stance of *völkisch* proponents was contradicted by many of the activities carried out by the Nazi regime, especially in their endorsement of science, through its reliance on mass media communications, and its modern public works initiatives.

<sup>63</sup> Roderick Stackelberg, *Idealism Debased*, 12. For another broad survey of the development of *völkisch* thought from the early nineteenth century to the end of Nazi Germany, see Jost Hermand, *Old Dreams of a New Reich: Völkisch Utopias and National Socialism*, trans. Paul Levesque (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992).



specifically German music thus contributed to an increase in musicological activity that sought to celebrate the superiority and uniqueness of German music.<sup>64</sup>

In addition to cultural tensions, economic instability plagued the Weimar Republic and significantly influenced the shape of Weimar musical life. Particularly after the onset of the economic depression, the state could hardly provide the essentials for German life, let alone for cultural activities.<sup>65</sup> Professional music organizations, both folksong and classical, lost much of their funding, and financial hardships forced research institutes to severely limit their endeavors.<sup>66</sup> However, musical activities did not stop after 1929, and during the years that followed a massive growth in informal or amateur singing occurred. By 1931, an estimated two million citizens were members of singing organizations. Amateur singing associations, including the *Jugendmusikbewegung* (youth music movement), frequently promoted their own brand of *völkisch* nationalism, and in their performances the German folksong made up the bulk of their repertoires.<sup>67</sup>

### The Years of National Socialism

The Nazi assumption of power was a victory for *völkisch* nationalism and cultural conservatism in Germany. In fact, leading Nazi officials took a special interest in German music and fully endorsed the program of the *völkisch* movement that called for

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<sup>64</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 204.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10, 66.

<sup>66</sup> For instance, the German Research Institute in Bückeberg, (established in 1917) gradually reduced its publishing and research activities after the economic inflation in 1924. Following the Depression, the Institute's activities were almost entirely curtailed. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 59-63, 68-9.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-9. Amateur singing especially grew due to financial constraints and instability in Weimar Germany: Lack of funding for professional performance led many to create music in their own home with cheaper instruments such as the guitar. Singing also did not require extensive training and provided a sense of community and interaction in uncertain times. See also, Bruce Campbell, "*Kein schöner Land*: The Spielschar Ekkehard and the Struggle to Define German National Identity in the Weimar Republic," in *Music and German National Identity*, 128-39.

the eradication of all non-German influence from what was perceived to be German culture. Promoting itself as the defender of German culture, the Nazi Party welcomed and supported research that sought to define Germanness and to establish the superiority of German music.<sup>68</sup> For many musicologists, locating and defining Germanness in music matched the Nazi state's ideals of cultural purification and national chauvinism.

*Völkisch* intellectuals had all along believed that the German folksong was a repository of German spiritual strength and a true expression of Germanness. Thus, scholars and Nazi ideologues found in the German folksong an ideal object in which they could celebrate Germanness in its purest form. Representing the essential German qualities, the folksong was the ideal vehicle for *völkisch* and Nazi ideologies.<sup>69</sup>

Under the Nazi regime, the study of folksongs received systematic support and the field's activities expanded dramatically. In addition to infusing foundering research institutes with new funds, the Party offered musicologists numerous extra-academic opportunities for work. For example, the Propaganda Ministry, the Education Ministry, and Nazi cultural organizations such as the Reich Youth Leadership and the Rosenberg Bureau, all employed musicologists.

In order to enforce political and ideological conformity, the Nazis tried to gain complete control over all aspects of German academic and cultural life.<sup>70</sup> After they had usurped control over university administrations by appointing their own rectors to each

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<sup>68</sup> Joseph Goebbels described the superiority of German music in terms that closely correspond to Nazi goals of conquest: "Richard Wagner's music conquered the world because it was consciously German and because it strove to be nothing else." Quoted in Albrecht Riethmüller, "German Music From the Perspective of Musicology After 1933," *Journal of Musicological Research* 2 (1991), 179.

<sup>69</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of Arts*, 214-6, 233.

<sup>70</sup> The control exerted by the Nazis over the cultural life of the German nation was intended to be total. Singing organizations had also fallen under the power of the Nazis through the incorporation of the singing association's unions (organized during the harsh financial times of the Weimar Republic) into the *Reichskulturkammer* (Reich Music Chamber). For more on the Nazi assumption of control over German musical and artistic life, see Alan Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, & Economics in Nazi Germany*.

institution, the Nazis carried out a purge of undesirable scholars from academia. Hans Mersmann's advocacy of experimentalism and modern music led to the termination of his academic duties. For refusing to divorce his Jewish wife, Wilibald Gurlitt lost his position at Freiburg. In addition, some of the most prominent comparative musicologists, including Curt Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel, were forced to emigrate because they were Jewish. The scholars who stepped into their places, musicologists who would also later become prominent ethnomusicologists in West Germany, such as Joseph Müller-Blattau, Fritz Bose, and Walter Wiora, welcomed the opportunities that came with the heightened status of their discipline.

Folksong research during the Nazi era had two main goals. First, researchers attempted to construct a complete collection of regional music along the lines of the LV project. By compiling German-language folk music from all areas that constituted *Großdeutschland*, scholars and Party officials hoped to create basis for musical Germanness. At the same time, collections of folksongs from German-speaking regions throughout Europe contributed to the politics of imperialism by supporting *völkisch* claims that these regions were German national territory. Secondly, scholars directed their efforts towards portraying German music as the superior music of Europe. Using pseudo-scientific methodologies, such as employing racial categories, scholars constructed a hierarchy of European folksongs with Germany at the top.<sup>71</sup> In comparative studies, scholars described similarities between German and non-German folksongs as the result of imitation or Germanic influence. In Nazi Germany, these studies often anticipated or followed military conquest. For example, as I will show in section two, the collections of folksongs from East European German-language areas that

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<sup>71</sup>Pamela Potter, *Most German of Arts*, 229-31.

the LV project published in the Nazi years contributed to the political and military goal of Germanizing Eastern Europe. In fact, during the war many musicologists established themselves as music czars, or cultural ministers, in newly conquered territories, and only the defeat of the National Socialists in 1945 brought an end to their imperialist ambitions and projects.

### West Germany

After World War Two, musicologists had to adjust to a new political situation in which Germany, as they had known it, had ceased to exist.<sup>72</sup> First, the end of Nazi rule brought an end to the numerous state-sponsored activities from which scholars had benefited. Secondly, the Allied occupational policy of denazification posed a threat to musicologists who had cultivated a close relationship with the Nazis and now wished to continue their professional activities. The Allies believed that the German university system had played an instrumental role in the rise of fascism, and they had planned to restructure and reform German education entirely.<sup>73</sup> However, Allied denazification policy was vastly inconsistent, and almost all musicologists who had prospered during the Nazi years came to assume prominent university and institutional positions in the postwar era. What started out as a plan to eradicate all vestiges of National Socialism from German society quickly turned into a bureaucratic nightmare and was eventually abandoned by all of the occupying powers. Moreover, when Cold War considerations

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<sup>72</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 168-70.

<sup>73</sup> Paul R. Neureiter, "Watch the German Universities," *Journal of Higher Education* 17, no. 4 (April 1946), 171-2; see also H.J. Hahn, *German Thought and Culture: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 126.

began to dominate the minds of Allied policy-makers, denazification quickly fell off the list of Allied priorities.<sup>74</sup>

The desperate need for faculty in severely under-staffed universities in Soviet and Western zones also hastened the end of denazification. In the Eastern zone, the Soviet occupation authorities declared an end to their policies of denazification in 1948. After the Soviet declaration, the Western Allies decided to exonerate almost everyone under investigation at that time and to proclaim an end to their own policies of denazification—lest the Soviets be perceived as more efficient. From then on, it became relatively easy for scholars with past Nazi affiliations to assume academic posts in Eastern and Western occupation zones alike.<sup>75</sup>

The fear of a reunified Germany allied to the Soviet Union was a key concern for the Western occupiers and played an important role in shaping the course of Western policy.<sup>76</sup> To prevent such an outcome, and with the full support of the Western Allies, West German political leaders drafted West Germany's first constitution, the Basic Law, or *Grundgesetz*, in January 1949. The constitution created West Germany as a separate political entity and it defined the new state along the lines of a "liberal democracy within

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<sup>74</sup> Although German universities were quickly re-staffed with numerous ex-Nazis and Nazi supporters, American policy analysts portrayed their achievements in denazification as a complete success. For the conclusions of one analyst sent by the American Military Government, see H.L. Donovan, "Observations of German Universities in the American Zone," *Peabody Journal of Education* 26, no. 2 (September 1948), 71: "The Germans and the Americans, working in co-operation, have completely denazified these universities and I am of the opinion that today they are in the hands of those who hate Nazism almost as much as we do."

<sup>75</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 250-1.

<sup>76</sup> The most significant Allied moves to save West Germany from the perceived threat of communism were the creation of the Anglo-American Bizone in 1946, the Marshall Plan in 1947, and the currency reform in 1948. See also Richard Merrit, *Democracy Imposed: U.S. Occupation Policy and the German Public, 1945-1949* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), 184; Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 170, 131-2; Armin Grünbacher, *Reconstruction and Cold War in Germany: The Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau 1948-1961* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 8.

the western alliance.”<sup>77</sup> In fact, it seems that many West Germans agreed with the decision to create a separate West German state. The electoral majority gained by Konrad Adenauer’s Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in the country’s first election demonstrated that a consensus had emerged according to which communism constituted the biggest threat to Western society.<sup>78</sup>

Anti-communism legitimized Adenauer’s government more than any concern of his for preventing a return to Nazism. Immediately following the end of hostilities, in fact, Western politicians were busy constructing a new enemy, and in their language they quickly turned the new conflict into a war of cultures. In this scheme, “Soviet barbarians,” who were identified by their social and economic system, threatened to conquer the rest of Europe and to destroy the home of Western civilization.<sup>79</sup> According to Adenauer, “only an economically and spiritually healthy West Europe, to which the part of Germany not occupied by Russia must be an essential part, can stop the further spiritual and military penetration of Asia.”<sup>80</sup> Communism became Western civilization’s Eastern Other.

In his efforts to anchor West Germany firmly within the sphere of Western capitalist nations, Adenauer implemented a foreign policy that deepened relationships with Western countries. Also known as *Westpolitik*, this meant strengthening West Germany’s ties with its Western European neighbors, especially with France. European integration and the “internationalization of West German political economy” formed the

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<sup>77</sup> John Breuilly, “German National Identity,” 62.

<sup>78</sup> Stalin had offered this alternative to the continued political division of Germany in 1952. John Breuilly, “German National Identity,” 62-3.

<sup>79</sup> Iver Neumann, *Uses of the Other: The “East” in European Identity Formation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 103

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 102; David Patton, *Cold War Politics in Postwar Germany*, 20-1.

process whereby the FRG became a front-line bastion against Soviet communism.<sup>81</sup> This anti-communist ideology of the Adenauer era and the process of European and Western integration had important consequences for a redefined German identity and a new discourse of German nationalism in the Federal Republic of Germany.

For my discussion of folksong research in the National Socialist state before 1945, I heavily rely on the work of Pamela Potter and others, and the same is the case for the years between the end of the Second World War and 1949, which were an important time of transition. My original research on the history of folksong musicology begins with the year 1949, when folksong scholars began to publish again and created a new body of work. In the late 1960s, with the student protests of 1968, the postwar period came to an end and the political climate in West Germany changed again. Germans broke the silence on the country's Nazi past, that had characterized the Adenauer era, and under the leadership of Chancellor Willy Brandt, the government pursued a new *Ostpolitik* (a normalization of relations between West Germany and the Eastern Bloc countries). The musicologists whose work I discuss in this thesis anticipated some of these developments, but my research does not go beyond the year 1970.

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<sup>81</sup> For more on this internationalization of German political and economic life, see William Graf, ed., *The Internationalization of the German Political Economy: Evolution of a Hegemonic Project*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

## SECTION 2

### CONTINUITIES IN GERMAN SELF-UNDERSTANDING

Following the defeat of Nazi Germany, the Allied powers attempted to reform German society completely. Both East and West German states, in particular the FRG, however, did not abandon certain features of its Nazi past so easily. Capitalism continued to form the basis of West Germany's economy, and many of the pre-1945 political and economic elites retained power and influence.<sup>82</sup> Additionally, certain key conceptions of German self-understanding remained much as they had been during the years of National Socialism. Notwithstanding the subdued tones of postwar German nationalism, West German folksong musicology maintained several methodological and ideological trends from the Nazi period.

This section explores the continuities in German self-understanding and nationalism. First, I describe the state of folksong research during the Nazi years. In particular, I discuss the relatively prominent place of folksong musicology in Nazi Germany. I also describe the ways in which the methods of Nazi-era folksong research reflected the National Socialist world-view. Second, I shift my analysis to the postwar years and discuss the new beginnings of scholarship in postwar West Germany. Finally, I discuss several trends in postwar research that show how some aspects of the relationship between folksongs and German national identity remained unchanged.

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<sup>82</sup> William Graf, "Internationalization and Exoneration," in *The Internationalization of the German Political Economy: Evolution of a Hegemonic Project*, 8-9.



## Musicology in the National Socialist State

The political, cultural, and economic turmoil in the Weimar years had set the stage for the boom in folksong research after 1933. In fact, among both scholars and the German public the popularity of German folksongs increased significantly in Weimar Germany. On the one hand, strides in comparative musicology raised the appeal of folksong research. On the other hand, Weimar cultural tensions led *völkisch* nationalists to promote the national significance of the folksong. This was indeed the agenda of numerous amateur singing organizations, including the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, and many of the scholars who became the leading figures of folksong research during the Nazi years were active in the youth movement in the Weimar period. However, after the onset of the Great Depression, while amateur singing continued to thrive, musicological activities began to decline due to financial instabilities.

