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Longing to belong: musical practices in the expulsion of the Germans from the Bohemian lands

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Boston University
LONGING TO BELONG: MUSICAL PRACTICES IN THE EXPULSION OF
THE GERMANS FROM THE BOHEMIAN LANDS

by

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To my wonderful parents

Edith und Franz Präger,

who taught me to listen to people’s stories.

And to

Liesl and Gustl Gromes.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Boston, November 2012

Dear study participants,

My aim all along has been to portray a comprehensive picture of everything I learned from you over the past years. Every story you shared with me is unique and needs to be told. However, over time, I have come to terms with the reality that my representation and interpretation of your experiences must remain incomplete. I apologize for every aspect and piece of evidence you provided that I could not include in this dissertation and for every line that doesn’t fully portray your extraordinary experiences.

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Ulrike

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LONGING TO BELONG: MUSICAL PRACTICES IN THE EXPULSION OF THE GERMANS FROM THE BOHEMIAN LANDS

ULRIKE PRÄGER

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2014

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ABSTRACT

In 1945/46, after the surrender of Germany in the Second World War, approximately twelve million German civilians living in Central and Eastern Europe were expelled (or fled before they received the inevitable expulsion order) mostly to Germany in what R.M. Douglas termed the “largest forced population transfer [...] in human history.” Even though these events occurred over sixty years ago, the recollections of these expellees suggest the ongoing immediacy of their experiences. For this phenomenological-historical ethnography, I collected more than eighty life stories and oral histories specifically from ethnic Germans expelled from Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia (Sudeten Germans). Through the lenses of musical practice and musical repertoire, I investigate how these Sudeten Germans used and still continue to use music as a tool for both remembrance and adaptation in their new environments. I seek to understand music’s significances for social and political integration in the Sudeten-Germans’ “new sounding homeland” in West Germany. Taken one at a time, these recollections disclose the various ways in which music and musical practices retrieve memories of their Bohemian homelands and are able to
mitigate both the loss of those homelands and the distressing overall effects of expulsion. Woven together, these recollections reveal how music offers emotional solace and facilitates the building of a new sense of belonging in the face of geographic displacement and material dispossession. I then compare these recollections to memories of Sudeten Germans expelled to the former East Germany as well as to the memories of Germans who were forced to stay in Czechoslovakia. This comparison highlights how the reframing and even silencing of musical practices in these environments affected processes of social identity reconstruction until the 1989 Velvet Revolution. I suggest that the analysis of the Sudeten Germans’ individual musical experiences reveals new perspectives of how they used and still use musical practices to negotiate intercultural power relations and rebuild a sense of Heimat (notion of belonging to a place of origin). Broadly speaking, the results of this study facilitate an understanding of the phenomenon of forced migration and how music is able to reflect, reframe, and renegotiate it.
PREFACE - ABOUT TERMS AND PLACES

The editors of the first encyclopedia devoted to the musical repertoire and musical practices of the Germans originating from the Bohemian lands initially proposed to name the lexicon *Böhmen, Mähren, Sudetenschlesien. Sudetendeutsches Musiklexikon* (Bohemia, Moravia, Sudeten Silesia. Sudeten-German Music Lexicon). After much deliberation and debate between historians, music historians, and even politicians of the German ministry for internal affairs, however, the lexicon was published with a different title in 2002: *Lexikon zur Deutschen Musikultur – Böhmen, Mähren, Sudetenschlesien* (Lexicon of the German Musical Culture - Bohemia, Moravia, Sudeten Silesia). The substantial debate revolved around the appropriateness of the term *Sudeten German* based on the term’s contested political and cultural connotations.

The term *Sudeten German* refers to the ethnic Germans who lived in Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia (also called Bohemian (Crown-) lands) and fled or were expelled from these regions in the aftermath of the Second World War. The term occurred as early as the mid-19th century, but was increasingly used after the First World War in order to clearly distinguish between Czech and German inhabitants in the Bohemian lands.

Problematic connotations that incited the above debate refer, for example, to the term’s association with pro-national socialist bearings of Sudeten Germans in the Second World War. Others argued that the term Sudeten German was only a temporary political and social construction and, therefore, Sudeten-German music and musical practices were only existent during a rather short time period. Sudeten-Germans also lived for centuries
together with Czech, Roma, and Jewish inhabitants in the Bohemian lands and are, therefore, to some extent inseparable from these populations.

Yet, some considered the term Sudeten German as appropriate for the encyclopedia’s title, because a) the term formally replaced the earlier labels Deutschböhmen (German-Bohemians) or Deutschnähren (German-Moravians) since the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918-1938) and b) many Germans (who once lived in the Bohemian lands) still label themselves as Sudeten-German to foster the reshaping of collective identities. Based on these arguments and historical developments, some scholars reason that investigations of Sudeten-German (musical) culture are justifiable.

Despite these term’s contested political, historical, and social notions, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3, I will use the term in this study to address the collective of Germans originating from the Bohemian lands. The study revolves around these Germans’ perceptions of the term and their individual experiences of being Sudeten German.
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<td><em>Bund der Vertriebenen</em> (Federation of Expellees)</td>
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<td>DDR</td>
<td><em>Deutsche Demokratische Republik</em> (German Democratic Republic)</td>
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<td>GDR</td>
<td>German Democratic Republic</td>
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<td>NSDAP</td>
<td>Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei</td>
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<td>POW</td>
<td>Prisoner of War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POP</td>
<td>Prisoner of Peace</td>
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<td>SBZ</td>
<td><em>Sowjetisch besetzte Zone</em> (Soviet Occupied Zone)</td>
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<td>SED</td>
<td><em>Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland</em> (Socialist Unity Party of Germany)</td>
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<td>SdP</td>
<td><em>Sudetendeutsche Partei</em></td>
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<td>SL</td>
<td><em>Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft</em> (Sudeten-German Territorial Association)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOZ</td>
<td>Soviet Occupied Zone</td>
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<td>ZVU</td>
<td>Zentralverwaltung für deutsche Umsiedler (Central Agency for Germans Resettlers)</td>
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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

* - will be explained in more detail in the dissertation

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<th>Term</th>
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<td>Ackermann Gemeinde</td>
<td>Association of the catholic Sudeten Germans</td>
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<td>Aussiedler/in*</td>
<td>resettler</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aussiedlerproblem*</td>
<td>problem of dealing with the large number of expellees (labeled as resettler in the SOZ/GDR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beheimatung*</td>
<td>providing of a (spiritual) home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besatzungszone</td>
<td>occupation zone</td>
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<td>Blasmusik</td>
<td>brass music</td>
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<td>Böhmisch*</td>
<td>Bohemian (refers to Sudeten-German and Czech as in German-speaking Bohemian and Czech speaking Bohemian)</td>
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<td>Bund der Vertriebenen (BdV)</td>
<td>Federation of Expellees</td>
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<td>Bund Deutscher Mädel</td>
<td>League of German Girls</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bundesvertriebenengesetz*</td>
<td>Federal Expellees Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>Die Wende</td>
<td>the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989</td>
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<td>Erlebnisgeneration*</td>
<td>generation of contemporary witnesses</td>
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<td>Finkensteiner Singwochen</td>
<td>lay singing weeks established by Walther Hensel in the Bohemian lands in 1923</td>
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<td>Flüchtling*</td>
<td>refugee</td>
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<td>Geistige Heimat</td>
<td>spiritual home</td>
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<td>Haussmusik</td>
<td>ensembles playing mainly folk music (usually within the family at home or in other private settings)</td>
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<td>Heimat*</td>
<td>home/homeland, in this study, the notion of belonging to a place of origin</td>
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<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>Heimatbote</td>
<td>local or regional almanac</td>
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<td>Heimatlied*</td>
<td>Sudeten-German homeland song that either stems from the Bohemian lands or describes the homeland (therefore it evokes associations, memories, and feelings connected to the homeland/Heimat)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heimatschlager*</td>
<td>popular hit addressing one’s homeland</td>
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<td>Heimattreffen*</td>
<td>local, regional, or nation meeting of refugees and expellees</td>
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<td>Heimatverbliebene/r*</td>
<td>Germans who stayed or were forced to stay in the Eastern Provinces (here Sudetenland/Bohemian lands)</td>
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<td>Heimatvertriebene/r*</td>
<td>expellee</td>
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<td>Heimatverband</td>
<td>homeland associations</td>
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<td>Heimweh*</td>
<td>nostalgia</td>
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<td>Heimwehtourismus*</td>
<td>nostalgia based return-tourism after 1989 (earlier in the GDR)</td>
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<td>Hitler-Jugend (HJ)</td>
<td>Hitler Youth</td>
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<td>Koalitionsverbot/</td>
<td>assembly ban</td>
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<td>Versammlungsverbot*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kulturverband der Deutschen*</td>
<td>German Cultural Association in Czechoslovakia after 1946</td>
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<td>Kurorchester</td>
<td>spa orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>Landsmannschaft (SL)*</td>
<td>Sudeten-German Territorial Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>Musikschule</td>
<td>private or governmental music school (besides music education at school)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ostkolonisation</td>
<td>colonization of the Bohemian border regions by the Germans, also called Eastward Expansion</td>
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Praktizierte Heimat * practicing of home (for example through musical practices)

Reichsdeutsche Germans living in the German Reich

Sängerbund Sudeten-German Singing Association founded in 1919

Schicksalsgemeinschaft* community of fate

Schlager* popular music hit

Spätaussiedler* Sudeten Germans leaving Czechoslovakia in the 1960s and later

Sprachinsel cities such as Brünn (Brno) und Iglau (Jihlava) with German and Czech inhabitants amidst the Czech parts of the Bohemian lands

Sudetendeutsche* Sudeten Germans

Umsiedler/in* resettler, labeling of the Germans expelled to former Eastern Germany

Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront German political party founded by Konrad Henlein in 1933 with the goal to centralize all Sudeten Germans during the First Czech Republic