Upon the Nazi assumption of power, the cultural tensions that had existed during the Weimar years were resolved in favor of the conservative views of anti-modernism and cultural purity. Cultural purists viewed folksongs as a genre that could play an important role in demonstrating the existence of pure and original German culture, and even the highest ranking Nazi officials, such as the Reich's Propaganda Minister, Joseph Goebbels, and the head of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, became interested in folksongs. The folksong appealed to Nazi leaders because it could be used to teach Germans what it means to be German.<sup>83</sup>

Indeed for over one hundred years before the Nazis took power in Germany, singing societies and romantic nationalist intellectuals had celebrated the German folksong as a form of national education. This educational potential let the German

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<sup>83</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 191.

folksong gain a favored status during the Nazi years. Infusing German nationalism with an aggressive brand of *völkisch* ideology, the Nazi Education Ministry sought to instill in German students the principles of German cultural superiority, racial and cultural purity, and encouraged them to reject foreign influence. The folksong came to symbolize these ideals. This elevation of traditional German culture and the emphasis on folksongs by Nazi cultural ideologues gave music scholars the opportunity to play a key role in the projected cultural education of Germans.

However, despite the Nazis' sympathetic stance towards folksong research, scholars seem not to have felt entirely secure in their profession. In particular, "the establishment of the Propaganda Ministry and the Reich Culture Chamber and the resulting *Gleichschaltung* [enforced political conformity] of numerous existing organizations gave the members of the [German musicological] society reason to wonder" about their professional fate.<sup>84</sup> Thus, when scholars stressed that they could play a useful role in the Nazi state, some may have acted out of fear for their professional existence. On the other hand, the zeal that most musicologists displayed in their Nazi-era work suggests that many approved of many of the tenets of Nazi ideology.

After 1933, scholars came to describe their work in terms that closely conformed to National Socialist ideology. Particularly, scholars emphasized the usefulness of their discipline for "enlightening the German Volk about its musical heritage and musical strength."<sup>85</sup> For example, at a 1935 meeting of the German Society for Musicology, Ludwig Schiedermair (1876-1957), who had been head of the musicology department at the University of Bonn since 1915, argued that musicological researchers should serve

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 31-2.

the *Volk* by bolstering national consciousness. Such statements earned him the respect of the Nazis, and for the remaining years of Hitler's Germany, Schiedermaier promoted the "close cooperation" of musicologists and the Nazi state.<sup>86</sup>

Similar assertions were made throughout the Nazi years and reiterated even in the final stages of the war. In an official Nazi publication entitled *Musik im Volk* (Music in the People), published in two editions in 1939 and 1944, a prominent Nazi musicologist and member of the SS, Alfred Quellmalz, stressed how important it was to include the study of folksongs in young Germans' education. He noted: "if German nature is fundamentally musical, the special task of music education—which after all occupies a key position in our efforts to build a new German music culture—is today to lead the young generations back to the folksong."<sup>87</sup> To Quellmalz, the folksong was an expression of Germanness that had existed for hundreds of years and was passed on through the *Volk* to the present day. He promoted the idea that biology was connected to musical culture and claimed that German nature (*Wesen*) was fundamentally musical. According to Quellmalz, this natural musicality had to be nurtured in German schools by fostering a greater appreciation for the folksong among students. Germans were, Quellmalz argued, a people of music. Quellmalz' elaborations show that music scholars believed they were in a unique position within German academia. Their research had real contemporary relevance. It had the potential to shape the form of contemporary singing practice and German peoplehood. Indeed, Quellmalz was one voice in a chorus of

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 46-8.

<sup>87</sup> Alfred Quellmalz, "Volksliedkunde und Musikerziehung," in Wolfgang Stumme ed., *Musik im Volk: Gegenwartsfragen der deutschen Musik*, 2d ed. (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Vieweg, 1944), 374-5.

similar assertions,<sup>88</sup> and, during the Nazi years, most musicologists shared the view that musicology should reinforce national consciousness and they directed their studies accordingly.<sup>89</sup> The Nazi leadership appreciated such support, and demonstrated its gratitude by assigning musicologists a prominent place in German intellectual life.

By establishing new research institutes and organizations, by usurping control over existing ones, and by promoting the publication of articles and books, the Nazis created numerous opportunities for scholars to engage in folksong research. For instance, the SS-*Ahnenerbe* (SS- Ancestral Heritage), a department of the SS, employed musicologists who were to create a sound knowledge-base on German music. Musicologists at the *Ahnenerbe* also conducted fieldwork in German linguistic enclaves throughout wartime Europe. Alfred Rosenberg's cultural bureau contained its own music division, headed by Herbert Gerigk, who also edited a music journal, *Die Musik*. Gerigk's music bureau engaged in research dedicated to promoting pure German culture. Moreover, the Nazi Education Ministry came to the rescue of the dying German Music Research Institute in Bückeberg. By 1935, the institute was resurrected in Berlin as the State Institute for German Music Research. Housing a large folk music department, the new State Institute centralized the activities of numerous independent musicological

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<sup>88</sup> In his book, *Germanisches Erbe in deutscher Tonkunst* (Germanic Inheritance in Musical Composition), published in 1938, Joseph Müller-Blattau outlined the melodic characteristics of medieval German folksongs and proposed that this style of song was passed down faithfully as a trait, or inheritance, to the present day. Such a proposition not only related biology and music, but also promoted the nationalistic idea that contemporary German folksongs proved the existence of a distinct, German, ethnic group in the distant past. In fact, Müller-Blattau presented the manuscript for this book to the SS-*Ahnenerbe*, which the Nazi institute gladly published. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 215.

<sup>89</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 49. See also Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Geschichte der Deutschen Musik* (Berlin/Lichterfeld:Chr. Friedrich Vieweg, 1938), 309-310: "An den Universitäten und an den hochschulen für Lehrerbildung gehört die Musik zu den wichtigsten Elementen der neuen Gemeinschaftsbildung."

journals and publications.<sup>90</sup> These and a whole range of other Nazi institutions and organizations that were aimed at folkloric and folk music research employed musicologists in a variety of research activities, and together they comprised the largest state-sponsored cultural bureaucracy in the world at that time.<sup>91</sup>

After the troubling years of the late Weimar Republic, it must have appeared to many scholars that it was time for German musicology to have its place in the sun. Scholars celebrated the Nazi Party's efforts to save a supposedly endangered German musical life and to support research. In fact, in his book entitled, *Geschichte der Deutschen Musik* (History of German Music), published in 1938, Joseph Müller-Blattau praised Hitler himself for orchestrating a renewal of German musical life. "The National Socialist Revolution has ushered in a new era for the folksong," he raved, and "in the newly flourishing musical research on folklore and folksongs, German musicology ... has achieved the strongest possible immediate connection to the true life of the people [Volk]."<sup>92</sup>

#### "The Altered Orientation of Scholarship in the National Socialist State": Trends in Nazi-Era Musicology

When the Nazis came to power, many of the prominent minds of comparative musicology were forced out of Germany. Most of them had to leave because they were Jews. As Pamela Potter has observed, the scholars that were left to carry out further

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<sup>90</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 70-77.

<sup>91</sup> Other institutes and organizations started during the Nazi years and took part in the study of German folksongs were: An Acoustic Institute at the University of Berlin; *Der Verband deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde* (The League of German Societies for Folklore); *Die Abteilung Volkskunde* (Department of Folklore) in the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Community). For more on these organizations and activities and their role in folklore research during the Nazi years, see Hannjost Lixfeld, "The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Umbrella Organizations of German Volkskunde during the Third Reich," *Asian Folklore Studies* 50 (1991): 95-116.

<sup>92</sup> Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Geschichte der Deutschen Musik*, 307, 309.

research were “under-qualified students and poorly trained colleagues.”<sup>93</sup> It was those who remained in Nazi Germany, benefited from Nazi programs, and came to promote a style of research that vindicated Nazi and *völkisch* ideologies.

After 1933, the comparative musicologists who had stayed in Germany altered their approach to the folksong, leaving aside the study of non-German songs and incorporating racial or biological categories into their research.<sup>94</sup> They joined with other fields of musical research, such as music history, in using scholarship to serve the aims of *völkisch* nationalism. Comparative musicologists now promoted a Germanocentric and xenophobic approach to folksong study and embraced racial puritanism. According to Joseph Müller-Blattau, “interest in world music had been a distraction from the important task of concentrating on the German folk element.”<sup>95</sup> Consequently, comparative musicologists switched the focus of their work to investigating the musical relationships between German regions. The new agenda redefined the field and set comparative musicology on a new course, radically different than what it was on before.

When comparative musicologists now analyzed non-German music, they did so in order to explore the relationship between race and music. Intended to prove the superiority of the German race, these studies created a racial hierarchy with the Germans and their music at the top.<sup>96</sup> One of the first scholars to encourage the study of race and folk music along these lines was Fritz Bose. In fact, Pamela Potter has characterized Bose as an opportunistic scholar who played the part of a political chameleon in order to

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<sup>93</sup> Some of those who were forced out of Germany were Curt Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel. Hornbostel's position in Berlin was given to Fritz Bose. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 173-75.

<sup>94</sup> Of course, racism and anti-Semitism in musical realms have had a long intellectual history in Germany, extending back to the *völkisch* ideologues of the nineteenth century, especially in the writings of Richard Wagner.

<sup>95</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 175.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 175, 179.

take advantage of the Nazis' assumption of power. For example, Bose sent a letter to the Education Ministry in 1934 in which he applied for a position at the Berlin Acoustics Institute. In this letter, he highlighted his Aryan ancestry and his membership in the Nazi Party.<sup>97</sup> Upon his successful appointment as a director, Bose immediately discussed the aims of the Institute, and he asserted that the comparative research conducted at the institute should be undertaken, as paraphrased by music historian Pamela Potter, "not to gain an understanding of the music of exotic and primitive peoples." Instead, scholars needed "to apply methods of comparative musicology to gain an understanding of the differences among German tribes and the influence of race on folk music." According to Bose, these tasks were appropriate "for the altered orientation of scholarship in the National Socialist state."<sup>98</sup> In a handful of other articles, Bose argued that racial methodologies were urgently needed in music scholarship and promoted the "political and practical usefulness" of racial studies in musicology.<sup>99</sup> In this way, comparative musicology was transformed into *völkisch* musicology.

Scholars' willingness to incorporate racial categories demonstrated their adaptation to and support of Nazi policies. However, these plans for comparative musicology yielded little in the form of a developed racial methodology for music. While some scholars, such as Bose, remained dedicated to the promotion of racial theories, nobody was able to produce a convincing argument. In fact, the imposition of racial categories stemmed more from scholars' endorsement of the politically fashionable pseudo-argument that German people constituted the superior race. On the other hand,

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 132-5.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 188, 193. One of these articles published by Bose appeared in a Nazi periodical edited by Joseph Goebbels. In another case, Guido Waldmann also edited a number of essays under the title, *Rasse und Musik* (Race and Music).

dissenting voices did exist that were opposed to this style of research.<sup>100</sup> In addition, some scholars may have incorporated racial language into their research merely in an attempt to give the impression of ideological conformity to Nazi ideologies.<sup>101</sup>

Nonetheless, “race” had become a catchword that was now common to the majority of music scholarship.

While scholars failed to distinguish racial factors that could substantiate their claims to superiority in music, they had relatively more success with creating a hierarchy of musical styles. In this vein, they relied on aesthetic evaluations of good and bad music to back up assertions of German supremacy. Most often, musicologists’ arguments for the supremacy of German music rested on the assumption that Germans had invented the most appealing and attractive styles of composition. These ideas had been circulating since the nineteenth century, but after 1933 they had become accepted facts for many scholars.<sup>102</sup> In 1928, for example, a musicologist by the name of Oskar Fleischer had claimed that “minor is a non-Germanic, weak mode, that does not correlate with our direct, powerful, upright nature. When we look at our folk music, it is almost exclusively major, and—characteristically—from the first few beats one can usually recognize an

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<sup>100</sup> For example, in the 1920s musicologists Robert Lach and Adolf Weismann both argued that it was impossible to impose racial methods onto musical study. Another scholar who was drawn towards the study of folksongs, Kurt Huber, espoused *völkisch* ideology in his research, but railed against the imposition of biological categories on the arts. Huber was executed by the Nazis in 1942 for alleged subversive activities. *Ibid.*, 122-4, 178, 218.

<sup>101</sup> In one instance, Werner Danckert delivered a talk at a conference that was held in Dusseldorf in 1938. Organized at the request of Joseph Goebbels, the meeting was dedicated to exploring the theme of “Music and Race.” As Pamela Potter has described it, Danckert’s talk, despite its title, *Volkstum, Stammesart, Rasse im Lichte der Volksliedforschung* (Nationhood, Tribal Manner, Race in the light of Folksong Research), “was most likely a very tame attempt to compare the styles of folk music among several German groups without ever referring to race.” See also Albrecht Riethmüller, “German Music From the Perspective of German Musicology After 1933,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 11 (1991), 180.

<sup>102</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 216.



almost military-sounding signal.”<sup>103</sup> In the same vein, many Nazi-era scholars associated the major mode in folksong melody with Germanness, and they often linked the minor mode to Slavic, non-German culture. Studies attempting to reveal the Germanness and superiority of German folksongs’ melodic characteristics, however, failed to do so, because they inevitably ran into the fact that both modes were frequently found in German and non-German music.

A number of studies had been unsuccessful in proving that Germans had invented tonality (a compositional feature generally associated with the major mode),<sup>104</sup> but prominent scholars such as Walter Wiora maintained that German music was naturally inclined towards tonality. In 1938, Wiora reviewed a book that Guido Waldmann and Wolfgang Stumme had edited entitled *Zur Tonalität des deutschen Volksliedes* (On the Tonality of German Folksong). In his review, Wiora praised the editors of and contributors to the volume for having created an exemplar of contemporary folksong research. Pamela Potter has paraphrased Wiora’s description of the aims of German folksong scholarship as follows:

[Musicologists had] to record disappearing remnants of prehistoric and ancient folk music among ethnic Germans, to analyze collected evidence toward  
Toward achieving a better understanding of the origins of tonality and their meaning for race, nation, and region; to avoid the imposition of art music criteria on folk music analysis; to reconstruct the natural evolution of folk music toward tonality; and to recognize the strength of the Germans in their struggle with foreign influences and their ability to overcome them, adapt them, and *make them truly German*.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Quoted in Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 216. The minor mode, with the flatted 3<sup>rd</sup> in the seven-tone scale, does evoke a sadder feel in music at times.

<sup>104</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 217.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, *Most German of Arts*, 219. Emphasis added.

Thus, Wiora promoted the dominant nationalist and *völkisch* approaches to folksong research. His review shows just how far musicologists had come in infusing their work with racial and pseudo-scientific methods.

As Pamela Potter has shown, employing terms such as “race,” “blood,” and “national soul” had an emotive effect, and these terms “stirred feelings of longing for an ideal, unified German nation.”<sup>106</sup> Scholars who employed such ideas in their work followed a common trend that “gravitated away from rational thinking and found solace in the irrational, emotional, and mystical.”<sup>107</sup> Thus, folksong scholars still focused their research on uncovering the secrets of musical Germanness, and this also took the form of exploring the existence of German music throughout Europe. In fact, the folksong became a symbol of the Germans’ domination of European musical life.

#### Mapping Greater Germany Under the Nazis

Historian Guntram Herb has discussed the concept of suggestive mapping and its geopolitical and military consequences in his study of maps produced by cartographers between 1918 and 1945. As Herb observed, during the Weimar and Nazi years numerous cartographers constructed maps that provided support for the claims of *völkisch* nationalists. For example, maps often portrayed the existence of German culture throughout Europe by shading most of the continent with a particular color, and then designating the shaded regions as German cultural territory. Other maps brought to attention the existence of German-language enclaves throughout Europe. In the hands of *völkisch* nationalists, such maps served to underline the fact that the current German state

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 176.

did not match the extent of German national territory. They helped to de-legitimize the settlements of the Versailles Treaty and were used by Nazi ideologues to justify wartime expansion.<sup>108</sup> In a similar vein, music scholars mapped out the boundaries of a musically-imagined *Großdeutschland*.

For *völkisch* nationalists, the fact that so many German-speakers lived beyond Germany's political borders was an especially important issue. In particular, Nazi ideology held that isolated German communities could fall victim to the influence of un-German (*undeutsch*) culture without the cultural custodianship that only a Greater German Reich could provide.<sup>109</sup> Part of the popular movement to document German culture, the coordinators of the LV project aimed at compiling folksongs from all German-speaking regions in Europe. At first, the project's editors collected and published German-language folksongs found mostly within the borders of Weimar Germany: Baden (1925); Anhalt (1925); Central Rhine region (1926); Mosel and Saarland (1926); Hannover (1927); Palatinate (1927); Westphalia (1928); Eifel (1929); Nassau (1929). However, some volumes were also collections of songs from areas outside Weimar borders: Silesia, or southwestern Poland (1924); Alsace, the region that had been the object of military conflict with France for centuries (1926); East Prussia, or northeastern Poland (1927).<sup>110</sup> Closer to the end of the Weimar Republic, the number of editions that featured songs from outside of Germany's contemporary borders rose dramatically in a short amount of time: the Gottschee, in Slovenia (1930); Siebenbürgen,

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<sup>108</sup> Guntrum Herb, *Under the Map of Germany: Nationalism and Propaganda 1918-1945* (London & New York: Routledge, 1997), 119-50.

<sup>109</sup> Nazi and *völkisch* ideologies also claimed that regions of the German state that were close to the borders of other countries were equally in danger of losing their Germanness. For more on nationalists' concern with German-speakers living outside of German political borders (the *Auslandsdeutschen*), see Nancy R. Reagan, "Review Article: Recent Work on German National Identity," 288; See also Abigail Green, *Fatherlands*.

<sup>110</sup> Philip Bohlman, "Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich," 126 (Appendix).

in Romania (1932); Egerland, in the western Czech Republic (1932); Volga River colonies in Ukraine (1932).<sup>111</sup> The increase in volumes with songs from non-German countries corresponded to the increase of *völkisch* sentiments and to the growing concern with Germans living outside of Weimar Germany. The project highlighted the disjuncture between Germany's imagined national boundaries and the country's current political borders.

After the Nazi Party took control of the government in 1933, the documentation of German folksongs by the LV project received unconditional official support.<sup>112</sup> Also, the majority of the volumes published in the Nazi era covered territories that were allied with, recently conquered, or soon to be annexed by Germany. LV editions appeared with songs from Mazur in Poland (1934), Sudetenland in the northwestern Czech Republic (1934), Banat in Romania (1935), Lorraine in France (1937), the parts of Ukraine, Slovakia, Romania, and Poland that made up Bukovina (1938), Upper Silesia in the northern Czech Republic (1938), Central Poland (1940), Yugoslav Batschka in Serbia (1941), and the Austrian Danube region (1944).<sup>113</sup> By pointing to the existence of a German musical culture in these territories, the project's editors helped to define the regions as German national territory.

During the Weimar and Nazi years, the musicological activities related to mapping musical Germanness created a musical representation of *Großdeutschland*.<sup>114</sup> Aside from the LV project, and in keeping with the dominant Germanocentric focus in research, numerous other Nazi scholars also documented and analyzed the music from

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 126 (Appendix).

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 116.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., 126.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 106.

German-language regions throughout Europe.<sup>115</sup> At times, their works also coincided with German conquests and annexations. For instance after the *Anschluss* (the German annexation of Austria) in 1938, Joseph Müller-Blattau wrote an essay on “Austria’s Share of the German Musical Heritage” for the Hitler Youth Journal *Musik in Jugend und Volk* (Music in Youth and Nation). In his article, Müller-Blattau promoted the political unity of Germany and Austria by claiming that both countries shared a common musical heritage.<sup>116</sup> Additionally, Müller-Blattau published a number of studies on German folksongs from Eastern Europe’s German-language enclaves.<sup>117</sup> The project of mapping the imagined *Großdeutsch* nation formed an important part of Nazi-era folksong scholarship and kept a large number of music researchers and collectors occupied.<sup>118</sup>

Of course, musicological activities that mapped out the German folksong landscape assumed greater political relevance when Nazi Germany had begun to steadily advance its borders. In fact, the Nazis annexed most of the regions outside of Germany’s pre-1933 borders where song collections had pointed to the existence of German folksongs. Moreover, Germany’s conquests attracted the attention of scholars who wished to become music czars in the conquered territories. In fact, after the beginning of

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<sup>115</sup> The DVA sponsored another series of volumes designed to create an anthology of all German folksongs. Entitled *Deutsche Volkslieder mit Ihren Melodien*, two volumes were published while the Nazis were in power, one in 1935 and the other in 1939.

<sup>116</sup> Pamela Potter, “Did Himmler Really Like Gregorian Chant?”, 52. Although Müller-Blattau published articles and studies in Nazi Party periodicals, his relationship with the Nazis was not without tensions. Although he was invited by Heinrich Himmler to work for the *Ahnenerbe*, when word circulated about Müller-Blattau’s pre-Nazi era friendships with Jews and communists, Himmler changed his mind. See Pamela Potter, “Musicology Under Hitler,” 81-8.

<sup>117</sup> See Joseph Müller-Blattau, “Masurische Volkslieder,” *Niederdeutsch Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 11, (1933); idem., *Zur Erforschung des Ostdeutschen Volksliedes* (Halle, 1934).

<sup>118</sup> See also P. Klein, *Volkslied und Volkstanz in Pommern* (Greifswald, 1935); Gustav Jungbauer and Herbert Horntich, *Die Volkslieder der Sudetendeutschland* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1938); Gottlieb Brandsch, *Siebenbürgische-deutsche Volksballaden, Bänkelsänge und verwandte Lieder in erzählender Form* (Hermannstadt, 1938).

the war, when Germany continued to expand, the Nazis employed musicologists to perform research on so-called recovered German regions.<sup>119</sup>

However, the Nazi expansion also led to the incorporation of millions of non-Germans within the Reich's new borders. Thus, claims of creating a newer, supposedly purer German state became impossible to maintain. Musicologists tried to reconcile this discrepancy through Germanizing the music of conquered territories.<sup>120</sup> By redefining the music of occupied territories as German, scholars provided justification for the Nazis' expansionist politics and the establishment of a Greater German Empire.

Musicologists compared the melodies of German folksongs with the songs of its European neighbors, found similarities in these bodies of folksongs, and concluded that all songs were essentially German. Thus, in the course of their research scholars expanded the definition of Germanness. Their aesthetic evaluations promoted the idea that any good song in Europe was somehow inherently German. Furthermore, the existence of certain pan-European musical elements, such as tonality and the major mode, served to confirm the superiority of German music, because musicologists had previously established that Germans had invented these characteristics.<sup>121</sup> For example, not only did Walter Wiora associate tonality with the German folksong, but he, along with Werner

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<sup>119</sup> Scholars who worked for the SS-*Ahnenerbe* were part of massive population relocation projects. The SS-*Ahnenerbe* was committed to protecting Germanness in German-speaking enclaves and, if warranted, carrying out measures which would prepare the communities for relocation to the new Nazi state. Musicologists who worked with the SS-*Ahnenerbe* entered newly annexed German speech-islands and performed the duties of cultural administrators, recording and transcribing the music ethnic German communities. In 1940, Fritz Bose proposed to the *Ahnenerbe* a project in which he hoped to document and analyze the folksongs of German settlements in Poland, Galicia, the Carpathian Mountains area and South Tyrol. However, Bose's ambitions were disappointed as the project was instead given to Alfred Quellmalz. Quellmalz's work with the *Ahnenerbe* on the folk music of South Tyrol became "the largest scale musicological venture" of the SS organization. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 137-8. See also Pamela Potter, "Did Himmler Really Like Gregorian Chant?: The SS and Musicology."

<sup>120</sup> As Guntram Herb shows, cartography during wartime likewise attempted to Germanize the populations of annexed territories, see his *Under the Map of Germany*, 145-6.

<sup>121</sup> These claims were first articulated in the Weimar era by the prominent musicologists Oskar Fleischer and Hans Joachim Moser, see Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 216-17.

Danckert, also followed German annexations of Norway, Belgium, Denmark, France, Bohemia-Moravia, as well as Slavic and Hungarian regions with studies that redefined the music of these territories as German.<sup>122</sup>

Musicologists established the Germanness of the music of conquered territories in two ways. On the one hand, scholars such as Wiora and Danckert argued that the original music of these areas had been inferior to contemporary German styles. This meant that neighboring peoples must have tried to make their music better through imitating German music, that is, they “never had an indigenous musical culture but merely flaunted a cheap imitation of German styles.”<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, musicologists speculated that the leading figures of these neighboring musical cultures had to have been German at some point in the past. Thus, the cultures of these lands were perhaps more German than their inhabitants knew. Because culture, and in particular, musical culture, was a distinguishing feature of German nationhood, the Nazis could claim that by annexing these regions, they merely took possession of lands that had been German all along.<sup>124</sup> In this way, the Nazis’ drive to carve out a Greater German Empire was accompanied by a musical *Lebensraum* (living space) campaign.

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<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 229. See Werner Danckert, “Deutsche Lieder und Tänze in Böhmen,” *Böhmen und Mähren* 1 (1940): 90-4; idem, “Deutsches Lehngut in norwegischen Volkslied,” *Deutsche Monatshefte in Norwegen* 3 (1942):2; Walter Wiora, “Das Fortleben altdeutscher Volksweisen bei den Deutschen in Polen und im polnischen Lied,” *Deutsche Musikkultur* 4 (1939-40): 182-3, 186-7; idem, “Die Molltonart im Volkslied der Deutschen in Polen und im polnischen Volkslied,” *Die Musik* 32 (1940): 158-9, 161-2. Werner Danckert, “Deutsches Lehngut um Lied der skandinavischen Völker,” *Nationalsozialistische Monatshefte*, no. 12, (1941): 575-96; see also Pamela Potter, “Musicology under Hitler,” 91.

<sup>123</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 229.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 229.

## Folksong Research in West Germany

The end of Hitler's Reich had enormous implications for musicologists, and especially for scholars working on folksongs. In the National Socialist regime, music studies had given intellectual support for the Nazis' violent enterprises. Because the German folksong was believed to contain the spirit of the German soul, the Nazi era had offered formidable opportunities for musicologists. Folksong scholars had legitimized and promoted state policies of *völkisch* nationalism, racial engineering, and military conquest. The defeat of the Nazi state therefore brought many of the dreams and ambitions of these musicologists to an end. Moreover, the veneration of German folksongs had been central to the discourse of racist and *völkisch* ideologies, and with the defeat of the Nazi state all of these issues became troublesome for the scholars. Suddenly, with the Allied armies occupying Germany, claims to a superior German musical culture were no longer appropriate, and many of the opportunities for research ceased to exist.

Since musicologists, especially folksong scholars, had played a large role in Nazi musical activities and had given the regime extensive intellectual support, it would not be out of place to assume that Allied denazification programs posed a serious obstacle to scholars who wished to return to academic positions after 1945. However, this was not the case. For a number of reasons, almost all of the scholars who had flourished during the Nazi years were quickly re-instated after the war. In fact, when they faced denazification commissions, most musicologists tried to minimize the political implications of past work and described themselves as having been apolitical.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Some simply destroyed problematic portions of their work. For example, Ludwig Schieder (who had promoted the close cooperation between musicology and the Nazi state, as noted earlier in this section)



Scholars who were cleared by the commissions this way then supported their colleagues in the denazification process.<sup>126</sup> And after the Western Allies had declared the end of their denazification programs in 1948, most remaining scholars re-established their careers in West German universities.