Sudetendeutsche Partei Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront renamed to Sudetendeutsche Partei (SdP)

Umsiedlerpolitik * SED assimilation politics of the so called resettlers in the SOZ/GDR

Umsturz refers to the Velvet Revolution (collapse of the Communist Party’s control in Czechoslovakia in 1989)

Verortung* emotional and intellectual localization of Heimat

Vertreibungsfrage question of expulsion

Vertriebenengemeinde expellee community
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<td>Vierter Bayerischer Stamm*</td>
<td>fourth Bavarian tribe</td>
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<td>Volkstümliche Musik*</td>
<td>popular folk-like music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Völkisch</td>
<td>folk-like, can also imply conservative and even national socialist tendencies</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volksdeutsche</td>
<td>ethnic Germans living outside Germany</td>
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<td>Volkstumskampf</td>
<td>rising tension and conflicts between Czech and German populations especially during the time of the late First Czech Republic and the Protectorate; also related to the völkisch movement</td>
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<td>Wandervogelbewegung*</td>
<td>anti-bourgeois youth movement (Jugendbewegung) founded in late nineteenth-century Berlin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zwangsassimulation*</td>
<td>processes of forced assimilation</td>
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CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

In June 2011, a small group of 65-94 year old Sudeten Germans invited me to the Bavarian village of Frauenberg to celebrate with them their annual reunion. These elderly, a small part of the German population born in Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia (what is today’s Czech Republic) are generally identified as Sudeten Germans.¹ Every year they travel from all across Germany to Frauenberg, a municipality located just across the border from their former South Bohemian hometowns of Prachatitz and Krummau (today the Czech villages Prachatice and Český Krumlov). They were expelled (or fled before the inevitable expulsion order) from these villages to Germany and Austria in the aftermath of World War II, experiencing firsthand what is considered the “largest forced population transfer […] in human history” (Douglas 2012:1, Schott 2008:147).²

Figure 1: Contemporary European Map, google maps, Accessed November 3, 2013

¹ I hinted at the term’s problematic connotations in the preface and will discuss in more detail in Chapter 3.
² Flight and expulsion after World War II are also labeled as “ethnic cleansing” (Ther 2001; Kramer 2001). Rainer Münz and Rainer Ohliger (2003) describe the impact of flight and expulsion less drastic than Douglas and Schott, mentioning that the expulsion of approximately twelve million Germans from Central and Eastern Europa led to what might be called the largest single state-organized ethnic cleansing in the history of the twentieth century. I will discuss expulsion numbers and their deviation in more detail later in this chapter.
Since 1963, these Sudeten Germans have annually assembled to commemorate their former homeland and their past through storytelling, hiking, dancing, and singing. As a researcher and musician of Sudeten-German descent, I was happy to join them and gather data for this study.³

Based on the collection and analysis of musical recollections, as well as the analysis of musical practice and musical repertoire as utilized by Sudeten Germans in contemporary contexts, I investigate how they used and still continue to use music as a tool for both remembrance of their homelands and adaptation in their new post-expulsion environments.⁴ The gathering of these musical memories in first-person accounts is inherently intertwined with the active and controlled process of remembering. This highlights issues of individual and collective remembering, different remembering patterns, individual willingness to remember, and parameters that possibly influenced the study participants’ recollections over the last 65 years.

I seek to understand music’s significance for the Sudeten-German experience in three different settings. First, I examine social and political integration in West Germany. Second, I look at social and political assimilation on the other side of the Iron Curtain in the former Soviet Occupation Zone/German Democratic Republic. Finally, I investigate

³ The methodology used for this study is a phenomenological-historical ethnography. In a phenomenological study, the researcher investigates the essence of lived and felt experiences of individuals of a certain population concerning a specific phenomenon (Creswell 2003:14). I will discuss this more in Chapter 2.

⁴ With musical recollections I refer, on the one hand, to memories that are stimulated and retrieved through music-making in the lived present, and on the other hand, to memories of specific musical practices in particular places, times, and situations before, during, and after expulsion.
music’s importance for the Sudeten Germans who stayed or were forced to stay in their homelands while experiencing Czech (forced) assimilation policies.

The participants in this study are Sudeten-German expellees (Aussiedler, Heimatvertriebene, Umsiedler also called Volksdeutsche), Sudeten Germans who remained in Czechoslovakia (Heimatverbliebene), native Germans who had to accommodate the expelled (Einheimische also called Reichsdeutsche), and the descendants of these various groups. Taken one at a time, the study participants’ memories disclose the various ways in which music defines their Bohemian homelands and potentially mitigates the loss of these homelands and the overall effects of expulsion. Woven together, the first-person accounts reveal how music offers emotional stability and facilitates the rebuilding of a Sudeten-German consciousness and community after expulsion.

Based on a representative sample and the triangulation of data gathered during participant observation, interviews, and historical investigation, I advance in this study the notion that the analysis of individual (musical) experiences of contemporary witnesses, reveals new perspectives of how these refugees and expellees rebuilt their lives in extraordinary post-war life circumstances. Through the lenses of musical repertoire and musical practices, I present how these refugees and expellees as well as their host society, recovered after the war, and where they are today.
Methodology

Since 2010, I have visited over eighty Sudeten-German contemporary witnesses of flight and expulsion and their descendants in Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic to collect their life stories and oral histories. The study participants experienced firsthand the circumstances in their Bohemian homelands before the expulsion, the social upheaval and personal challenges of the expulsion, and processes of social and political adaptation in their new environments. Their (musical) stories have provided me with a nuanced understanding of how Sudeten Germans individually and collectively experienced expulsion and consequent policies of acculturation, integration, and assimilation. For example, study participant Justine Schüssel (b.1922) in Prachatice (Prachatitz), explains in a 2010 interview how musical practices (such as during the annual reunion in Frauenberg) no only offer emotional solace, but also facilitated initial interactions with the West-German host population. These interactions fostered and continue to foster a sense of belonging in face of the Sudeten-Germans’ loss of Heimat.  

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5 Interviews in narrative inquiry take either shape of oral history or life-story inquiry. The focus in oral history lies more in the voice of the researcher, while a life story centers on the story teller narrating in first person. I describe these and more methodological differences in Chapter 2.

6 Heimat is the German word for a social concept that I define in this project as the overarching umbrella for a sense of belonging to a place of origin. I discuss Heimat in great detail in Chapter 4. Heimat can only partly be translated into other languages. It refers to terms such as home, homeland, native land, nation, or belonging.
Music-making and the opportunity to get over our homesickness was the first motivation to establish those meetings. We were mainly Sudeten Germans and later we mixed with the local people. We had the opportunity to introduce them to our music and our ways of music-making, and we received recognition from them. We needed this and it certainly helped our integration. We sang together in double choirs and made excellent music. (Schüssel 2010)\(^7\)

Through memories such as Ms. Schüssel’s I realized that musical repertoire and practices, which Sudeten Germans associated with their homeland, have developed since the expulsion for many into meaningful treasures. Even today, music continues to provide Sudeten-German expellees with a sense of cultural assurance and self-confidence that they describe as lost after expulsion. This is expressed, for example, by Karl Kugler Jr., who was born in 1926 in the Bohemian Tachov (Tachau) and expelled to Geretsried (Bavaria) in 1946.

\(^7\) German original: “Die Musik und die Bewältigung des Heimwehs waren die erste Motivation für die Gründung dieser Gruppen. Wir waren hauptsächlich Sudetendeutsche aber später kamen auch Einheimische. Dann konnten wir ihnen unsere Art und Weise des Musikmachtens vorstellen und haben dafür auch Anerkennung bekommen. Das haben wir gebraucht. Das hat sicher zur Integration beigetragen. Wir haben mehrchörig gesungen und ganz hervorragend Musik gemacht” (Schüssel 2010).
Music-making gave us confidence. We were someone. We really were someone. We were not the nobodies that people thought we are. We were aware of ourselves. This was essential. (Kugler 2011)\textsuperscript{8}

Gretl Heinisch, (b.1926) in the North Moravian Šumperk (Mährisch-Schönberg) and expelled to Gaimersheim (Bavaria) in 1945, used similar language, “We lost everything, but not our music. And not our musical talents. These could not be taken away from us” (Heinisch 2011).\textsuperscript{9}

My ethnographic materials foreground specific sounds and musical practices that, for Sudeten Germans, revitalize recollections of their homelands, form a sense of community among these expellees in their new environments, and temporarily alleviate feelings of nostalgia. Study participant Gustl Gromes, born in Šumperk (Mährisch-Schönberg) in 1928, remembers such experiences.\textsuperscript{10} In 1947, he founded, together with his siblings and some other expellees, the folk music ensemble *Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe*. The group traveled regularly on so-called emergency missions in West Germany. The members of the group brought songs and dances, which they associated with their homelands, to locations where other displaced Sudeten Germans struggled under economic hardship, social prejudice, and emotional stress. Mr. Gromes’s wife Liesl Gromes describes the impact music-making had in these gatherings.

When they [the refugees and expellees who came to the Adalbert-Stifter-Group’s performances] left, they were elevated; they were spiritually at home. They could take the music with them for a


\textsuperscript{9} German original: “Wir haben alles verloren, aber nicht unsere Musik und nicht unsere musikalische Talente. Die konnte man uns nicht wegnnehmen” (Heinisch 2011).

\textsuperscript{10} Gustl Gromes, one of the main contributors of this study, whom I was fortunate to visit and interview three times, passed away on December 28, 2012.
while. The people were nostalgic and music was something from their *Heimat* that they still had. Singing brought the people home. (Gromes, L. 2011).\(^{11}\)

Mrs. Gromes’s recollection captures the possibilities of a phenomenological approach, in which the researcher identifies the essence of human experiences through the analysis of everyday “lived and felt experiences” (Creswell 2003:14). Through the gathering of ethnographic materials in first-person accounts and participant observations, I create spaces for the remembering of lived musical experiences, which assist me in comprehending how the Sudeten Germans perceive their own history. The analysis of these experiences, informed by historical and archival research, allows for a theoretical and historical discussion of “the musical dimensions of those ideological and political ruptures, legacies, and struggles so often left in conflicts’ wake” (Tochka 2014).\(^{12}\)

In the process of data collection, I realized that the focus on music in itself was an effective approach as it generated a readily accessible entrance to the participants’ memories. Additionally, music-evoked memories revealed optimistic expulsion experiences that have been generally overlooked in previous research. Study participants retrieve memories that focus less on prevalent expulsion topics such as culpability, victims, and penetrators, but instead address notions of belonging, social interaction and participation, flexibility, and community building.\(^{13}\) Such memories describe, for


\(^{12}\) Nick Tochka (University of Arizona), panel description for the 2014 Society of Ethnomusicology conference. Based on an idea by Margarethe Adams (Stony Brook).

\(^{13}\) I will explain these terms in much detail throughout this study.
example, repeatedly undocumented occurrences of interaction and separation in the transcultural pre-expulsion Czech-German Bohemian lands. Study participant Alfred Jumar (b.1924) recalls such an instance in his Bohemian hometown Český Dub (Böhmisch Aicha). At the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in our village lived two thirds Germans and one third Czechs. During the First Czech Republic, it was the other way around; two thirds Czechs and one third Germans. I remember that on Sundays in Böhmisch Aicha we had first a Czech and then a German church service. The services were both read in Latin, but in the Czech service people sang Czech songs and in the German service people sang German songs. But then there were joined church events such as Corpus Christi and the Corpus Christi procession, where Czechs and Germans celebrated together. There we sang songs together that both populations knew such as “Großer Gott wir loben Dich.” But everyone sang it in her or his respective language. And there was competition. One nation tried to sing louder than the other. But it still sounded fine to me. (Jumar 2011)

Mr. Jumar’s recollection portrays a musical Czech-German community that, although competitive, shared everyday events and life circumstances in a friendly

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14 I will indicate these different phases of Czech or German political leadership using alternatively first the German or Czech names of cities and places (ordered according to political situation). For example, the study participant Alfred Jumar was born during the First Czech Republic in Český Dub (Böhmisch Aicha). I have found this ordering also used by Zahra (2008) “to avoid privileging particular national claims on those places (xvii).”

manner. His recollection stands in contrast to the generally assumed non-existent interactions between Czechs and Germans in the mid-1930s.

Study participant Doris Lippert, (b.1926) in Butovice (Botenwald) recalls similarly nuanced and unexpected experiences. She provides a narrative of generally pleasant host-migrant intercultural communications in post-expulsion West Germany. As exemplified with her narrative below, a sound-based epistemology is able to retrieve lived experiences that produce partly new stories of conflict and integration. Mrs. Lippert describes the procedure of introducing classical music that she had enjoyed and played in her Bohemian hometown to her Hessian neighbors. In the mid-1960s she founded together with her husband a chamber music concert series called *Musikgemeinde* in the village that became their new home after expulsion. They invited different chamber music groups (locals and immigrants) from across Germany to play at the series.

In the beginning, when we handed out flyers to the locals, they said, “We don’t need this music we have our own music.” Yes, they had an all-male choir and a brass ensemble, but we wanted to introduce also classical music to the village. I am not sure if they reacted toward the genre or us as immigrants, likely both. In the first year we had about three or four people per concert in the audience […] but eventually more people came and then the local political party raised money for us. We organized the series successfully for 23 years and then a local doctor took it over. The series still runs. (Lippert 2010)\(^{16}\)

Research Questions, Existing (Ethno)-Musicological Approaches of Expulsion, and Results

My ethnographic and historical investigations allow me to portray manifold perspectives of the Sudeten-Germans’ pre- and post-war experiences by investigating how they individually and collectively integrate, acculturate, assimilate, or separate from the respective host populations and how these processes are expressed and renegotiated through musical practices. I ask if and how musical repertoire and practices facilitated (and still facilitate) the building of a different sonic, cultural, and geographical sense of belonging, established through transformed, changed, imposed, invented, and reworked [musical and] cultural settings (Gupka 1997:5). These investigations lead to a nuanced understanding of the migrants’ and host societies’ political, cultural, and emotional experiences in the transcultural pre- and post-expulsion Bohemian lands, in the aftermath of expulsion in intercultural West and East Germany, and even in contemporary Sudeten-German settings. ¹⁷ I further investigate the Sudeten-Germans’ repertoire and musical practices to highlight the impact of integration policies on the immigrants’ cultural presence in their respective environments. Did Sudeten-Germans develop a distinct musical culture before their expulsion and if so, in what ways did and does this musical culture change in the new post-war environments? I also investigate which repertoire and performance practices were considered worth travelling to the new environment and which were left behind. These various questions and perspectives facilitate a general

¹⁷ In this study, I define the pre-expulsion environment in the Bohemian lands as transcultural and the post-expulsion situation in West and East Germany as “quasi transcultural” or intercultural.
understanding of the phenomenon of expulsion and generate original theoretical and practical notions applicable to other expulsion settings.

Few political, social, and cultural processes have been discussed in such great detail in European ethnology and history as has flight and expulsion at the end of the Second World War (Lehman 1996:36). Studies published in the last decade focus specifically on flight and expulsion’s political post-history and questions of commemoration (Röger 2014:49). Based on a general interest to produce a “memory of the [German] nation,” historians focus lately on the politics of memory and strive for adequate forms and locations to commemorate flight and expulsion (Röger 2014:56). The scholarly enterprise produced in the last decade further several expansive synthesized works on European 20th-century forced expulsions. Nevertheless, an ethnomusicological approach hitherto rarely has been applied to forced migration studies. Research studies that address specifically Sudeten-German expulsion, integration, and the building of a new home and sense of belonging, usually prioritize historical, sociological, socioeconomic, and political themes. Only since the late 1990s have migration scholars turned to cultural practices such as music, dance, and film, as they found statistical or survey data alone insufficient to describe adequately the migrant experience (Baily and

18 The title “memory of a nation” refers to the massive (non-scholarly) online portal called “Gedächtnis der Nation.” The project team aims to preserve and present the last 100 years of German memory (1910-2010). In scholarly circles the project is perceived as problematic based on the missing information on interview procedures and reasons for the selection of contributions to be posted in the portal. Generally, 3-4 minute snippets (taken from 30 minute interviews) of the stories told from contemporary witnesses are posted in the portal without further explanation of the teller’s and the story’s context.

19 Historians title the 20th century as “century of expulsion” or “century of ethnic cleansing” (Röger 2014:50).
Collyer 2006:167). According to Baily and Collyer (2006), forms of cultural production such as music “have been used to provide greater depths to our understanding of the way migrants view their own migration, their host society and the place they have left, as well as how they are viewed by the host society” (167). The ethnographic materials gathered in this study provide precisely this depth to the understanding of the migrant experience as outlined by Baily and Collyer (2006). The authors describe music as central for such an understanding, because music is more popular and far-reaching in production and consumption than other cultural forms such as literature and architecture (167). Baily and Collyer ground this notion of music’s popularity and breadth on the idea that music evokes memories and captures emotions in listeners of all ages and backgrounds, even without its lyrical content (167), a notion that also strongly emerged in my work. Migration scholars’ recent turning to musical practices is further based on the understanding that music is not bound to a specific place, but rather a moving cultural practice able to give voice to experiences and behaviors of its practitioners in various places and settings.

Yet, few ethnomusicological studies of the Sudeten-Germans’ expulsion and integration have been conducted. Above all, ethnomusicological studies on these themes comprise a large number of song collections accompanied by a few notes regarding their origins and functions. Gottfried Habenicht (1996), for example, compiled a comprehensive collection of refugee-camp songs titled Leid im Lied (Sorrow in Song). This collection includes song texts written by refugees in the camps, Habenicht’s
suggestions of possible melodies used for these texts, text interpretations, and transcriptions of several of the refugees’ camp-life memories.

One of the largest ethnomusicological studies was conducted by Johannes Künzig in the 1950s. Künzig collected Eastern European folksongs in a study titled *Ehe sie verklingen... Alte deutsche Volksweisen vom Böhmerwald bis zur Wolga* (1958, 1977).²⁰ Künzig’s fieldwork was aimed toward the preservation of the expellees’ memories, songs, and cultural practices. Like most ethnographers of his time and since, Künzig focused on the collection and preservation of music and memories, rather than analysis and contextualization. Another compelling collection of memories and musical practices was gathered by Wolfi Meier while exploring the Bohemian lands on foot in the 1970s and 1980s. As a member of the German host society, he aspired to learn more about the immigrants’ past through the investigation of musical and cultural practices.

During the fieldwork process, I explored further numerous personal (musical) descriptions and bibliographic accounts written by Sudeten-German contemporary witnesses. These works, which show the expellees’ desire to preserve their experiences, are usually either in the writers’ private possession or have been published autonomously in small scale editions. A large number of studies are insider generated, such as Wilfried Stolle’s history of the *Iglauer Singkreis* (*Iglauer Singing Group*), founded in 1941 in Iglau by Mr. Stolle’s father Fritz Stolle. During the war, due to the men being called to the armed forces, the ensemble turned into a women’s choir. Although the expulsion

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²⁰ Johannes Künzig’s study titled in English translation: *Before they fade away... old German folksongs from the Bohemian Woods to the Volga*. The study included Bohemian and Moravian folksongs.
prompted the temporary disbandment of the group, in 1947/48 dispersed members of the ensemble reconnected and re-established regular singing meetings. Wilfried Stolle writes about the group’s first post-war meeting:

> Based on all the gathered statements, it is evident that this first reunion was of great importance for many members of the Iglauer Singkreis. People had found each other again, were able to share experiences, collectively mourn the dead, and again sing together. [...] Two crucial terms appear in writings about these first meetings: community and Heimat. (Stolle 2006:34)

This description echoes my ethnographic findings on how musical practices enabled the expellees to reestablish a sense of home and a collective Sudeten-German consciousness or *Schicksalsgemeinschaft* (community of fate) (Bade 1990) in the post-war environment.