The reinstatement of many musicologists was part of a widespread professional restoration of pre-1945 intellectuals and political elites. In fact, even many heavily implicated Nazi public officials resumed political careers in the FRG.<sup>127</sup> As was the case with most musicologists, many of the leaders in politics and business, as well as those engaged in artistic and cultural activities, returned to places of power.<sup>128</sup>

While many of the Nazi institutes and organizations were now gone, postwar musicologists found themselves with much of their academic structure still intact. Numerous activities and projects related to folkloric and folk music research that had begun during the Nazi years survived into the postwar era.<sup>129</sup> Of course, the end of Nazi rule marked the end of many government funded publishing organs. During the Nazi years, scholars had been able to publish in dozens of serials and periodicals. By contrast, the field of folksong musicology in West Germany possessed only two significant

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burned the anti-Semitic portions of his work. Nevertheless, the denazification commissions retired the sixty-nine year old. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 248, 253.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 252.

<sup>127</sup> Keith Bullivant & C. Jane Rice, "Reconstruction and Integration: The Culture of West German Stabilization 1945 to 1968," in *German Cultural Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Rob Burns (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 213-19. For example, Adenauer included in his government Hans Globke, the creator of the Nuremberg Race Laws. By 1968 both the Chancellor (Kurt Kiesinger) and Federal President (Heinrich Lübke) had been members of the Nazi Party.

<sup>128</sup> So many of the political elites re-emerged in the Federal Republic that historian William Graf has argued that in West Germany denazification was followed by a *re-nazification*. As I discuss in the next section, the returning elites succeeded in legitimizing their power and the return of capitalism through exploiting the connection of anti-communism and anti-totalitarianism as well as through "invocations of the Free West." William Graf, "Internationalization and Exoneration," in *The Internationalization of the German Political Economy*, 13.

<sup>129</sup> Hannjost Lixfeld, "The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Umbrella Organizations of German Volkskunde during the Third Reich," 95-116.

journals that were dedicated to publishing folksong research. One of them, the *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* (Yearbook for Folksong Research), founded by the DVA in 1928, had been suspended during the war and reappeared in the FRG as late as 1964. The other, founded in 1963 and edited by Fritz Bose, was the *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völkerkunde* (Yearbook for Musical Folklore and Ethnography). Left with limited options at home, West German folksong musicologists came to publish articles in international periodicals such as in Austria's *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Volksliedwerkes* (Yearbook of Austrian Folksong Research), in the Australian-based *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, in the American-published *Ethnomusicology*, in the Swiss-based *Acta Musicologica* (published by the International Musicological Society), or even across the iron curtain in Hungary's *Studia Musicologica* and the in publications of the Yugoslavian Folkloric Society.<sup>130</sup>

As for German musical life, public performances of classical and folk music began almost immediately after the guns fell silent. Attempting to create a sense of normality in heavily destroyed cities and towns and to reduce the possibility of postwar German discontent, the Western Allies actively promoted the resurrection of professional and amateur singing activities. One American commentator, Albert Norman, acknowledged the key place of music in Germany's history, and noted that amateur singing societies were re-organized by the Military Government to "counteract the widespread apathy that hung like a pall over Germany, especially German youth."<sup>131</sup> Of course, this concern for singing associations may also have been part of a growing culture

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<sup>130</sup> Felix Hoerburger & Wolfgang Suppan, "Die Lage der Volksmusikforschung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern. Ein Bericht über die Jahre 1945 bis 1964," *Acta Musicologica* 37, no. 1, (January-June 1965), 3-4.

<sup>131</sup> Albert Norman, *Our German Policy: Propaganda and Culture* (New York: Vantage, 1951), 69, quotation 75.

war between Western and Soviet occupiers. Both sides intended their cultural initiatives to show of their superior respect for cultural freedom and German musical heritage.<sup>132</sup> Notwithstanding such efforts on the part of the occupiers, singing organizations never regained the great esteem and public support they had enjoyed during the Nazi years.

#### Mapping Greater Germany in Postwar Folksong Research

In a recent article, historian John Breuilly observed: “After 1945 the Third Reich had so discredited the national idea that it was continuity for the German nation state which was inconceivable.”<sup>133</sup> In fact, the Allies partitioned Germany into East and West and re-created an independent and neutral Austria. Breuilly further argued that the identification with the West and with Europe became more important to West Germans than “national principles.”<sup>134</sup> Breuilly’s comments on postwar West German identity are very much appropriate, as we shall see in section three of this thesis. However, one should not overlook the continuities that existed in German expressions of national self-understanding. In particular, some postwar music scholars continued to promote the idea of *Großdeutschland* and held on to ideals of musical nationalism.

Despite Nazi crimes committed in the name of the German nation, it seems that a German national identity based on ethno-linguistic principles traversed the year of 1945 with relative ease. Of course, this meant that the boundaries of the imagined German nation were far from matching postwar political borders. Notwithstanding the fact that this sort of idea had lent support to an aggressive military campaign during the Nazi era,

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<sup>132</sup> For more on the use of artistic culture as an ideological weapon during the Cold War, see David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

<sup>133</sup> John Breuilly, “German National Identity,” 61.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

music scholars continued to use the language of music to describe German national space. For example, Hans Mersmann, a scholar whose advocacy of modern music had disqualified him for a career in Nazi Germany, described German music in this manner. In his 1958 history of German music, Mersmann argued that the German language defined the boundaries of the German *Kulturraum* (cultural space) rather than the existing political borders.<sup>135</sup> In many other instances, researchers picked up where they had left off during the war.

After 1945, the DVA in Freiburg resumed the activities of the LV project and continued to map out *Großdeutschland* by publishing collections of folksongs from beyond West Germany's postwar borders.<sup>136</sup> The first postwar volume appeared in 1953 and featured songs from Sathmar (Hungary), and the second, from 1960, covered songs from Swabian Turkey (Hungary).<sup>137</sup> Although music historian Philip Bohlman suggests that the postwar editions of the LV project were "the product of a new scholarship, on its surface stripped of nationalist rhetoric and free of political ideology,"<sup>138</sup> he also points out that these editions adhered to the same nationalist principles associated with the project's Weimar-era origins. The project continued to make readers aware of an imagined nation that, again, did not match the existing political borders.

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<sup>135</sup> Hans Mersmann, *Deutsche Musik des XX. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel des Weltgeschehens* (Rodenkirchen/Rhein: P.J. Tonger, 1958), 6. "Wenn hier von der deutschen Musik des 20. Jahrhunderts gesprochen wird, so ist ihre natürliche Plattform der Kulturraum, der nicht durch politische oder geographische, sondern durch sprachliche Grenzen gebunden ist."

<sup>136</sup> The DVA also continued to compile a complete anthology of German folksongs in the series *Deutsche Volkslieder mit Ihren Melodien*. The series reappeared with new volumes in 1954 and 1959. So far, the entire series incorporates eleven volumes with the last one published in 1997.

<sup>137</sup> Karl Aichele and Hugo Moser, eds., *Alte schwäbische Volkslieder aus Sathmar: mit ihren Weisen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953); Konrad Scheierling, ed., *Deutsche Volkslieder aus der schwäbischen Türkei mit ihren Weisen* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1960); Philip Bohlman, "Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich," 127 (Appendix).

<sup>138</sup> Philip Bohlman, "Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich," 114.

As the Cold War division of Germany complicated the idea of a German nationhood, postwar volumes of the LV project negotiated this reality by incorporating a new type cross-border mapping, one that disregarded the East/West division of Germany. Begun in 1924, the project reached its conclusion in 1972 with a volume that featured songs from the East German region of Harz. Its editors suggested that, despite political divisions, the two states remained linked through the idea of a German national community. As the editors noted, their volume was published with the intention of “binding hearts together” between Germans in the East and the West.<sup>139</sup> Thus, from Weimar Germany to the FRG, through times of economic depression, cultural turmoil, war, and political division, the LV project persistently promoted the idea of *Großdeutsch* nationhood. For over fifty years, it kept the idea of a *Großdeutsch* national community alive.

#### A Germanocentric Legacy

After 1945, some German musicologists still promoted the superiority of German music and continued to investigate the Germanness of music.<sup>140</sup> In fact, a handful of folksong scholars approached their subject in ways that had changed little, if at all. Thus, musicologist Eckhard John has recently discussed Joseph Müller-Blattau’s postwar research and concluded that Müller-Blattau continued to propagate the idea that musical greatness among Germans was a hereditary trait.<sup>141</sup> In addition, I found that scholars

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<sup>139</sup> Quoted in Philip Bohlman, “Landscape-Region-Nation-Reich,” 118; see also Louis Wille and Hellmut Ludwig, eds., *Lieder aus dem Harz* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösseler Verlag, 1972), 3.

<sup>140</sup> In this vein, Pamela Potter has described the postwar work of Hans Joachim Moser and Friedrich Blume, both of whom had worked during the Nazi years. Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 255-6.

<sup>141</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 258; Eckhard John, “Vom Deutschtum in der Musik,” in *Entartete Musik: Eine kommentierte Rekonstruktion*, eds. Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth (Düsseldorf: Kleinherne, 1988).

conducted comparative studies strictly of German music and published collections of songs that documented the Germanness of regions throughout Europe.

My evidence also suggests that postwar scholars remained heavily preoccupied with the music of border regions and German-speech enclaves, thus conducting research that resembled the work they had done during the Nazi years. The documentation of folksongs from the West German border region of Pfalz, for example, became the subject of a number of postwar studies.<sup>142</sup> Some scholars focused on areas with problematic political histories, particularly the regions of Alsace and Lorraine. These territories had exchanged hands between France and Germany during and after both World Wars, and both countries had historical ties to the regions. During the interwar years, editions of the LV project had documented the Germanness of Alsace and Lorraine.<sup>143</sup> Now, Joseph Müller-Blattau and a scholar by the name of Joseph Lefftz both published studies of German folksongs found in these border regions. In this way, their studies helped to sustain the idea that these lands were still German, despite the fact that Alsace and Lorraine were now politically part of France.<sup>144</sup>

At the same time, scholars continued to conduct studies and published collections of songs of regions outside of East and West Germany (that is, outside of the borders associated with the “*kleindeutsch*” state created in 1871). Many of these works covered regions that had also been included in the LV project during the Weimar and Nazi years,

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<sup>142</sup> Hartmut Braun, *Studien zum pfälzischen Volkslied* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1964); Georg Heeger, Wilhelm Wüst, and Joseph Müller-Blattau, eds., *Pfälzische Volkslieder: mit ihren Singweisen gesammelt* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1963). Joseph Müller-Blattau, “Lothringische and pfälzische Volkslieder. Ein Abschlussbericht,” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 9, Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Erich Seeman, (1964): 80-94.

<sup>143</sup> Valentin Beyer, ed., *Elsässische Volkslieder: mit Bildern und Weisen* (Frankfurt: Verlag Morriz Deisterweg, 1926). The first song listed is entitled “Unser Elsaß” (Our Alsace), 3; Louis Pinck, ed., *Lothringer Volkslieder. Aus den “Verklingenden Weisen,”* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1937).

<sup>144</sup> Joseph Müller-Blattau, “Lothringische and pfälzische Volkslieder. Ein Abschlussbericht,” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 9, Festschrift zum 75. Geburtstag von Erich Seeman, (1964): 80-94.

such as regions in Austria, the Gottschee, Siebenbürgen, and other territories where German-language folksongs were found.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, even scholars who had begun their career after 1945 continued to describe Eastern European regions as German. Thus, Wolfgang Suppan, a scholar without any connection to Nazi-era musicology, published a 1962 study on the folksongs of what he considered to be centuries-old German speech-islands (*Sprachinseln*) in Eastern and Southern Europe.<sup>146</sup> In this study of songs from the Gottschee, Siebenbürgen, the Banat, the Batschka, and other areas, Suppan argued that despite the “German colonists’ profound disconnect” from their historical homeland, and notwithstanding the “mixing with foreign cultures” experienced by these settlements, songs from these regions had retained their German character.<sup>147</sup> In this way, postwar scholars continued to do the same kind of work that had provided legitimation for Nazi policies of expansion.

These studies may have provided intellectual support for postwar nationalists who continued to hold on to principles of *völkisch* nationalism. In fact, historian Stefan Berger has discussed the persistence of *völkisch* ideology among a number of West

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<sup>145</sup> Wolfgang Suppan, “Volksliedmiszellen von der Pürgg/Steiermark,” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 10. For areas of Austria that were covered by the LV project during the Second World War, see Leopold Schmidt, ed., *Volkslied aus Niederdonau mit Bildern und Weisen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1944); for examples of postwar collections and studies of Eastern linguistic enclaves, see also Hans Tschinkel, Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, Zmaga Kumer, and Wolfgang Suppan, *Gottscheer Volkslieder: Gesamtausgabe* (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1969); Erich Phelps, *Siebenbürgen, Land des Segens: Auswahl aus dem heimatlichen Liedgut* (Wolfenbüttel: Moseler, 1952); Johannes Künzig, *Ehe sie verklingen...: Alte deutsche Volkweisen vom Böhmerwald bis zur Wolga* (Freiburg: Herder, 1958); Walter Salmen, *Das Erbe des ostdeutsche Volksesang: Geschichte und Verzeichnis seiner Quellen* (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag, 1959).

<sup>146</sup> According to Suppan, these speech-islands had been the result of the gradual migration of German-speaking people into Eastern Europe over the last several hundred years.

<sup>147</sup> Suppan described these settlements in terms that resemble *völkisch* concepts. For example, Suppan explains: “Dort überall haben wir es mit Sonderentwicklungen zu tun, die sich einerseits aus der tiefgehenden Loslösung vom geschichtlichen Lebensstrom der Heimat, andererseits durch die Verquickung mit fremden Kulturen und durch Ausbildung eines neuen Heimatgefühl ergeben...Es leuchtet ein, daß sich darunter aus dem binnendeutschen Herkunftsland mitgeführte Werte bis in die Gegenwart herein erhalten konnten.” Wolfgang Suppan, “Bi- bis tetrachordische Tonreihen im Volkslied deutscher Sprachinseln in Sud- und Osteuropas,” *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 3, no. 1, Zoltano Kodaly, Octogenari Sacrum (1962), 331.