Contemporary ethnomusicological investigations generally either deal with expellees from the Eastern provinces or study specific populations such as Machteld Venken (2010) in her article “Wie Singen Kriegserlebnissen Sinn verleihen kann. Ostarbeiterinnen im Belgien der Nachkriegszeit.” Venken collected and analyzed songs that women brought from the Soviet Union, where they had been forced laborers, to Belgium. She examined the women’s practices of, for example, changing these songs’ lyrics in order to give meaning to their war experiences in their new post-war contexts. Focusing on the Sudeten-Germans’ integration, I use a similar approach to understand how musical repertoire and

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practices change and thus reflect, reframe, and renegotiate the Sudeten-Germans’ experiences.

In an attempt to re-establish a Sudeten-German cultural consciousness and influence, a small number of politically colored historical studies on Bohemian musical practices were written in the aftermath of the Second World War. Most comprehensive is Karl Michael Komma’s study titled Das böhmische Musikantentum (Bohemian Musicianship) (1960),\textsuperscript{22} in which he discusses the Sudeten Germans’ outstanding musicality.\textsuperscript{23} He compares Czech and German musical practices and discusses their respective importance for the cultural life in the Bohemian lands. He argues that Sudeten-German practices need to be examined and celebrated as an essential part of a European musical history before they fade. At the same time, his study highlights the challenges of defining a distinct Sudeten-German musical culture, because it rarely differs from musical repertoire and practices of the Germans in the German Reich. As I will discuss in Chapter 3, however, the Sudeten Germans, developed according to their specific locations in the Bohemian lands distinct musical instruments and specific performance practices. Komma (1959), as many scholars of his time, describes himself as having been


\textsuperscript{23} Komma describes an outstanding Bohemian musicality (Bohemian can refer to Czech or German inhabitants living in the Bohemian lands, Komma refers here to Sudeten Germans) as coined by the century-long bicultural Czech-German environment.
in the middle of Czech-German tensions for all his life and therefore as unable to portray an unbiased historical account (195). Komma’s past as a composer for national socialist events, such as for the National Socialist German Sudeten’s league (NSDStB, Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Sudetenbund) prompted many contemporary scholars to question his investigative motivations. Other authors that have experienced expulsion and speak to a Sudeten-German musical culture, such as Heinrich Simbriger in his short 1959 article “Musik und Musikalität” (music and musicality), generally base the judgment of the Sudeten-Germans’ frequently as extraordinary described musical abilities on subjective assessment and generic evidence rather than on empirical and historical data.24

Annelie Kürsten discussed in a musicological article called “Wie klingt Heimat? Musik/Sound and Erinnerung” (How sounds Heimat? Music/Sound and Memory, 2010) the sound of the Eastern expellees’ “old” Heimat while referencing song collections. She further investigates musical practices in post-war sentimental films suggesting a correlation between the cinematic portrayal and the expellees’ recollections of their musical practices (Kürsten 2010:265). Kürsten (2010) also describes the transformation of specific songs into “Heimathymnen” (hymns of the homeland) and how these, through their use in sentimental movies, gained general popularity in Germany. Although I ask

24 I will discuss such issues further in Chapter 5.

The most comprehensive musicological account, which contains detailed descriptions (but rarely an analysis) of the expellees’ musical practices, is the already introduced Lexicon of the German Musical Culture – Bohemia, Moravia, Sudeten Silesia edited by Widmar Hader (1998).
similar questions, my approach analyzes individual experiences, emotions, attitudes, and behaviors while listening to music or practicing music associated with Heimat.

Results of my investigation also contribute to larger questions regarding the value of the study of forced migration for the field of ethnomusicology. This study is, thus, partly a continuation of, and answer to questions asked by Adelaida Reyes-Schramm (1990), “what do refugees or the refugee experience have to do with music? [...] Are refugees a demographic category for purposes of ethnomusicological study? [And] is there anything to be gained from studying music in the context of the refugee experience” (3)? Clearly, the answer is yes. The investigation of the refugees’ and expellees’ musical recollections not only enhances the understanding of the Sudeten-German experience and music’s impact for the rebuilding of a new “Heimat,” but also provides general insight regarding the phenomenon of forced human transfer. Drawing from my ethnographic materials, I further establish conceptual relationships between music, memory, belonging, and the rebuilding of a (Sudeten-German) subjectivity. Most importantly, this study contributes to the understanding of music’s significance for (re)-negotiating social, cultural, and political power relationships and intercultural communication in and after times of rupture and crisis.

**Belonging, Heimat, Loss, and Transculturalism**

The analysis of the participants’ musical recollections suggests a correlation between musical practices and forms of social, cultural, political, emotional, and geographical belonging. A sense of belonging describes the feeling of fitting, the feeling of being in the right place, and being familiar. The study participants stated that after
their expulsion, essential components that constitute belonging were lost. Such components pertained to social support systems, the freedom of making life choices such as pursuing an education or settling in a certain place, professional life, nationality, and the territoriality of nation (Mash et al. 2007:5). The participants express this loss of belonging in our conversations in terms such as separation, uncertainty, death, randomization, distress, petrification, no resting place, rejection, social and economic difference, longing, homelessness, and insecurity. Loss of belonging also entailed the temporary loss of national order and morals that the participants recalled in stories of injustice, violence, humiliation, and discrimination. Conversely, some participants describe that the loss of belonging gave root to unexpected constructive abilities, unknown energies, and flexibility.

Most participants, who were expelled in a phase of their life in which they already had established themselves economically, socially, and culturally in the Bohemian lands, had developed a strong and life-long connection to their Heimat before expulsion. This notion of Heimat constitutes the overarching umbrella for a sense of belonging, which many refugees and expellees tried, and some still try, to regain after their expulsion. These observations lead me to reassess the Heimat concept, which, although multilayered, typically still is considered to be a phenomenon tied to one specific locality. In this context, I explore what Martin Stokes describes as the means by which space can

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25 Expressions collected during fieldwork 2010-2012.
26 Expressions collected during fieldwork 2010-2012.
be transformed and ascribed social meaning through music and music-making (Stokes 1994).

Although it has been frequently questioned if one can have various Heimaten, indeed, as a consequence of global mobility, the concept of Heimat lately has been reevaluated. This resulted in the inclusion of Heimat’s plural, Heimaten, in German dictionaries. I investigate in this study the means by which musical practices facilitate the transformation of the intercultural post-war environments into a new “sounding Heimat” for both the Sudeten-German immigrants and the German hosts. Although very different in scope and consequences, I also discuss the notion of a “sounding Heimat” in former East Germany and Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic.

The finding of a new sense of belonging was for many Sudeten-German expellees for a long time superseded by a longing for the lost homeland. Lasting impressions of the homeland remained and still remain strong and thus formative for the shaping of the post-war life. These saddening and at the same time consoling memories, which nothing could take away, slowly transformed the Heimat into an idealized place. The repeated longing for this place, to which expellees would be unable to return, actively shaped and still shapes a romanticized place of belonging, an “old” Heimat that has no resemblance with the actual state of the post-expulsion Bohemian lands. This “myth of the homeland” (Blickle 2002) is essential for Heimat’s validation and significance after expulsion.

Investigating the (re)-construction of belonging generates questions about transcultural interactions between immigrant and host society before and after expulsion. In both environments, trans- and intercultural communication established relations
between immigrants and locals, but also required cultural adaptation on both sides in order to adjust to bi-cultural living situations. In this study, I define the pre-expulsion environment in the Bohemian lands as transcultural and the post-expulsion situation in West and East Germany as “quasi transcultural” or intercultural. I propose that musical practices defined and preserved a Sudeten-German consciousness amidst the uneasy processes of Czech and Sudeten-German transculturation before the expulsion and fostered German and Sudeten-German cultural interactions in post-expulsion West Germany. These various interactions “exemplify the transnational flow of musical traditions and cultural attitudes” (Regents of the University of California 2009: para.7) that lead to (or inhibit) amalgamated contemporary “sounding homelands.”

(Sudeten-) German First Person Narratives

The German public consciousness, regarding the Germans’ expulsion from the Eastern territories, has gone through distinct phases since the Second World War. Chancellor Willy Brandt established with his conciliatory “Eastpolitik” in the late 1960s and early 1970s a German collective view that the loss of the Eastern territories and expulsion were the just punishment for the Germans’ national socialist atrocities during the Second World War (Schlanstein 2006:18-19). Despite considerable public awareness and scholarly attention, expulsion developed during this time overall into a taboo theme.

27 The post-expulsion situation was a “softer” occurrence of transculturalism, because Germans and Sudeten Germans have more common characteristics than Czechs and Germans. Although both environments are transcultural spaces (various populations live in both environments), the post-war intercultural situation in East and West Germany were different from the situation in the Bohemian lands. I have described this in more detail earlier in this chapter and will discuss further in Chapters 4 and 5.
in Europe (Schlanstein 2006:18). On the contrary, expellee organizations developed into central places where refugees and expellees publicly portrayed their victimization as result of the Second World War (Schlanstein 2006:18-19). Despite different perceptions by outsiders, not all members of expellee organizations follow(ed) this ideology. Generally, while focusing on establishing a new life in their respective post-war environments, many expellees did not speak publicly about expulsion for a long time. As shown by the large number of works published since the early 1990s, this significantly changed since the Wende in 1989. New opportunities to investigate, discuss, and publicly address expulsion also raised the question if it was justifiable, specifically as German, to speak about expulsion or if this would be perceived as “Opferlyrik” (victim lyric poetry) (Schlanstein 2006:18).28 This also contemplated, for example, Aleida Assmann in 2004,

Traumatization and social taboos inhibit memory for a long time and lead to a delayed unloading. […] What for a long time only concerned a marginal group, suddenly develops into a national matter. How could a particular memory suddenly become an issue of general interest and emotional concern? […] Is this the development of an alternative narrative to the Holocaust-memory? (Assmann in Haslinger 2006:281)29

Even today, Germans deliberate how to address this reawakened need to speak about and investigate expulsion. Furthering the controversy, authors oftentimes include
into their writings first-person narratives collected from contemporary witnesses. This methodological approach repeatedly produces tensions among scholars, who believe that such accounts mainly appeal to sensational interests of lay readers, but thwart the writing of factual histories.

Historian R. M. Douglas, for example, almost completely avoided the inclusion and analysis of expellees’ first-person recollections in his recent English-language history titled *Orderly and Humane: The Expulsion of the Germans after the Second World War* (2012), based on the recollections’ “contentious and emotive” (Douglas 2012:6) nature. Douglas has a point. Oral history is generally a volatile undertaking. It is especially problematic in the (Sudeten-) Germans’ case as the study participants’ memories might be influenced and altered by their possible national socialist political agendas. Perhaps they also might deliberately not dare to tell “true” stories. Douglas, for example, justifies his approach with instances from the 1950s and 1960s, when some Sudeten-German expellees would use their own expulsion agony to cover “the atrocities for which they shared culpability” (Douglas 2012:6). Douglas validates his approach further with the controversial Czechoslovak President Edvard Beneš’s (1884-1948) 1945 statement that, “all German stories should not, of course, be believed, for Germans always exaggerated and were the first to whine and to try to enlist outside sympathy” (Douglas 2012:6).

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30 This is one of the few English language histories on the Sudeten-Germans’ flight and expulsion. Other books and articles on the topic (written in English or translated into English) have been written by, for example, Nosek (1927), Wisekman, (1938), Turnwald (1953), Luža (1964), Smelser (1975), de Zayas (1989), Schulze (2001), Ther (2001, 2007), Nettl (2002), Cohen (2006), Münz and Ohliger (2006), Von Koppenfels (2009), and Demshuk (2012). Demshuk’s study deals largely with the Germans’ expulsion from Silesia. As I will indicate in the course of this dissertation, in contemporary contexts, some of these histories are considered as “politically incorrect” or politically biased.
Douglas, as many researchers in contemporary historical scholarship, is cautious in drawing conclusions based on possibly politically motivated accounts.


Until recently, few historians troubled to investigate the expulsions in any depth, and what writing there was on the topic was bedeviled by one-sided narratives of German suffering or Polish or Czech self-justification. [...] Carefully avoiding the use of the voluminous and self-evidently biased materials produced by expellee organizations and indeed by the Adenauer government, he uses Polish, Czech, and Allied sources to drive home his argument with conviction. (para. 2 and 27)31

Douglas’s historiographical procedures, however, also inflame reactions that attest to other scholars’ and readers’ awareness and interest in the individuals affected by expulsion. For example, American author Thomas Goodrich (2013) criticizes Douglas:

I wanted to like this book. [...] I wanted to praise both his (Douglas’s) bravery and honesty and his careful scholarship. But [...] I discovered that I could not. [...] The German victims themselves are almost never heard from. Perhaps it is because Douglas feels Germans are not to be trusted. [...] Although a capable, competent study, as modern histories go, so intent is Douglas to dwell in the details of politics, borders, statistics, and demographics, that the personal and human is totally lost. (para. 7-13)32

As does Douglas, I aim to discuss expulsion in a reflective and distanced manner. But at the same time I seek an understanding that will ring true to the people who actually experienced expulsion. My focus differs from Douglas’s in that the factual content and

31 Evans obviously refers to English-language studies when stating that “few historians troubled to investigate the expulsions in any depth.” There are numerous expulsion studies in Europe and even libraries and research institutes such as the Collegium Carolinum in Munich devoted to the history of the Bohemian lands.

32 Goodrich continues: “One hardly is aware that the subjects of this book were actually real people, people who lived, breathed, suffered, cried, and all too often, people who died. Nowhere is heard the screams of disarmed German soldiers as they were doused in gas by mobs and hung upside down like living torches. Nowhere is found the pathos of a mother, without shelter or food, watching her tiny child die of starvation right before her eyes. Nowhere is heard the groans of women, “from 8 to 80,” forced to endure one rape after another as they slowly bled to death” (Goodrich 2013:para. 14).
the trustworthiness of the expellees’ stories are not necessarily the center of my attention. What sparks my interest most is the immediacy of the participants’ experiences sixty years after the expulsion, the way they react to questions and music-making, when and why they remember, forget, tell or not tell their stories, and which facts they get all wrong and why. Their memories are their truths at a given moment, which I, however, analyze under consideration of parameters under which those memories might have been altered.\(^{33}\)

Despite the described latent pitfalls of oral history and the potential dangers of biased perspectives formed by my own Sudeten-German heritage, I generally focus in this study on first-person interviews and participant observations.\(^{34}\) This approach most appropriately allows me to phenomenologically investigate individual experiences. It creates nuanced and partly new histories of war, expulsion and their aftermath and generates relations between music, migration, memory, and belonging. Evidently, it is impossible to extract the study participants’ expulsion experiences and their musical memories from a (or their) national socialist history.\(^{35}\) Sometimes study participants share political agendas and speak to their own or their parents’ political leanings and atrocities. Oftentimes such themes shine through musical memories, such as in the assessment of the censorship of specific folksongs during the rise of National Socialism. Accordingly, I

\(^{33}\) See more detailed discussion in the next section.

\(^{34}\) I discuss in detail throughout this dissertation (and specifically in Chapter 2) how I deal with potential personal biases and pitfalls of oral history.

\(^{35}\) It is also impossible to extract the study participants’ experiences and memories from their individual stories of trauma and pain, which will also only be part of this study as far as they foster the understanding of music’s significance in processes of expulsion.
will speak to political histories as they are necessary to answer the study’s questions and foster the understanding of the participants’ experiences and decisions.

Generally, the study participants express a sense of liberation and gratification as they share their individual musical life stories. They frequently enhance these stories with photographs, music recordings, diaries, and publications, as well as live music-making and dancing. Often, the conversations lead to physical and emotional reactions such as red cheeks, tears and breathlessness, improvement of the medical condition, and vitality. I understand the participants’ life stories, like the music-making, as a current active response to their past displacement. Additionally, they provide detailed individual perspectives that are usually not included in generalized social, historical, and political Sudeten-German displacement studies. Generally, with few exceptions, I perceive the participants’ recollections of flight and expulsion as reflective and balanced accounts and far less “contentious and emotive” (Douglas 2012:6) or politically manipulated as frequently portrayed.

The Role of Memory

The gathered musical recollections generally exemplify what Kay Shelemay (2006) describes as a “storehouse for memory” (22). Musical recollections allow the study participants to re-sing, re-hear, re-experience, (Shelemay 1998:223) and to re-build their past. For the analysis of these memories, which span up to 90 years, it is imperative

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36 As discussed later, some of these early generalized histories were influenced by the biased ways historians and politicians dealt with accounts of contemporary witnesses (and how the witnesses themselves actively shaped their past according to political needs). For a detailed discussion see Hahn & Hahn, *Die Vertreibung im deutschen Erinnern* (2010).
to take into account the prominent factors that have and may still influence memory. Such factors pertain mainly to the participants’ age at the time of expulsion; education before and after expulsion, individual frame of mind based on the quality of life in the new environment, political experiences and leanings, the intensity of exchange and conversation that occurred with parents or other insiders later in life, and the receptiveness to collective memories.

In our conversations, the participants continuously negotiate between individual and collective memories. The concept of collective memory, coined by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs in 1920, refers to the shared information held in the memories of members of a group. Groups also influence the identity construction and memory of its individual members (Assmann 2006:59). While telling their life stories, the participants further constantly negotiate between their individual experiences and summaries of their life-stories as presented in historiography (Assmann 1999:35). Oral history and historiography are thus interwoven, though not always congruent because of the inevitable tension not only produced between individual and collective recollections, but also between subjective experience and historiography (Assmann 1999:35). German historian Volkhard Knigge (2012:9) referred to this tension and difference between history and memory as crucial for the writing and understanding of history.

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37 I refer mainly to participants who experienced expulsion first-hand, as opposed to second and third generation Sudeten Germans. Study participants from younger generations did not negotiate between their individual and collective recollections, but rather between historiographies and their parents’ and grandparents’ recollections.
Remembering is an active process, in which memories of the times and events in question are not always in the immediate consciousness of the storyteller. Memories of events and experiences that date back several decades, need to be awakened and shaped through conversation. The participants further only provide information that they are willing to share at the time of our conversation. Many of the participants’ recollections are therefore also colored by the level of trust established between themselves and me. Daily physical and psychological needs, as well as emotional conditions, further shape their memory. This becomes especially apparent in the recollections of participants that I interviewed more than once. Critics of life story inquiry and oral history frequently question the possibility of effectively remembering one’s childhood or youth after such a long time period. I will discuss these issues and further aspects of the intersection between oral history and memory studies in Chapter 2.