German intellectuals and artists during the first decade of the FRG. In particular, it seems that a large portion of West Germans continued to view eastern areas of Europe as German and were saddened by the loss of these territories at the end of the war. According to *völkisch* thought, the forced expulsion of large numbers of German-speakers during the final stages of the war and during the immediate aftermath was depriving eastern territories of the benefits of German civilization. In this vein, “the traveling exhibition ‘German *Heimat* in the East,’ shown in all major German cities from 1950 onwards, emphasized that the ‘lost territories in the East’ were [still] deeply imprinted by German culture and civilization.”<sup>148</sup> The fact that such exhibitions existed, and that musicological studies continued to map the existence of German music throughout European lands, suggests that principles of *völkisch* nationalism and *Großdeutschland* aspirations of German nationhood lingered into postwar era.

### A People of Music

In October 1958, folksong scholars and music teachers met at a conference held in Kassel where they discussed their concerns about the relationship of folk music and education. Some of the conference papers appeared later in the volume *Musikalische Zeitfragen: Das Volkslied heute* (Current Questions in Music: The Folksong Today), edited by Walter Wiora.<sup>149</sup> While we know relatively little about the professional histories of many of the contributors to the volume, my examination of this publication gives some interesting insight into the contemporary state of folksong teaching and the appreciation for folksongs by German music teachers and musicologists. Thus, Gerd

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<sup>148</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, (page with footnotes 17 & 18).

<sup>149</sup> Walter Wiora, ed., *Musikalische Zeitfragen: Das Volkslied Heute*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1959).



Watkinson (Salzgitter) and Heinrich Grössel (Hannover) both deplored what they considered a lack of attention given to German folksongs in curricula and the consequently increasing alienation of the German youth from folksongs.

According to Heinrich Grössel, it was becoming more and more difficult for music teachers to help youth to “find their way around in their musical environment.”<sup>150</sup> Because German youth were increasingly attracted to genres such as rock ‘n’ roll, music teachers could not convince students to truly engage with the folksong. In the same vein, Gerd Watkinson reported that the interests of young people had changed in recent years and that a shift had occurred in the way the young socialized. Rather than being part of *Lebensgemeinschaften* (communities of life), as the youth movement of the interwar years had been, young Germans now were members of *Interessengemeinschaften* (communities of interest). Watkinson suggested that something had been lost, or, as he described it: the lives of the youth had moved from the solid and constant to the loose and temporary.<sup>151</sup> In fact, Watkinson concluded that this shift to a more individually-based, casual, and recreational gathering among young people, reduced the folksong’s ability to be a binding force among Germans.<sup>152</sup>

In order to foster a greater appreciation for the German folksong among West German students, Heinrich Grössel urged music teachers to work together closely with other instructors, most importantly *Deutschlehrer* (German teachers). This cooperation, he believed, could help to restore what German youth had lost. He compared the instruction in foreign languages (*fremdsprachige Unterricht*) and German instruction in West German schools, and Grössel reported that, on the one hand, studies of English

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<sup>150</sup> Heinrich Grössel, “Das Volkslied in der höheren Schule (II),” in *Musikalische Zeitfragen*, 71.

<sup>151</sup> Gerd Watkinson, “Volksliedpflege im Strukturwandel der Jugend,” in *Musikalische Zeitfragen*, 52.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

helped to popularize Blues music, while on the other hand, the failure to include German folksongs in German studies had led to a declining interest in the German folksong.<sup>153</sup> It seems that Grössel found it hard to accept that what he believed to be a key part of German national culture, indeed an important part of German self-understanding, was being neglected in German students' curricula.

These suggestions and observations by music teachers and scholars show that older conservative and nationalist ideals still existed within the new postwar context. Much like Ludwig Schiedermaier and Alfred Quellmalz had done during the Nazi years, Heinrich Grössel and other participants at the conference in Kassel stressed the connection between folksongs and national education. They detected a decline in Germans' appreciation of the folksong, and by extension, of what it means to be German, and expressed concern that Germans might cease to be a "people of music."<sup>154</sup>

Thus my research confirms that in their writings, some postwar folk music scholars continued to make many of the same arguments and claims that had been widespread during the Nazi years. In particular, both the ideas of German musical supremacy and of natural musicality had survived into the postwar years. In addition, my research shows that postwar scholars continued to map out the borders of a musically-imagined *Großdeutschland*, even though this style of scholarship had contributed to the imperialist politics of Nazi Germany. However, and as I will discuss in the next section, a number of postwar scholars also attempted to distance themselves from Nazi-era

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<sup>153</sup> Heinrich Grössel, "Das Volkslied in der höheren Schule (II)," 72.

<sup>154</sup> In addition, singing organizations continued to promote musical nationalism. At a meeting of the *Schwäbische Sängerbund* (Association of Swabian Singers) in 1953, the president of the association declared that the *Sängerbund* intended to promote a "renaissance of the German folksong and the conservation of genuine folk traditions." Herman Bausinger, *Folk Culture in a World of Technology*, trans. Elke Detmer (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 58-9.

ideologies. In fact, musicologists began to define the German folksong within the framework of a new musically-imagined community.

## SECTION 3

### IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATIONS

In Nazi Germany, NSDAP leaders and music scholars alike believed that the folksong expressed true Germanness, and musicologists in fact provided ideological support for the Nazi world-view. Following the Second World War, West German musicologists of folksongs found themselves in a difficult situation because of this politicization of their subject field in the Nazi era. As I have discussed in section two of this thesis, certain elements of German national identity and musicological method were maintained in the writings of postwar West German musicologists of folksongs. On the other hand, I have also found that a large number of scholars began to revise their views on the connections between the folksong and Germanness. In fact, my inquiry into the changing practices of folksong musicology shows that in this field a development took place that characterized West German society as a whole. Folksong scholars left nationalist rhetoric behind and found a new consensus in, as historian Norbert Frei has put it, “a shared engagement for a post-national future.”<sup>155</sup>

After the war, the Western Allies pursued a strategy of support for their zones of occupation rather than imposing a Carthaginian peace. This concern for the economic and social conditions in their zones further intensified when the Cold War began to dominate Allied priorities. Then, the increasing tensions between the capitalist and the communist systems resulted in the division of Germany into two separate states, each allied to their respective occupiers. The Western Allies integrated the FRG into an

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<sup>155</sup> Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration*, trans. Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xiii.

international capitalist community and into the bloc of Western countries. As a part of this process, West German scholarly institutions established new international dialogues, and in this environment many of the views that musicologists had expressed during the Nazi era were no longer tenable, particularly claims to German cultural superiority. Consequently, scholars reframed the premises and the directions of their research. My research shows that they initiated an ideological shift and recast German identity. The transformation in musicologists' approaches to their subject contributed to the construction of an image of West Germany as a responsible and non-aggressive exemplary European nation.

This section explores two important aspects of this broader ideological shift in folksong research. First, I will examine how postwar scholars described the Nazi years and how they assessed their role in the Nazi state. Second, I will show how postwar scholars denationalized their approaches to folksong research. I will relate these changes in folksong research to broader political and social contexts. In particular, I will describe how musicologists played an active role in the process in which scholars, politicians, intellectuals, and ordinary West Germans redefined German identity according to a new set of imperatives that arose in the postwar era. Music scholars contributed to the reinvention of a German identity that defined itself as distinct from Nazi modes of Germanness, that took the ideological needs of the Cold War into account, and that reflected a growing attachment to European and Western economic and political institutions.

## Denying the Past

During the Nazi years, ideologues and scholars made persistent use of *völkisch* and nationalist terms that had been employed to elicit an emotional response: *Volk*, *organisch* (organic), *Blut* (blood), etc. Such terms promoted a heightened awareness of Germanness and a xenophobic form of national consciousness.<sup>156</sup> In fact, Nazi ideologues and the musicologists who cooperated with them tied the ideas of Germanness, musical culture, and superiority together, which then formed the ideological framework for most of the musicological research conducted during the Nazi era. Thus, musicology functioned as a delivery system for presenting a *völkisch* world-view to the German public.

During the first two decades of the FRG, overt expressions of nationalism were discouraged, if not taboo. While this was a reaction to the Nazis' glorification of nationalism, Cold War politics also played a role, and both of these factors reinforced each other. For Adenauer, the Soviet Union was now the common enemy of Europe, against which European nations had to unite and overcome their antagonisms in order to defend themselves against the communist threat. Now operating within the political parameters of the Cold War, members of Adenauer's CDU expressed entirely different priorities from the nationalist aims described by the Nazis. For example, Adenauer described nationalism as a movement that was the "cancerous sore of Europe."<sup>157</sup> Of course, Adenauer drew some criticism for this stance (notably among the left, as I describe below). For the most part, however, members of the Adenauer government and many other West Germans agreed that nationalism was an issue that needed to be handled

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<sup>156</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 176.

<sup>157</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 183.

with caution.<sup>158</sup> From the perspective of the FRG's neighboring countries, some of whose citizens were still German-speakers, the West German government's avoidance of nationalist language may have calmed fears of future German imperialism and continued European instability. However, the silence of Germans on nationalism was, in effect, a silence on the past, and avoiding the language of nationalism meant avoiding any reference to the Nazi past. Similarly, only very few music scholars discussed the musicological activities that they themselves and their colleagues had conducted during the Nazi era, and even fewer were willing to provide a serious critique of past scholarship. In fact, avoiding the discussion of how musicology was implicated in Nazi activities and the crimes of National Socialism formed a part of, what one historian has recently described, a "triumph of silence" in postwar West Germany.<sup>159</sup>

During the first postwar decades, a handful of essays on the history of German folksong research appeared. Authored by Fritz Bose and Wolfgang Suppan, these articles show that some scholars felt a need to re-evaluate their field. In their essays, Bose and Suppan presented musicology and ethnomusicology (called comparative musicology before 1950) as having been cleansed of any deficiencies that may have been present during the Nazi years, and they claimed that new directions had evolved during the postwar years. As they took stock of old and new developments in folksong research, they asserted that something had indeed changed since the end of the Second World War.

After he had received a position at the Technical University in Berlin in 1963, Fritz Bose published an essay in the American periodical *Ethnomusicology* under the title, "Germany and Austria: The Years Since 1945." In this article, Bose discussed the

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<sup>158</sup> Malcom Anderson, *States and Nationalism in Europe Since 1945* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000), 40.

<sup>159</sup> Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past*, xiv.

history of the field of comparative musicology, or ethnomusicology, during the Nazi years and after. Although Bose himself had incorporated racial categories in his work,<sup>160</sup> he now described musicological activities conducted after 1933 as marked by “racist insanity.”

They [ethnomusicologists working in Nazi Germany, such as Walter Wiora, Joseph Müller-Blattau, Werner Danckert, and himself] could not ... continue their research according to their convictions. It was considered undesirable to work with anything but national and “aryan” music; other musical cultures were supposed to be treated only as objects of derogatory criticism.<sup>161</sup>

Bose thus presented a picture of himself and his fellow colleagues as victims of the Nazi regime and who had been forced to collaborate with the Party. However, this description is at odds with Bose’s membership in the SS and his enthusiastic support for Nazi-sponsored activities.

Looking back on the Nazi years, Bose deplored that the field of comparative musicology had lost Curt Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel in 1933 in Nazi purges, but he did not acknowledge that he himself had promoted racial categories and had thus contributed to the “racist insanity” of the Nazi years.<sup>162</sup> In fact, in the same article from 1963, he still used the concept of race as a valid and self-evident category for research. For instance, when Bose reported on his 1943 essay, “Klangstile als Rassenmerkmale” (Sound Styles as Racial Characteristics), which had been published in the periodical *Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde* (Journal for Racial Studies), he stated that his findings

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<sup>160</sup> See for example, Fritz Bose, “Neue Arbeitsgebiete des Institutes für Lautforschung,” *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Vol. 10, (1934): 269-70; idem, “Neue Aufgaben der vergleichenden Musikwissenschaft,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. 16, (1934): 229-31.

<sup>161</sup> Fritz Bose, “Germany and Austria: The Years Since 1945,” *Ethnomusicology* 7, no. 3, Tenth Anniversary Issue (September 1963), 262.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.



“indicated that racial groups [could] be characterized by physiological aspects of their singing, but not by the style of the music.”<sup>163</sup>

Moreover, Bose declared in this review article that “ethnomusicology [had been] a dead science” during the Nazi years.<sup>164</sup> Of course, at that time comparative musicology in Germany had indeed ceased to be a field that was directed at analyzing the differences between European folksongs and non-Western music. However, Bose’s Nazi-era response to this development had been all but defiant. In fact, he had worked diligently and enthusiastically towards documenting the cultural superiority of the German race through musicology. Thus, it is difficult to accept Bose’s postwar assessment of Nazi musicology as a sincere or conscientious re-appraisal of past methods.

Just one year after Bose’s article appeared, Wolfgang Suppan published an article in which he discussed the history of the DVA. Although he himself had been too young to be involved in Nazi-era activities, Suppan described the research of the institute in the Nazi years in very vague terms. Without going into any detail about the kind of work scholars had done before 1945, Suppan asserted that after the Second World War their research had undergone substantial changes. According to Suppan, “political and social upheavals” had led to changes in research methods at the Archive after 1945.<sup>165</sup> Thus, “the operating methods [of] folk song research...have [taken on] a new shape in the German-speaking world.”<sup>166</sup> In one of Suppan’s books, *Volkslied: Seine Sammlung und Erforschung* (Folksong: Its Collection and Research), published in 1966, he likewise

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 262. See also Bose’s scant examination of Nazi-era research in Fritz Bose, “Folk Music Research and the Cultivation of Folk Music,” *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 9, (1957): 20-1.