Recollections that the study participants always retrieve gladly and without hesitation revolve around pre-and post-war local, regional, and national musical practices and cultural traditions, the pleasing aspects of their *Heimat* such as nature, social support systems, culinary pleasures, and the overall living situation in the transcultural Bohemian lands. Study participants who fled or were expelled from the Bohemian lands as part of the so called 1.5 generation, usually have a clear impression of their homelands, but focus in our conversations more on the post-war developments in Germany.\(^{38}\) While some of

\(^{38}\) 1.5 generation refers to immigrants who arrive in the new host country before aged 10 or in their early teens. They bring with them characteristics from their home country, but continue to socialize in the new environment (their socialization and integration is usually faster and easier than the integration of older immigrants). Immigrants from the 1.5 generation usually keep in touch with their roots in the homeland (but to a varying degree, heavily influenced by their experience in the new country).
them refer to expulsion in terms of adventure, others of the same age group remember mainly agony and distress. As I will discuss later, these different recollections might partly be shaped by the participants’ parents’ perceptions of expulsion and integration. The youngest study participants, the expellees’ children and grandchildren and other participants of their generation, were born after the expulsion and usually perceive themselves as, for example, Germans, Bavarian, or Hessians rather than Sudeten Germans. I experience their interest in and reactions to expulsion variously as reflective, indifferent, sympathetic, distanced, captivated, uninformed, and engaged. I will speak in more detail about my perception of my own Sudeten-German heritage in Chapter 2.

The ways in which refugees and expellees perceive and label their experiences, the intensity of their suffering, the shades of their cultural, social, and emotional belongings, and how all of this was and still is demonstrated in musical experiences, is ambiguous, multilayered, sometimes contradictory, and different for every expellee. Although prevalent themes emerge from the participants’ life stories, the variety and even polarity of their experiences only make sense in the context of their complex and diverse social, political, cultural, and historical backgrounds.

**Who are the Germans from the Bohemian lands? Historical and Cultural Background**

Germans settled as early as in the twelfth century in the barren border regions of the Bohemian lands.39 Early on, Czechs and Germans nurtured an interrelation, in which

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39 Germans were part of the *Ostkolonisation* (eastward expansion or Colonization of the East) and were called to expand based on the *Landausbau* (to cultivate land, mainly the Bohemian lands’ barren border regions) (Zimmermann 2010:133).
they used each other to consolidate their power in Europe. Until the expulsion, this interrelation was coined by intercultural experiences of coexistence, competition, but also cooperation (Seibt 2002:18-20). Each population, however, eventually strove to become the prevalent cultural power within the Bohemian lands. The consequent competition between the populations for a superior position—mainly between the Germans and the Czechs, but also Bohemian Jews and Roma—was central for the Bohemian lands’ cultural development.

Most participants of this study originate from villages and cities in the Bohemian borderlands. Some of the borderland regions were quite secluded; Sudeten Germans from these areas often still speak a specific dialect and developed unique cultural traditions and practices before their expulsion. A few other study participants stem from the so called Sprachinseln (small German/Czech settlements in the Czech regions) such as Iglau (Jihlava) or Brünn (Brno). These Sprachinseln presented more distinct transcultural settings than the border regions, because the border regions were predominantly populated by Germans. Some other study participants grew up or lived several years in the bicultural Czech capital, Prague. Based on these differences, most of the study participants label themselves not as Sudeten Germans, but name themselves according to their regional origin such as Egerländer, Böhmerwälder, Kuhländler, Brünner, etc. The term Sudeten German is an auxiliary construction unable to capture the diversity of cultural and political orientations of the Germans originating from the Bohemian lands.\footnote{\textsuperscript{40} I will provide more discussion of the term Sudeten German and its challenging connotations in Chapter 3.}
In 1930, 3.2 million Germans lived in the Bohemian lands, which constituted 22.3 percent of the total population (Zimmermann 2010:133). The rise of National Socialism inexorably increased the separation between the Czech and German populations. This was also expressed in the labeling of the Germans. Since the foundation of the First Czech Republic, all German institutions and associations had to be amended by the title Sudeten in order to be clearly distinguishable from any institution of Czech origin. Prior, Germans usually labeled themselves as Deutschböhmnen (German-Bohemians) or Deutschmähren (German-Moravians) (Hader and Fuchs 2000:1406).

All of the elderly study participants recall in great detail the changing political and social climate beginning in the early 1930s. Although I am often able to decipher their political experiences and attitudes, they usually avoid speaking in detail about their, and also their parents’ political agendas. Generally, a large number of Sudeten Germans joined the Sudeten-German homeland front (Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront), which was established by the national socialist Konrad Henlein in 1933 (Zimmermann 2010:134). In 1935, the party was renamed to Sudetendeutsche Partei (SdP) (Sudeten-German Party) (Zimmermann 2010:134). This party was the reason for Sudeten Germans to be labelled as Hitler’s 5th colony (Petersen 2005:47). Some participants remember that they or their

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41 Many participants mentioned that in the beginning, the members of the SdP officially distanced themselves from Hitler’s politics of National Socialism, because many Sudeten Germans still associated themselves with the Austro-Hungarian Empire and preferred the unification with the neighboring Austria rather than the German Reich. Later, however, the party was one of the most important factors in Hitler’s foreign policy affairs. After the annexation of the Sudeten-German borderlands to the German Reich, the SdP was directly assigned to the NSDAP (Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei; National Socialist German Workers Party). The members of the SdP were not automatically affiliated with the NSDAP; they could apply for the NSDAP membership (compare Wikipedia “Sudetendeutsche Partei” 2013: para.5-12).
parents felt forced to join the SdP in order to keep their privileges such as employment. A few participants recollect that they or their parents refused to join the SdP as soon as it was affiliated with the National Socialist German Workers Party also called Nazi Party (Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei or NSDAP). They therefore fled from the Bohemian lands as political refugees in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

The study participants born as early as 1919, clearly remember the road to war and expulsion. They talk about the time, for example, when they had to join the Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth) or the Bund Deutscher Mädel (BdM). They remember songs they sang in these obligatory communities, and also recall the punishment when they refused to participate in the singing of certain songs. Others valued the ventures of these organizations as a welcome change from the often strict life in the parents’ homes. Some participants remember the Sudeten Germans’ ecstatic reactions when the Sudetenland was annexed to Germany in 1938 and the Czech parts of the Bohemian lands changed into the German governed Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. These political developments granted the Sudeten Germans more rights in Czechoslovakia and “freed them from the Czechs.”

According to locality, some study participants remember competition and growing resentment between the populations in the Bohemian lands, others recall that they maintained favorable relationships with their Czech neighbors and clients and described their homeland until 1945 as a joyful hybrid.

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42 As a few of the participants put it, only to realize that the invasion of the Germans in Czechoslovakia was worse than anything they experienced before.
The forced expulsion of the Sudeten Germans took place in 1945/46 in two phases, a “wild expulsion” and a “controlled expulsion” (Brandes 2010: 650 and 728, Zimmermann 2010:133-136, ). Vertreibung (expulsion) refers to the earlier phase directly following the end of the Second World War, in which Sudeten Germans generally were impelled by conditions of hostility to leave. These Sudeten Germans label themselves generally as Heimatvertriebene (expellees). The terms Aussiedler oder Ausgewiesene (immigrant) describe the kind of displacement occurring in the later phase in 1946. In this “orderly and humane” phase (as described in the Potsdam Declaration 1945), Sudeten Germans were expelled usually upon a few hours of notice. The term Flüchtlinge (refugees) describes Sudeten Germans who fled the Bohemian lands before they received the official expulsion order.43

Forcefully displaced Sudeten Germans are not only variously labeled as expellees (Heimatvertriebene), refugees (Flüchtling), political refugees (politischer Flüchtling) or Aussiedler (resettler), but also as migrants, emigrants, immigrants, displaced persons, war victims, evacuees, and homeless foreigners. Although not all of these labels imply the involuntary displacement occurring in forced migration, in a general context of recent scholarly discussions of the mass expulsions from the East, all of these labels are used interchangeably. 44 The terms’ use is usually a reflection of the writer’s or the

43 It is further important to note that the Germans from the Bohemian lands are double-immigrants: immigrants since the 12th century in the Bohemian lands and immigrants to East and West Germany after World War II.

44 Forced migration describes the involuntary relocation of individuals, groups, or entire populations usually from their native country to another country. This involuntary move can be a permanent or temporary transfer, generally caused by political motives, economic reasons, or natural or environmental catastrophes. Because the Sudeten-German transfer was a forced process, the term migrant is by many (Sudeten Germans, scholars, etc.) described as euphemistic term.
contemporary witnesses’ way of contextualizing, describing, or remembering the expulsion processes. For example, a person who fled for political reasons from the Bohemian lands before the official expulsion could be labeled as “political refugee” rather than expellee. Although the migration motive was externally induced and therefore forced, the refugee decided to flee and therefore falls under the category of voluntary migrant. In the context of this dissertation, I applied several of the above labels according to the study participants’ specific circumstances and their personal perception of expulsion.

The past decades were further marked by an intense discussion concerning the use of the terms Ausweisung (displacement, expulsion) or Vertreibung (expulsion) in a Sudeten-German context. Expulsion can refer to both of these terms. When I address specific Sudeten-German participants in this study, I refer to them according to their personal perception of expulsion and their role within it. Thus, I use the terms Aussiedler, Flüchtlinge, Umsiedler, and Heimatvertriebene, which translate as (ethnic German) immigrants, refugees, resettlers, and expellees. When talking about Sudeten Germans in general terms, I mainly use the term expellees (in terms of Ausgewiesene), but also interchangeably use the expressions displaced, refugees, migrants, and immigrants.

Of the approximately twelve million ethnic Germans who fled or were expelled in the aftermath of the Second World War from Central and Eastern Europe, eight million arrived in the French, American, and British occupation zones (later West Germany) and
about four million in the Soviet occupation zone (later East Germany) (Levy 2002:20). About three million of the twelve million German expellees were Sudeten Germans. Over two million Sudeten Germans arrived in West Germany (over one million settled in the American zone) and about 960,000 in the Soviet occupation zone (Amos 2011:6). An estimated 260,000 Sudeten Germans died during or from the consequences of expulsion (Reichling 1989; Bohmann 1959; Nittner 1990; Demshuk 2012, Hahn & Hahn 2006). Brandes (2010) argues that this number was postulated by the Sudeten-German Cultural Association, while the German-Czech Historians’ Commission assumes that between 16,000 and 30,000 Sudeten Germans died as a consequence of expulsion (730). The new

45 The Eastern territories are: East Prussia, East Pomerania, East Brandenburg, Silesia, Czechoslovakia, Baltic nations, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Romania (Nittner 1990:209).

Andrew Demshuk (2012), drawing on Philipp Ther (2001), determines that the most common number of German expellees from Central and Eastern Europe is 12 million. Earlier sources often provide a higher number of German expellees (up to 20 million). Hahn & Hahn (2006:169) compiled a list of expellee numbers (from all eastern provinces) used by scholars and institutions in the last 60 years: Alaida Assmann (2004) 7 million, documentation of the Federation of Expellees (Bund der Vertriebenen, BdV) (1959) 10 million, school book (1938) 11 million, Norman Naimark (2003) 11.5 million, school book (1970) 12 million, Der Große Brockhaus (German encyclopedia) 13.6 million, Alfred de Zayas (1977) 15 million, Frankfurt General Newspaper (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, FAZ) (1996) over 16 million, school book from the popular publisher Westerman (1964) 17 million, and Heinz Nawratil (1982) more than 20 million (Hahn & Hahn: 2006). The high number of 20 million might include pre-war expulsions (expulsions besides the ones in the “wild” and “soft, or orderly and humane phase”). This disparity in the context of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia is caused by various reasons, such as the unclear number of Germans in the Eastern regions before the expulsion (based on the frequent change between German and Czech orientations), politically motivated reasons (Demshuk 2012:53), and the disparity in the numbers of deaths and missing people after the expulsion. Often cited Ernst Nittner (1990) estimates the number of Germans in the Eastern regions in his book Tausend Jahre deutsch-tschechische Nachbarschaft as 16,558,000 of which were expelled: 6,944,000 from the Eastern Regions; 2,921,000 from Czechoslovakia; and 1,865,000 from the other countries. People who remained in the homelands: Eastern Regions 1,101,000; Czechoslovakia 250,000; and the other countries 1,294,000. Captives: 72,000. Deaths and missed persons: 2,111,000 (209-210). According to Nittner, 1,912,000 Germans from the Bohemian lands arrived in Germany in 1945/1946, 1,026,355 of them in Bavaria (211-212).

46 In 1950, only 612,108 Germans from the Bohemian lands lived in the German Democratic Republic (Zimmermann 2010: 135).
inhabitants from all the eastern regions constituted “roughly 20 percent of the post-war population in the four German partition zones” (Demshuk 2012:1).  

Not all Sudeten Germans were expelled from the Bohemian lands. Germans who lived in Czech-German marriages, which typically were categorized according to the man’s nationality, could usually choose to either stay or leave (Brandes 2010:650). Some skilled Germans, such as industrial workers, were forced to stay. Others were able to acquire a permit, because state officials realized that the nation could not function without the knowledge of these “indispensable experts” (Spurný 2012:458). I also investigate music and musical practices in the politically different environments of East Germany and Czechoslovakia, to investigate if and how the study participants address or renegotiate these political differences in music and musical practices.

**Arrival: Sudeten Germans (Volksdeutsche) among Germans (Reichsdeutsche)**

When considered under the broad rubric of migration studies, Sudeten Germans were atypical in that they were not “strangers in strange lands” (Safran 1991:86). Largely, they were Germans among Germans and thus made fewer cultural and linguistic

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48 Under National Socialism, the Sudeten-German minority was called Volksdeutsche to be distinguished from the Reichsdeutsche. Volksdeutsche are “ethnic Germans, by virtue of descent, language, or affirmation of German culture who did not have German, Austrian, or Swiss nationality” and lived outside of the German Reich. Reichsdeutsche are the Germans living in the German Reich (Heinermann 2011:359).
sacrifices than immigrants usually experience. German was spoken in the new place and their religion, Catholicism, was the prevailing creed (Safran 1991:87-8). Despite these broad commonalities, and perhaps precisely because of these commonalities, many of the Sudeten German study participants reveal that their integration in Germany—especially in the beginning—was difficult. Feelings of homelessness were initially enhanced by the overall reserved and even hostile encounters with the German hosts, who were usually assigned to host immigrant Sudeten-German families in their homes. Germans generally perceived Sudeten Germans as a threat—a foreign population that needed to be fed, housed, and employed. This fear was continuously fuelled, as the expelled Sudeten Germans “literally overrun” a Germany in a state of post-war chaos (Ther 2002:59). The German hosts often did not know where exactly the Sudeten Germans came from and why they had been expelled.

Sudeten Germans also were sometimes part of a different Christian denomination, which led to the formation of religious diaspora settings.\textsuperscript{49} My ethnographic materials further highlight that most Sudeten Germans considered themselves to be German-speaking Bohemians, Moravians, or Silesians rather than Germans. They further spoke different dialects from the ones customary in Germany. Study participant Liesl Gromes (b.1935) in the Bohemian Vitkov (Wudingrün), remembers her perception of not being welcomed by the local population,

\begin{quote}
We were unloaded in front of the town hall with our few belongings. It was a hot day in July. And there were a few people and they sang the folksong “Lustig ist das Zigeunerleben” (Amusing is the
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{49} Catholic Sudeten-Germans were placed in largely protestant environments as discussed in Chapter 6.
Bohemian life/Gypsy life). I still remember this as it were today. I did not quite understand it as a child, but my mother wept bitterly. (Gromes 2010)

With Mrs. Gromes’s recollection, I acknowledge and even underline the overall accepted hostility in regard to the Sudeten-Germans’ arrival in Germany. Other participants, though, remember support, kindness, and even empathy upon their arrival.

The overall challenging social and economic conditions in intercultural post-war Germany initially fostered a strong formulation of a Sudeten-German consciousness that encouraged expellees to bond among themselves. They further established immigrant networks through the practice of music and dance as, for example, in the earlier described Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe. Sudeten Germans used these gatherings not only to re-experience music and musical practices that they associated with their homelands, but also to foster the overcoming of the homeland’s loss.

In trying to determine if Sudeten Germans brought distinct Bohemian, Moravian, and Czech Silesian musical repertoire and musical practices with them to the new environment and how some of these practices transformed into cultural icons, I ask the study participants what kind of repertoire they sang and played in these groups, if they still sing and play it, and if these musical practices could be described as specifically Sudeten-German. They recall that they initially used songs and dances originating from the Bohemian lands, other German folksongs commonly known in the Bohemian lands, and classical repertoire from Sudeten-German composers, which musically and structurally resembled music common in Germany. Specific classical and folk repertoire,
practiced with a distinct performance style, transformed for many expellees’ into what Paul Anderson (2011) would classify “anthems of longing and belonging.”

As the refugees and expellees gave up their hope of return to the Bohemian lands, they sought out more opportunities to interact with the host society. These interactions also yielded joint musical events and hybrid musical practices. Eventually both groups utilized each other’s expertise in various disciplines to collectively lead West Germany into the Wirtschaftswunder (“economic miracle”) in the early 1950s. Jointly, they achieved the successful (but for some expellees still ongoing) integration of the Sudeten-German immigrant population in West Germany.

**Contemporary Challenges of Sudeten-German Research**

The study of expulsion and post-war integration in a Sudeten-German context contains various challenging aspects. I highlighted so far a few contested issues, such as: the labeling of the Germans from the pre-war Bohemian lands as Sudeten Germans, the inevitable tension between historiography and oral history, and the possible manipulation of the expellees’ recollections for political purposes. All of these issues come together in a contemporary Sudeten-German context at the annual Sudeten-German meeting (Sudetendeutscher Tag) organized by the Sudeten-German Territorial Association (Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft (SL)). All study participants maintain that the meeting constitutes a significant opportunity to reunite with other expellees, celebrate the

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50 Term used by Paul Anderson in his keynote address at the conference *Music and Imagined Communities. Articulations of the Self and Other*, European University Institute, Florence 28th-29th October, 2011.
Bohemian homelands, and remember and recreate the past through conversations and also the practice of music and dance. The Sudetendeutsche Tag has another important purpose. It continuously secures and defines a Sudeten-German difference. What once was experienced as discrimination, exclusion, and “otherness” after the expulsion has now been transformed into a sense of social and cultural difference. The Sudeten-German meeting ensures and underlines this difference regularly and reliably, celebrated and broadcasted on national television and other media.

The SL’s strategies of the preservation of Sudeten-German culture regularly engenders criticism by both non-Sudeten Germans and Sudeten Germans. This criticism is mostly based on the meeting’s cultural politics as expressed in speeches by politicians at the Sudeten-German meeting, questions of “authentic” versus invented and outdated traditions, political leanings, and revanchist aims. An online discussion after the Sudeten-German meeting in 2013, for example, includes the following statements: “The Sudeten-German meeting. A memorial day for the prenatal expellees,” “Everything only memories and stories…. [The Sudeten-Germans,] a dying out race,” and “Contemporary witnesses equals by now revanchists” (Augsburger Allgemeine Online 2013). Although rather uniformed and non-reflective, these comments mirror perceptions of Sudeten-German actions by the outside population, including young and old, German and Sudeten German. Such understandings are provoked by political claims made by the SL, as well as the manipulation of cultural and musical practices.

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51 The term revanchist refers to aims and actions of some Sudeten Germans who, driven by feelings of revenge, for a long time reclaimed or still reclaim their former territories in the Bohemian lands.
Sarah Brasack (2012) discusses in detail such political constructions of musical traditions and their consequences. According to Brasack, the leaders of the SL consciously use and used, especially in the beginning years, musical practices as tools to politically influence the shaping of a Sudeten-German collective memory and identity (133-135). Heimat’s “invented” signifiers, such as specific songs that developed after the expulsion into meaningful *Heimatlieder* and traditional clothing that was invented in the “new” homeland, are used to create a certain “Sudeten-Germanness” in post-war West Germany.52 Such constructed cultural practices were formed to tie Sudeten Germans to the *Volksguppe* (ethnic group as they call themselves) in an attempt to shape and maintain a politically, economically, and socially independent population. Today, these traits are only relevant for a very small number of Sudeten Germans, especially for Sudeten Germans expelled in the prime of their lives.