<sup>164</sup> Fritz Bose, “Germany and Austria,” 262.

<sup>165</sup> Wolfgang Suppan, “The German Folk Song Archive (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv) 1914-1964,” *Ethnomusicology* 8, no. 2 (May 1964), 166-7.

<sup>166</sup> Wolfgang Suppan, “The German Folk Song Archives,” 166-7.

eschewed a thorough discussion of general research conducted during the Nazi years. Stating that postwar research was no longer shaped by “*völkisch*” and “politically conditioned alliances” (*politische bedingte Bindungen*), Suppan described the Nazi years only in an indirect fashion.<sup>167</sup> Thus, even a member of a newer generation helped to divert attention away from German musicology’s fascist past.

Only in the late 1960s did Ernst Klusen take the step of denouncing the *völkisch* ideals that had underpinned musicological methods before 1945 and rejected *völkisch* sentimentality for a romanticized conception of German history. In 1969, Klusen, who had served in the *Wehrmacht* during the Second World War, but had not been as implicated in Nazi-era music scholarship as Bose, described the danger when a state promoted itself as the embodiment and sponsor of an idealized and recoverable past, and he used the Nazi government as an example.<sup>168</sup> Highlighting the anti-modernist view that had characterized the National Socialists’ view of German folksongs, Klusen argued that looking backward in time for a recoverable past had led to the exaltation of an idealized past. Instead, Klusen suggested that studies on the folksong should straddle both a historical orientation and a forward-looking perspective because concentrating solely on

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<sup>167</sup> Wolfgang Suppan, *Volkslied: Seine Sammlung und Erforschung* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 11. In another article in which he summarizes the state of folksong research in German-speaking lands after 1945, Suppan used the exact same terms as he had used elsewhere to describe postwar research and also avoided discussion of the Nazi years. See Felix Hoerburger and Wolfgang Suppan, “Die Lage der Volksmusikforschung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern. Ein Bericht über die Jahre 1945 bis 1964,” *Acta Musicologica* 37, no. ½, (Jan.-Jun., 1965), 1. For a further example of a cursory treatment of musicology during the Nazi years by a scholar who, unlike Suppan, had taken part in Nazi initiatives, see Walter Wiora, *Europäische Volksmusik und abendländische Tonkunst* (Kassel: Johann Philipp Hinnenthal-Verlag, 1957), 159-165. In this history of the relationship between European folksong and Western music, Wiora devoted only a handful of pages to the study of music during the Nazi years. In fact, Wiora neglects to mention any of his own work from that period. Instead, he discussed the nationalistic extremism that surrounded discussions of music before 1945. Interestingly, he emphasized that a degree of cosmopolitanism existed during that time. His main example was the Hungarian scholar Béla Bartók, a musicologist and composer whose experimentalism had attracted contempt from *völkisch* musical critics. Indeed, Wiora seemed to admire Bartók, whose example Wiora may have been attempting to emulate in the postwar era.

<sup>168</sup> Ernst Klusen, *Volkslied: Fund und Erfindung* (Köln, Musikverlag Hans Gerig, 1969), 185.

one had damaged the integrity of the discipline. Klusen was the first musicologist to offer more than passing references to Nazi era methods and to thematize the connections between musicology and the Nazi state. Of course, Klusen's critique appeared during the late 1960s, when a large social movement began to appeal for a more conscientious appraisal of the past.

### Denationalizing Folksong Research

The general silence on issues related to Nazi-era musicology in the 1950s and 1960s went hand in hand with an avoidance of the language of nationalism. One way scholars denationalized their research was by changing their analytical approach to the folksong. During the Nazi period, scholars had looked for constitutive elements of German music in order to promote the superiority of Germanness. Because Nazi-era scholarship and musicology before 1933 had looked to the aesthetic appeal of German folksongs as proof of the perceived supremacy of German culture, postwar scholars largely withheld from similar aesthetic evaluations in their research. In other words, scholars no longer investigated the appeal of German music in order to argue that it was better music. Instead, a number of musicologists turned their attention towards exploring the social functions and contexts of folk singing and towards inventing new definitions of the term, *Volkslied*, itself. These activities redefined postwar ethnomusicology and contributed to the denationalization of musicological research.

A comparison of Walter Wiora's Nazi-era and postwar research shows how he, too, like Bose, seemed to fit the description of a political chameleon. During the Nazi years, Wiora had engaged in aesthetic evaluations of folk music and had promoted the

study of tonality in order to understand its “meaning” for race and nation.<sup>169</sup>

Additionally, he had supported the idea that the folksong was always a cultural expression of a specific ethnic group. In the postwar years and in fact soon after his reinstatement to the DVA in 1946, Wiora expressed distinctly different views. In an article that appeared in 1949, Wiora downplayed the significance of aesthetic evaluations. He argued that scholarship needed to return to the ideals first set forth by Herder. Specifically, Wiora stressed that not all folksongs had “a poetical value,” but this did not make them any less valuable. He suggested that what constituted an authentic and good folksong had not as much to do with “aesthetic value,” but was more connected to the “inspiring ideal” (*Wertidee*) of the communities or individuals who brought certain songs into existence.<sup>170</sup> Future research, Wiora thus suggested, was not to evaluate songs according to aesthetic criteria, but to identify what defined the authenticity of a song.

In other postwar publications, Wiora argued that the authentic folksong was not the expression of a specific ethnic group. In fact, Wiora attempted to redefine the meaning of “*Volk*” in the term “*Volkslied*.” According to him, the *Volk* did not “signify the nation or an ethnological group.”<sup>171</sup> Rather, he considered the *Volk* to be the “basic stratum of human society ... folk music is ‘lay’ music as against music for connoisseurs.”<sup>172</sup> Here Wiora promoted a new approach to the folksong that clearly

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<sup>169</sup> Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 219

<sup>170</sup> Walter Wiora, “Concerning the Conception of Authentic Folk Music,” *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 1, (1949), 14, 17.

<sup>171</sup> Walter Wiora, “Concerning the Conception of Authentic Folk Music,” 14-19, quote, 15. See also Walter Wiora, *European Folk Song*, 10, where Wiora notes, “much that is usually given an ethnic interpretation is in reality the result of styles of epochs, art forms, or classes.” See also Walter Wiora, *Europäische Volksmusik und abendländische Tonkunst*, 164: “‘Volk’ im Sinne von Grundsichten ist etwas durchaus anderes im Sinne von Ethnos und Nation.”

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 15. Wiora outlined the social history of this basic stratum of society: “In primitive society it is the entire population; in the age of feudalism and of the higher culture which has pertained until now, it is the broad sub-stratum, which underlies the changing culture of the ruling classes; and in the age of socialism it

contradicted the Germanocentric nature of his work from the Nazi era. Moreover, Wiora rejected the practice of judging folksongs according to aesthetic appeal. Like Fritz Bose, however, Wiora made no attempt to address the nationalist dimension of his own Nazi-era research.

While Wiora worked at redefining the term “folksong,” Ernst Klusen attempted to replace the word “*Volk*” with an altogether different term. Most recognized for his seminal book, *Volkslied: Fund und Erfindung* (1969), Klusen suggested the substitution of the concept of *Volkslied* with the new notion of a “*Gruppenlied*” (groupsong). Of course, renaming the genre helped to remove the nationalist meanings associated with the word “*Volk*.” At the same time, Klusen’s choice of the term “group” reflected his approach to research. Klusen focused his attention not on defining ethnic characteristics, but on exploring the role the song plays in the functioning of a group, whichever form that group may take. In fact, Klusen’s research into the sociological aspects of singing played a key role in shaping German ethnomusicology during the last half of the twentieth century.<sup>173</sup>

In the same article in which he tried to portray himself and his fellow colleagues as victims of Nazi politics, Fritz Bose also spelled out what he believed the postwar goals of ethnomusicology should be. Rather than promoting the usefulness of racial categories in determining specific German qualities, as he had done during the Nazi years, Bose now argued that it was no longer appropriate for scholars to evaluate “individual musical

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is in some respects again the whole population, because leveling tendencies bring the upper and lower classes closer together.” Walter Wiora, *European Folk Song*, 10.

<sup>173</sup> Philip Bohlman: ‘Klusen, Ernst,’ *Grove Music Online* (Accessed 15 January 2007). See also, Ernst Klusen, “Das Gruppenlied als Gegenstand,” *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 12 (1967): 21-41.

characteristics.”<sup>174</sup> According to him, a “main task” of contemporary scholarship consisted in exploring “music’s function within its social community [and] the part [music] plays in the life of the individual and of the cultural group.”<sup>175</sup>

My examination of folksong musicology in West Germany shows that postwar music scholars changed their approach to folksong research by avoiding aesthetic evaluations and in doing so they distanced themselves from the Nazi-era assumption that German music was superior. Instead, musicologists began to explore the social functions of singing and also redefined the folksong. These new activities no longer aimed at promoting a connection between Germanness, German superiority, and the German folksong. Musicologists dissociated Germanness from Nazi conceptions of nationality and cultural purity and attempted to create a positive future-oriented identity. Folksong scholars turned their back on the past and on German nationalism and reinvented themselves and their fellow Germans as Europeans. Thereby, they propagated a new style of national self-understanding.

#### National Identity in Postwar West Germany

In the postwar period, West German historians and intellectuals attempted to minimize the role of Nazism in German history. Some conservative intellectuals, such as historians Friedrich Meinecke and Gerhard Ritter, considered the Nazi years as an accident and argued that the rise of National Socialism had resulted from a general decline of humanistic values in Germany. They urged a return to these traditions that they claimed to be truly German. In the same vein, other intellectuals proposed that

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<sup>174</sup> Fritz Bose, “Germany and Austria: The Years Since 1945,” 264.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 264.

during the interwar years fundamental principles of Western civilization, particularly Western democratic ideals associated with the French Revolution, had become eroded in a process that paved the way for fascism. As a corrective strategy, many postwar intellectuals, including members of the Adenauer government, sought to “re”-link German history to the idea of a Christian *Abendland* (Occident) and Western traditions of liberal democracy.<sup>176</sup>

For these conservative intellectuals, being for the West meant being anti-communist, and by extension, anti-Russian. In fact, anti-communism became the leading ideology of the Adenauer government that also guided its domestic and foreign policy. Adenauer and his CDU party stylized themselves as the only democratic alternative to all other political parties and they even went so far as to denounce their main political rival, the left-leaning Social Democratic Party (SPD) as Moscow’s “fifth column.”<sup>177</sup> When Adenauer outlawed the German Communist Party, he clearly signaled that the greatest ideological threat to a liberal democratic FRG was not to be found in the Nazi past, but in international communism.<sup>178</sup>

Adenauer’s policies of European and Western integration (also known as *Westpolitik*) became synonymous with anti-communism. According to Adenauer and the CDU, communist “Asian barbarians” who occupied Eastern Europe endangered the traditional European home of Western civilization. In this view, the iron curtain embodied a spiritual divide in Europe. Eastern Europe was labeled as “*un occident*

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<sup>176</sup> Jan-Werner Müller, *Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification, and National Identity* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), 27; Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 171.

<sup>177</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 182.

<sup>178</sup> Adenauer framed his position against communism within the concept of anti-totalitarianism and thus he bound the ideas of fascism and communism together. In this way, he portrayed his anti-communist stance as an ex-post facto attack on National Socialism.

*kidnappé*” that was occupied by the “alien” ideologies of the Soviet Union and thus cut-off from its allegedly rightful historical roots.<sup>179</sup> In his bid to protect Europe from the perceived dangers of Eastern despotism, Adenauer oversaw the integration of West Germany into Western economic, political, and cultural systems. This integration entailed the economic, political and cultural “re”-connection of West Germany with its Western European neighbors, especially with France (Adenauer was a Rhinelander and a Catholic). For Adenauer and those who voted for him, tying the economic well-being of West Germany to its European neighbors was the best way to counter the threat of communism and to ensure stability and a peaceful future.<sup>180</sup> In this way, Adenauer’s stance towards communism was very similar to that of Adolf Hitler. Both sought to build a united Europe (although Hitler’s vision entailed a German-dominated Europe) as a bulwark against Soviet communism.

Adenauer’s policy of European integration was not only a way to defend West Germany against the Soviet Union, but also a means of restraining the xenophobic nationalism that had been pervasive in Nazi Germany. Postwar surveys have shown that Adenauer may have been quite successful in this respect. In fact, in the first decades of the FRG, a majority of the West German public identified themselves not as Germans but as Europeans.<sup>181</sup> Many younger West Germans eschewed expressions of national pride and preferred to identify themselves with their particular region of origin (Bavaria, for

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<sup>179</sup> Of course, the boundaries between Russia and Europe were rhetorically constructed. During the Cold War, the ideological divide between East and West overlooked the Western roots of communism. The anti-Russian/anti-communist stance adopted by the Adenauer government also benefited from the presence of a centuries-old anti-Russian discourse, see John Matlock, “Russia, Europe, and Western Civilization,” in *The Cultural Gradient: The Transmission of Ideas in Europe, 1789-1991*, eds. Catherine Evtuhov and Stephen Kotkin (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, 2003), 229-30, 234.

<sup>180</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 184.

<sup>181</sup> John Breuilly, “German National Identity,” 63.



example), “with Europe, or with ‘the West.’”<sup>182</sup> In this way, segments of the West German population attempted to dissociate themselves from what they considered as an unfortunate German national past. The strengthened economic and political links between the FRG and its Western neighbors were the foundations for the new European identity. Thus, for West Germans, the appeal of the less problematic imagined community of Europe was not only economic. Their identification with the idea of Europe, or as historian Stefan Berger has described it, “Europhilia,”<sup>183</sup> allowed Germans to put their Nazi past behind and to reinvent themselves as people who were “cosmopolitan, outward-looking and democratic,” thus, as model citizens of the European community.<sup>184</sup>

Yet Germans did not only identify as Europeans or according to their region, but also took on a new type of German identity. First, the rapid economic recovery in West Germany during the 1950s and 1960s, or the “economic miracle” as it was called approvingly, restored legitimacy to the system of capitalism that had lost credibility and appeal as a result of the Depression and of the German industry’s alliance with fascism. Second, the “miracle” significantly altered West Germans’ conceptions of themselves. American patterns of consumption came to shape the identity of many German citizens and this rise of a consumerist ethos often replaced Nazi ideologies without requiring an examination of the Germans’ Nazi past. Finally, as more and more West Germans felt the benefits of the economic upturn, a particular West German identity based on the idea of prosperity began to emerge. Especially as conditions in East Germany remained more

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<sup>182</sup> Mary Fulbrook, “Re-representing the Nation: History and Identity in East and West Germany,” in *Representing the German Nation*, eds. Mary Fulbrook and Martin Swales (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 187.

<sup>183</sup> Stefan Berger, *Germany*, 181.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

austere, many West Germans began to identify themselves in distinction to their Eastern co-nationals. As a result of this, large numbers of younger West Germans viewed the GDR as “*Ausland*” (a foreign country).<sup>185</sup>

Yet not all West Germans were entirely supportive of the direction into which Adenauer was taking the FRG. Criticism from the left did exist and took aim at many of the Adenauer government’s policies. Critics, for instance Walter Dirks, pointed to the numerous ex-Nazis who held positions in Adenauer’s government. Most prominent among them was Hans Globke (Adenauer’s closest advisor) who had helped to formulate the Nuremberg Race Laws during the Nazi years. Many of these dissenters in the FRG rejected the widespread “triumph of silence” on the Nazi past, and leftist critics also believed that the Adenauer government had forsaken their East German co-nationals by pursuing European and Western integration rather than national unification. Thus interestingly, in the Adenauer era the call for national unity and a complete repudiation of Nazism came mainly from the West German left.<sup>186</sup>

### Inventing a European Community

The promotion of an imagined European community also found expression in musicological trends that emphasized a musical commonness among European nations. This constituted a shift from Nazi-era research that had Germanized the music of neighboring countries. My research shows that after 1945, when scholars began to re-examine sources they had acquired and studied during the Nazi years, they no longer attributed common styles to the imitation of German composition. Rather, musicologists

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<sup>185</sup> John Breuilly, “German National Identity,” 63. See also Mary Fulbrook, “Re-representing the Nation,” 188.

<sup>186</sup> Jan-Werner Müller, *Another Country*, 31, 33-4.

argued that shared musical features pointed to the existence of a common European folk culture. Instead of Germanizing European folk music, musicologists now Europeanized German folk music. Folksong scholars in postwar West Germany mapped out a new musically-imagined community.

As music scholars constructed a new community along the lines of a common European culture, they also let go of fears of foreign musical influence. The shift to a European identity resulted in a change of attitude towards cultures other than the German one. The xenophobia that had characterized the *völkisch* movement and Nazi brands of nationalism ceased to define German music scholarship.

In areas of musicology other than folksong research, musicologists turned to styles that the Nazis had deemed un-German, such as modernist avant-gardism and jazz. Likewise, musical activities, including concert performances, took on a new international character. New initiatives, such as the *Darmstadt Ferienkurse* (Vacation Courses in Darmstadt), a festival and concert series founded in the city of Darmstadt in 1946, featured not only classical music by German composers, but also numerous international selections.<sup>187</sup>

As the political leadership no longer condemned anything non-German as cultural pollution and as the borders between West Germany and many of its former enemies had opened, musicologists discussed the relationship between German folksongs and songs from other countries. For example, in his contribution to the conference volume *Musikalische Zeitfragen: Das Volkslied Heute*, an author by the name of Gottfried Wolters discussed the “penetration” (*Eindringen*) of non-German folksongs into West

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<sup>187</sup> Gesa Kordes, “Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity,” in *Music and German National Identity*, 209.

German song collections. Wolter's use of the term "*Eindringen*" seems still to be informed by *völkisch* ideals of cultural purity. However, Wolters' line of argument was different from Nazi-era views in that he saw this as a positive development. According to Wolters, due to persistent hostility towards non-German peoples the "adoption" *Übernahme* (adoption) of "non-German" (*außerdeutscher*) songs had been limited since the time of Herder. This hostility, Wolters argued, had been the result of widespread cultural xenophobia and was not based in any form of fundamental or irreconcilable difference between European peoples. In this scheme, the end of the Second World War had finally allowed a full appreciation of other musical cultures. Thus, Wolters approved of the fact that "political changes [had] opened up previously closed doors" and Germans could now take advantage of an influx of non-German songs.<sup>188</sup> To prove his point, Wolters had examined a number of songbooks published in the 1950s and he found a dramatic change in the proportion of non-German songs within a short period of time. The songbook *Musik im Leben*, (Music in Life), from 1953, contained only eleven percent non-German songs, whereas *Der Regenpfeifer* (The Rainpiper), from 1958, contained sixty percent.<sup>189</sup>

Perhaps reflective of his ability to change his approach to work according to political circumstances, Fritz Bose likewise offered a positive assessment of the (re)-internationalized nature of ethnomusicology. In his article, "Germany and Austria: The Years Since 1945," Bose attributed the "racist insanity" of Nazi-era musicology to the lack of contact with the "outside world." Thus, Bose welcomed the postwar internationalization of German musical scholarship. He claimed that a new beginning

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<sup>188</sup> Gottfried Wolters, "Das Eindringen ausländischer Lieder," in *Musikalische Zeitfragen*, 39.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

was possible for folksong research because scholars could now have contact with, what he called, "foreign scholars." Bose further applauded the International Musicological Society and the International Folk Music Council for facilitating "the changes in attitude which were necessary for raising German scholarship again to the international standards of ethnomusicology."<sup>190</sup> Thus Bose realigned his work with what had been the original plan for comparative, or ethnomusicological studies since its nineteenth century origins: comparing non-Western music with European songs. A movement of internationalization and a positive attitude towards a range of musical cultures now shaped German ethnomusicology.

Thus, West German researchers now explored the relationship between German folksongs and the songs of neighboring musical cultures in new ways. Postwar musicologists no longer propagated the superiority of German folk music in Europe, but their supra-national approach to folksong research found its expression in the notion of a European folk music. In fact, Wolfgang Suppan and Felix Hoerburger considered this approach one of the most important developments in postwar folksong research. In their survey of postwar developments in folksong musicology, published in 1966, they described the significance of this new approach as it related to research in the "German-speaking lands."<sup>191</sup> They observed that the supra-national, pan-European approach formed the basis of a large amount of postwar research, and they pointed out that this scholarship minimized the differences among European folk cultures. Thus German, French, English, Hungarian, Russian, and other songs, for instance, formed parts of a

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<sup>190</sup> Fritz Bose, "Germany and Austria," 263-4.

<sup>191</sup> Felix Hoerburger & Wolfgang Suppan, "Die Lage der Volksmusikforschung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern," 1.

common European style, or in Suppan's words, "the Occident [was] an area with a homogenous style" (*das Abendland als einheitlicher Stilkreis*).<sup>192</sup>

While Suppan and Hoerburger suggested that this new approach had its roots in a book written by Werner Danckert in 1939,<sup>193</sup> they credited Walter Wiora for fully developing the new pan-European perspective in his postwar work. In particular, they cited Wiora's study from 1952 entitled *Europäischer Volksgesang: Gemeinsame Formen in charakteristischen Abwandlungen* (European Folksong: Common Forms in Characteristic Modifications), in which Wiora had argued that musicological scholarship should embrace a supra-national approach and in fact, through a comparative analysis, systematically described the interrelatedness of all Europe's folk music. In this book, Wiora examined folksongs from all over the European continent and emphasized melodic similarities between all of them. He included song samples from German-speaking groups in diverse regions of Europe (for instance Alsatians, Austrians, Sudeten Germans, Germans from Eastern European linguistic enclaves), from European Finno-Ugrian peoples (Estonians, Finns, Hungarians, Lapps, Livonians, Mordovians, Ostiaks, Samoyed, Teherimiss, Voguls, and Votiaks), from Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Rumanians, Russians, Caucasus people, Ukrainians, and many others. In one instance, he indeed broadened his scope beyond Europe and discussed the influence of European music in songs from Nova Scotia. Further, Wiora included Jewish folksongs as a part of European folk traditions.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., 6. Although we may give Danckert some credit for what may have been a more cosmopolitan view during the Nazi era, others studies of his from before and after 1939 show that he was also engaged in research that incorporated racial categories and that Germanized non-German cultures.

<sup>194</sup> Walter Wiora, *European Folksong: Common Forms in Characteristic Modifications*, trans. Robert Kolben (Cologne: Arno Volk Verlag, 1966), 94. During the Nazi years, the authorities and musicologists had denigrated Jewish music. In particular, scholars had expressed contempt for its atonal tendencies, and

In the introduction to his book, Wiora pointed out that he looked for a balance of what was specific to nations and what was common for all of Europe. He suggested that it was useful to employ the metaphor of a whole and its parts. Studying the folksong through a strictly national lens, he argued, impaired fruitful research. Moreover, Wiora not only exhorted scholars to use the European framework as a research approach, but he also declared that the new approach to European folksong culture required a deep personal identification with the idea of a European community. According to him, a more accurate picture of the folksong landscape in Europe would be revealed by the “spread of European *consciousness* [in] the minds of folklorists and music historians.”<sup>195</sup> Wiora claimed that “the attempt [had been] long overdue to demonstrate overall connections among the musical treasures of all countries, showing the European Folk Song to be a connected whole.”<sup>196</sup> In the body of his study, Wiora compared exactly one hundred song samples with each other, and he presented “each melody ... not on its own but within its circle of relationships.” On the basis of common characteristics, Wiora turned the folksong into a symbol of a shared European heritage. This common heritage was an expression of the “basic stratum” of European society, that is, a common European “lay” culture. And while his words emphasized the idea of European unity, *völkisch* concepts still resonated in them:

This treasury of tunes has a value beyond that of musical history, namely as a heritage and also symbolically. It is the reflection of peoples and nations and is thus an expression of the primary classes [i.e. basic stratum] of the European

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this was contrasted with German music’s natural tonality. Wiora, too, had promoted the natural tonality of German music in 1938, and thus his inclusion of Jewish music within the European style seems to be another shift in his research. See Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 219. In addition, Wiora’s postwar treatment of Jewish music may have been part of a greater interest among scholars to work with music that had been demonized by the Nazis. See Gesa Kordes, “Darmstadt, Postwar Experimentation, and the West German Search for a New Musical Identity,” in *Music and German National Identity*, 209.

<sup>195</sup> Walter Wiora, *European Folksong*, 5. Emphasis added.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

nations as a community and as individual ones. [These songs] might therefore help to throw some light on the question as to the original nature of European unity in variety... There is no doubt that [European unity] is based on more than the Latino-Christian and the humanistic heritage, on imperial state structures or pan-European ideas, but that it has its roots in the primary classes of culture and the people. 'Unity' that is only decreed from above has no roots; thorough unity must grow out of the depths and into the depths.<sup>197</sup>

Wiora's emphasis on the "primary" roots of a common European culture offered support to the processes of European integration by associating it with a deeper, more populist, quasi-*völkisch* sense of community.

Wiora's contemporaries approved of this new approach, and many began to promote and to conduct similar research.<sup>198</sup> In his article on the history of the DVA, Suppan discussed this pan-European perspective on folksong research as it related to the work of the Archive. While he noted that the Archive still aimed at creating a complete collection of all German folksongs, Suppan credited Walter Wiora for making it clear that folksong research could no longer be confined to German-speaking lands. That would be, as Suppan claimed, "scientifically untenable."<sup>199</sup> In fact, "the establishment of ties with leading foreign scientists and research institutes" had led to the foundation of an international "studio" within the DVA.<sup>200</sup> This studio assembled a library containing Slavonic, Romanic, Finno-Ugrian, and Anglo-Saxon materials. Urging scholars to make use of the expanded holdings of the DVA, Suppan claimed that the "essence and the

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

<sup>198</sup> Wolfgang Suppan & Felix Hoerburger, "Die Lage der Volksmusikforschung in den deutschsprachigen Ländern," 7.

<sup>199</sup> Wolfgang Suppan, "The German Folk Song Archives (Deutsches Volksliedarchiv) 1914-1964," 167. Suppan's rejection of an exclusively German focus in research contradicts the nature of his study of German speech-islands discussed in the last section of this thesis. In that comparative study, Suppan concentrated only on German songs.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 167.



history of German folk-singing can only be understood in its overall European context.”<sup>201</sup>

As a signal example, Wiora’s body of work from the Nazi and postwar periods shows the degree to which German folksong scholarship had changed in this time of transition. Not only do we see a shift in his approach to the folksong, but also a transformation of his views towards German national identity. During the Nazi period, Wiora had supported Nazi and *völkisch* ideologies in his work, and he had taken advantage of Nazi-sponsored activities. In wartime, Wiora had followed the German army’s advances through Europe and had mapped out the folksong landscape in a way that Germanized the music of its neighbors. Returning to work almost immediately after the war, Wiora’s postwar research stands in stark contrast to his earlier writings. He no longer attempted to connect aesthetic features such as tonality with the German folksong, but he distanced himself from Nazi-era ideologies and dissociated the folksong from ethnic definitions. Instead of associating the folksong with the idea of German superiority, Wiora turned the folksong into a symbol of a common European culture. He no longer looked for the qualities that made the folksong “truly German,”<sup>202</sup> but for the elements that made it part of a composite European community.

Nevertheless, the refusal of folksong musicologists to take responsibility for their Nazi activities may have played a role in the transfer of the idea of German superiority to the concept of European or Western superiority. In fact, music historian Albrecht

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid., 167, 169. In a similar vein, Gottfried Wolters also suggested that the relationship between German and non-German European folksongs was best understood within the framework of a European folk culture. After World War Two, claimed Wolters, musicological research was now guided by “the idea of Europe.” Gottfried Wolters, “Das Eindringen ausländische Lieder,” in *Musikalische Zeitfragen: Das Volkslied Heute*, 35.

<sup>202</sup> See Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 219.

Riethmüller has described a similar phenomenon for the scholarship on classical music, a field in which—so he argues—musical chauvinism continues to exist to the present day. According to Riethmüller, scholars of classical music use “the verbal tactic of hiding behind Europe (or the West) when what one is actually referring to is one’s own country.”<sup>203</sup> Thus, the idea of the superiority of German music appears to have been maintained as part of a notion of European or Western supremacy. I have found that along similar lines, folksong scholars transferred the postulate of German dominance to the assertion of European musical superiority.

For instance, Walter Wiora described the German folksong as part of a common European folk culture. He also called Europe the traditional home of Western civilization, and in one of his books entitled *The Four Ages of Music*, published in 1965, he stated that Western musical styles had become the dominant form throughout the world. “In every continent Western works form the basis of musical repertory and Western theory the foundation of musical education ... In addition, comparative and methodological proofs have shown that [Western music’s] spread throughout the world rests upon the immanent universality of Western music and its systems.”<sup>204</sup> In fact, Wiora seems to fall into an orientalist discourse, in the sense of Edward Said, and he promotes Western musical styles in a way that presumes a dominant position for Western music in its relationship with non-Western music. “Occidental music could easily be assimilated by primitive peoples and the lower classes in the Orient because its popular forms, perfectly clear and simple, were intelligible to all.” According to Wiora, the

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<sup>203</sup> Albrecht Riethmüller, “‘Is That Not Something for *Simplicissimus*?!’ The Belief in Musical Superiority,” in *Music and German National Identity*, 295.

<sup>204</sup> Walter Wiora, *The Four Ages of Music*, trans. M.D. Herter Norton (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965), 145.

dissemination of Western culture throughout the world has been leading to the creation of a universal musical culture. Thus, if a world-music exists, its foundational style and theory is based on dominant European and Western principles. Apparently, as German scholars of classical music did, Wiora translated the xenophobic and nationalist assumptions that had shaped his Nazi-era work into the ideology of cultural Eurocentrism. Instead of Germanizing Europe, Wiora now Europeanized the world.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> See also Fritz Bose, "Western Influences in Modern Asian Music," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 11 (1959): 47-50.

## CONCLUSION

There is little doubt that a dramatic shift in German expressions of self-understanding occurred in West Germany after 1945. Historians such as Stefan Berger and John Breuilly have explored the main features of this shift, and they have found that West Germans increasingly identified with a broader, European imagined community. The musicologists whose works I have examined in this thesis played an important and active role in this shift.

In the transition from Nazi Germany to West Germany, folksong musicologists reinvented themselves and their co-nationals as Germans. They no longer promoted a German identity that reinforced Nazi and *völkisch* views of Germanness. Instead, postwar folksong scholars tended to withhold from xenophobic chauvinism and propagated a more peaceful and cosmopolitan sort of German identity. They published works in which they changed the relationship between folksongs and what it means to be German and thus participated in constructing a new type of German identity. They shaped public discourse and helped to create the imagined community of postwar Europe. By studying their writings, we can better understand the mechanics of how German national identity shifted, and we can achieve some understanding of the intellectual labor that was involved in this process.

### Silence on the Past

Most of the scholars whom I discussed in this thesis had been deeply implicated in Nazi policies and ideologies. As my findings show, after 1945 they distanced themselves from their associations with the Nazi regime but avoided any sincere

examination of Nazi-era musicology and sometimes outright lied about their past activities. Walter Wiora for instance described the Nazi years in a way that made it seem as if he had not even been there. Fritz Bose told a story of forced collaboration and involuntary ideological conformity. While discussing scholars of classical music, Pamela Potter has suggested that one reason why postwar scholars withheld from assessing their role in the National Socialist state may have been that they would have risked losing many of the gains they had made during the Nazi years. The same could certainly be said of the scholars of folk music I have examined in this thesis. Thus, most refrained from addressing their own and their colleagues' intellectual complicity with the Nazi regime and simply chose to move on with their work.

Moreover, postwar scholars rarely mentioned the victims of National Socialism. In fact, Fritz Bose described music scholars, including Walter Wiora, Werner Danckert, Joseph Müller-Blattau, and himself as helpless objects of Nazi politics. None of them ever acknowledged that their own research had legitimated Nazi crimes and that they had been complicit in or at least profited from the dismissal of some of their colleagues.

In addition, numerous initiatives that resumed after the war had been supported by the Nazi Party, and the *völkisch* and nationalist motivations that underlay projects such as the LV were left unquestioned. This and similar continuities thus formed a part of the "triumph of silence" that came to characterize West German society. I found that the majority of postwar folksong scholars continued to conceive of the German nation in terms of an imagined community of *Großdeutschland*, despite this concept's connections to the politics of German imperialism. In the sense of Benedict Anderson, postwar scholars who continued to map out the boundaries of the German folksong still allowed Germans

to imagine a common national bond among those who sang the same German-language songs across Europe. And as I have also found, postwar music teachers' continued efforts to promote the idea of the Germans as a people of music echoed similar statements made by scholars during the Nazi period and before.

### Changing the Approach to the Folksong

In the Nazi years, scholars studied the folksong in a way that reflected and promoted a *völkisch* and National Socialist worldview. This view held that Germans were a biologically distinct group who had attained a superior level of human and artistic development. In this vein, musicologists propagated a racialist view of music and promoted the idea of German musical supremacy. Frequently working in Nazi-sponsored institutions and organizations, scholars considered the folksong an object that could reveal the secrets of musical Germanness. They connected the folksong to the virtues and to the values that Germans should emulate, in particular the idea of German musical strength in resisting harmful influences associated with modernity and non-German cultures. Music scholars held up the folksong as a symbol of a German cultural community that had its roots in the ancient past. Working hand in hand, musicologists and Nazi leaders promoted the folksong as a genre that could teach Germans what it meant to be German. In the language of Prasenjit Duara, Nazi-era folksong scholars helped to harden the imagined boundaries between Germans and non-Germans. Yet in the young Federal Republic, folksong scholars changed what it meant to be German for themselves and for others by reinterpreting the national significance of the folksong.

Although scholars were largely silent on their role in Nazi Germany, they did actively practice and promote new approaches to folksong research. Overwhelmingly, musicologists no longer studied folksongs with the aim of propagating ideas of German musical supremacy. Instead, scholars began investigating the functions of folk singing and redefining the folksong. These activities denationalized many aspects of folksong research, and they stood in sharp contrast to the bombastic nationalism expressed by Nazis and Nazi musicologists alike. The denationalization of research went hand in hand with an approach to the folksong that viewed the genre as evidence of a common European folk culture. Scholars who withheld from the language of nationalism also distanced themselves from conceptions of Germanness associated with Nazism, especially national chauvinism and cultural xenophobia. Of course, this is not to say that musical nationalism disappeared completely. Germanocentrism survived in the writings of postwar scholars, but it was much less dominant than it had been during the years of National Socialism. Also, claims to musical supremacy have lingered to the present day, but they are not as common as they used to be.

When musicological activities resumed after the war, West German musicologists transformed folksong research in order to reflect how they now came to see themselves as Germans. My research shows that they no longer used folksong research to prove German racial purity and supremacy. Their work on folksongs was now framed by a new conception of the German people's place in Europe. Postwar scholars, especially Walter Wiora, reinvented the German people as peaceful, tolerant, and democratic by associating the folksong with cosmopolitan values. In this way, folksong musicologists, many of whom had been engaged in the Nazi project of propagating *völkisch* Germanness, became

architects of the postwar European community. Thus, to use Prasenjit Duara's theoretical framework of hard and soft boundaries, in the Nazi years, the German musicologists' work on folksongs contributed to the hardening of the boundaries between Germans and non-German Others. In contrast, during the first decades of the Federal Republic, the meaning of the German folksong and the character of folksong research changed, and the boundaries between Germany and its European neighbors became less rigid and softened.

In addition, this thesis shows that the folksong scholars whose works I have studied invented a tradition much in the way that Eric Hobsbawm has described. The musicologists who worked in Nazi Germany re-invented the German folksong to promote a racist conception of German nationhood. In the postwar era, they re-invented it as a symbol of a common European heritage. Yet in both eras they worked to make contemporary political circumstances seem natural by manufacturing a new history of and new meanings for the folksong, and thereby legitimated first the Nazi state and successively the Federal Republic.

Thus, these musicologists were patriotic agitators in Miroslav Hroch's sense. According to his model of the stages in which national movements take shape, they belong into Phase B, during both the Nazi and the postwar years. While the German nation-state was of course well established by 1933, the Nazis were engaged in a process of recreating the nation according to the principles of *völkisch* nationalism, and folksong musicologists played a prominent role in their project of promoting such *völkisch* conceptions of German nationhood. Likewise, folksong scholars in West Germany fulfilled the function of agitators for the idea of a common European cultural unit.



## The Cold War

Interestingly, postwar musicologists' discussions of a European folk culture even seemed to downplay the significance of the East-West divide associated with the Cold War. During the Nazi era, musicologists and NSDAP officials had claimed that Russian music was a threat to German culture and its influence constituted a form of cultural bolshevism. In my examination of postwar folksong research, I found that while Adenauer and his government maintained this anti-Russian stance in the postwar years, folksong scholars tended to withhold from anti-bolshevism. In the volume, *Musikalische Zeitfragen: Das Volkslied Heute*, that I have discussed earlier, Guido Waldmann published an article on folksongs in the Soviet Union and elaborated on the similarities between the Soviet Union and Germany's folksong cultures;<sup>206</sup> as mentioned above, Walter Wiora included Russian folksongs in his discussion of a shared European style;<sup>207</sup> likewise, Wolfgang Suppan continued to urge scholars to incorporate Russian and Slavic songs within the framework of European folksong research.<sup>208</sup> While folksong scholars provided cultural justifications for policies of European integration, it seems that they were not prepared to support the anti-Russian and anti-communist consensus that also took hold in the postwar era. If anything, postwar scholarship that emphasized a common European culture anticipated the Cold War détente that began in the late 1960s. However, and also as an example of continuity, scholars who included Russian music

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<sup>206</sup> Guido Waldmann, "Lage und Problematik der sowjetischen Volksliedpflege," Walter Wiora ed., *Musikalische Zeitfragen: Das Volkslied Heute*, 41-4. Because Waldmann had worked closely with the Nazis, we may presume that he had likely not expressed any friendly attitudes towards the Soviet Union before 1945.

<sup>207</sup> In another case, Werner Danckert also included the music of Slavic people in the European and Western style. In fact, Danckert drew his cultural and musical boundaries along the lines of a Christian/Islamic distinction. See Werner Danckert, *Das Volkslied im Abendland* (Bern/München: A Franke AG Verlag, 1966), 60.

<sup>208</sup> See pages 80-1 above.

within the concept of a European folk music once again appropriated Russian folk music as their own. Only now, instead of Germanizing Russian or Slavic culture, scholars Europeanized it. Thus, scholars not only adapted to changed political circumstances, but also found room to maneuver. By refusing to adopt the prevailing stance of anti-communism, folksong scholars created a voice of their own and not merely conformed to or mirrored the political setting around them.

### Music and Identity to Today

From the 1970s to the present day, the continued integration of European nation-states into the European Union has prompted not only greater economic cooperation between member states, but also new initiatives designed to emphasize the common cultural heritage of the members as well. Thus in a recent article, the historian Chris Shore examined the cultural politics of the European Commission (EC). During the 1980s and the 1990s, he argues, projects designed to promote a European cultural tradition proliferated in an effort to legitimize the existence of a pan-European political unit. Shore proposes that EC officials are using terms “such as ‘culture,’ ‘identity,’ and ‘consciousness’ as mobilizing metaphors for building ‘European culture.’”<sup>209</sup> In this way, EC officials are using terminology and symbols (flags, anthems, etc.) in order to raise the awareness of Europeans’ traditions and identity. The arguments and words employed by those engaged in recent efforts of European identity-building are the same ones used by postwar musicologists. By the end of the twentieth century, the idea of a European cultural community that postwar West German musicologists had helped to

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<sup>209</sup> Chris Shore, “Transcending the Nation-State?: The European Commission and the (Re)-Discovery of Europe,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 9, no. 4 (December 1996), 475.

invent in the 1950s had become widespread not only in Germany, but also in the other EC member states.

Meeting in Strasbourg in 1997 to devise a new plan to raise awareness of a common European culture, European heads of state (who together form the Council of Europe) began a campaign entitled “Europe, a common heritage.” Part of this campaign is aimed at promoting the awareness of the traditional music of Europe. Thus, the European Commission’s official website contains a page—that is currently under construction—entitled “Traditional Musical Heritage in Europe,” which emphasizes the same ideas promoted by postwar folksong scholars.<sup>210</sup>

This twenty-first century campaign to promote awareness of European culture through traditional music thus attests to the fact that the connection between folk music and identity possesses remarkable longevity. Just as in the Nazi years and in the postwar decades, folk music is being used to propagate a particular cultural identity. All music can serve as a vehicle for expressing identity and self-understanding, and folk music has been able to acquire meanings that are often contradictory, from presumptions of German musical supremacy and racial purity to notions of European equality and cosmopolitanism. From the time of Herder until today, scholars as well as political leaders have again and again refashioned the symbolic value of folk music to fit the ideological needs of different German national movements and state formations.

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<sup>210</sup> See the general site at [www.ec.europa.eu](http://www.ec.europa.eu), or visit the site under construction at [www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural\\_Co-operation/Heritage/A\\_Common\\_heritage](http://www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/Heritage/A_Common_heritage)

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