The majority of the study participants is and has been aware of such developments. Many prefer to reunite in private events rather than during the annual meeting. Some even intentionally distance themselves from the SL, because of political and ideological disagreements with the organization’s constitution.53 Study participant

52 Many of the Sudeten-German participants describe such developments. For example, much of the traditional clothing from the Böhmerwald (Bohemian Woods) did not exist before the expulsion (see for more examples Pellengahr & Gerndt 2005:62).

53 The Sudeten-German territorial association’s goals (in general terms and for the meeting in specific) are as follows a) to preserve the Sudeten Germans (first and following generations) as a political, cultural, and social entity, b) to prevent “ethnic cleansing” worldwide and guarantee the “Recht auf Heimat” (right for home), right to build ethnic groups, and the right of self-determination for all populations, c) to ascertain the right of home and its retrieval and therefore the Sudeten-Germans’ self-determination as an independent population, d) to preserve the right of the restitution of the Sudeten-German’s belongings or reimbursement, e) to care for the Sudeten Germans economically and socially, f) to preserve, enhance, and develop the cultural and scientific heritage of the Heimat as part of a German and European culture, and e) to contribute to the international understanding based on truth and right and to the relations between Germans and Czechs (SL 2008).
Alfred Brückner (b.1931) in Králiky (Grulich), for example, states that he does not attend official Sudeten-German events. Although, according to Mr. Brückner, the leadership’s political attitudes have significantly changed in the last decade, he does not want to be affiliated with the former, and still embedded, völkische ideology of the event’s organizers.\(^{54}\) It is crucial to be aware of these political implications as they reveal the importance of a consequent acknowledgement of, and divide between, individual, collective, private, and official perspectives of expulsion and consequent integration processes.

**Chapter Structure**

In Chapter 2, I introduce processes of data collection and analysis for this phenomenological-historical ethnography.\(^{55}\) An example of a re-storied interpretation of the conversation with study participant Mrs. Heinisch shows how I pursue data collection and apply narrative inquiry both as a research methodology and a writing practice. Through additional examples, I introduce guiding auto-ethnographic elements, because I am both an insider (from Sudeten-German heritage) and an outsider (no direct experience of expulsion). My Sudeten-German heritage sometimes alters the way in which I am able to identify and converse with study participants. In their eyes at least, I am one of them. This fact often greatly encourages participants to open their houses, memories, and hearts. Of course, this insider advantage requires great responsibility on my own part. My

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\(^{54}\) The völkische movement is a form of nationalism.  
\(^{55}\) Processes of data collection that I used in this study are oral history, theme based life-story inquiry, participant observation, historiography, and archival research.
access to information is considerable; so is the bond of trust that I am expected to honor.\textsuperscript{56}

Drawing on historical and ethnographical evidence, I describe in Chapter 3 the Sudeten-Germans’ political, cultural, and musical standing in the transcultural Bohemian lands. Before the foundation of the First Czech Republic in 1918, Sudeten Germans were rarely labeled and considered a distinct population that was either separable from Germans living in the Greater German Reich, nor from Slavs, or Jews (Nettl 2002). Based on this transcultural history, I explain the challenges for defining a distinct Sudeten-German past and present musical culture. This historical-musical discussion offers a platform for understanding contested issues regarding the labeling of the Germans from the Bohemian lands as Sudeten Germans. I provide examples of, and reasons for, study participants re-evaluating these issues today. The chapter further offers details of historical and political developments that led to the expulsion and show how these developments were and are reflected and renegotiated in musical expression.

In Chapter 4, I provide a historical and etymological discussion of the social construct Heimat as it addresses the expellees’ ties to their past. Drawing on my ethnographic materials, I demonstrate how music and musical practices help the Sudeten-Germans to recall and reconstruct a “new” Heimat and sense of belonging. I outline Heimat’s connotations for Sudeten-Germans based on the Heimat-defining parameters: territory, temporality, and social environment. I investigate how the immigrants re-

\textsuperscript{56} The concepts of insider/outsider in this study can be equated with the practices of autoethnography/ethnography (Hayano 1979:100).
experience and re-establish elements of these parameters through music. Although cultural politics defined Heimat since the expulsion also as an institutionalized place and social environment, it still signifies for many Sudeten Germans an individual experience of belonging retrieved through musical repertoire and musical practice.

While drawing on prominent models of cultural and social integration, I analyze in Chapter 5 the German locals’ and Sudeten-German immigrants’ post-war sonic (linguistic and musical) practices and their implications for integration processes in West Germany. I specifically focus on individual rather than on collective experiences, as they provide intricate and differentiated descriptions of integration and its sub-processes of acculturation, assimilation, separation, and segregation. For example, the discussion reveals that for some study participants integration is ongoing, while for others issues of integration were resolved decades ago. Close analysis of my ethnographic materials generates musical parameters that ease or impede communication and relations between German hosts and Sudeten-German locals. Over time, these integration processes initiated dialogues that invited both populations to mix in musical ensembles, seeded the merging of German and Sudeten-German musical practices, and facilitated the reciprocal influence of both populations’ musical styles. This merging further elicited developments such as cultural convergence, cultural appropriation, and cultural assimilation. While observing contemporary musical practices of Sudeten-German private gatherings, institutions, and regional groups, I further study the ways in which the expulsion leads to musical preservation of the Sudeten-German heritage.
In Chapter 6, I discuss the post-expulsion musical repertoire and musical practices of the *Umsiedler* (resettler, labeling of the expellees in the SOZ/GDR) and the *Heimatverbliebene* in Czechoslovakia. In both nations, the immigrants’ music-making was largely suppressed by *Zwangsassimilation* (forced assimilation policies) until the fall of Communism in 1989. I investigate in this chapter how the reframing and sometimes silencing of the expellees’ music affected processes of individual and collective identity reconstruction and the Sudeten-Germans’ overall cultural presence. Furthermore, I study the ways in which these circumstances might have influenced the participants’ memories. The last part of this chapter is devoted to previously unexplored musical experiences of Heimatverbliebene before and after expulsion. I discuss these experiences according to several modes, which I call: (musical) covertness, oppression/withdrawal, continuation, indifference/fragmentation, and reconstruction.

In the conclusion, I discuss contemporary Sudeten-German issues. I address questions such as: Where are the Sudeten Germans today? And in what ways do they celebrate and practice their music and musical practices? The main part of this chapter presents ethnographic materials collected from second and third generation Sudeten Germans. The analysis of their statements weaves forced migration after the Second World War into a broad contemporary political, social, and musical context.
CHAPTER 2
METHODOLOGY: ETHNOGRAPHY, NARRATIVE INQUIRY, EMPOWERMENT, AND BIASES

Introduction

In an attempt to provide a readable, relatable, and even enjoyable methodology section, I combine in this chapter the methodological discussion with practical examples from my fieldwork. These examples are non-generalizable cases that illustrate selected methodological procedures used for data collection in this study. I further include a detailed description of analytical processes to provide a transparent picture of how I develop the ethnography’s overall written portrayal and conclusions. This way, I offer another example of how narrative inquiry and participant observation offer dependable, novel, and responsible data that ensure an advanced understanding of a population’s cultural behavior in forced migration. Ideally, this understanding will be partly applicable to other populations who experienced similar processes.

The German protagonists, who were born in the Bohemian border regions and expelled or fled from those regions at the end of the Second World War, serve as the case example in this investigation of music’s significance in the processes of expulsion and integration. The study’s overall methodology combines the historical approach of musicology with the fieldwork-focused methodologies of ethnomusicology. Within this two-pronged approach, the main part of the data is drawn from a phenomenological ethnography utilizing participant observation and narrative inquiry. A primary motivation for narrative inquiry is the wish to present and foreground individual stories from
Sudeten-German contemporary witnesses. They act in this study as primary sources and promise to provide rich and meaningful first-hand information about their experiences.

The analysis of the accounts of Sudeten-German expellees, Sudeten Germans who remained in the Czech Republic, native Germans who had to accommodate the expelled, and the descendants of these various groups, as well as the examination of historical sources, fosters the overall understanding of musical and human agency during processes of expulsion and weaves Sudeten-German musical experiences into a broad contemporary social and political context.

Through an investigation of musical repertoire and musical practices, I ask in this study how Sudeten Germans individually and collectively integrate, acculturate, assimilate, or separate from the respective host populations and how these processes are expressed and renegotiated through musical practices. Sub questions are: What roles played and still play musical practices in the (re-) construction of a Sudeten-German subjectivity and the redevelopment of a sense of belonging? If and in what ways fosters music-making the re-building of a new “sounding homeland” and a cultural and geographical sense of belonging in the new environment? If and how can a distinct Sudeten-German musical culture be defined? And how changed musical practices since the expulsion in the new environment?

More broadly speaking, I investigate in this study if musical practices are able to foster transcultural communication and integration processes after forced migration and how political interference influences musical developments.
Qualitative Research Approach: Phenomenological Ethnography

The qualitative research approach applied in this project is a phenomenological ethnography utilizing the common fieldwork strategies of narrative inquiry (theme–based life-story interview and oral history), participant observation, and the writing and analysis of fieldnotes. The researcher examines in a phenomenological study the essence of lived and felt experiences of a certain population concerning a specific phenomenon (Creswell 2003:14, also see Titon and Rice). For this phenomenological ethnography, I interviewed and observed in four fieldwork phases (eight months in total) a sample of Sudeten Germans who experienced expulsion. Through a musical lens, I studied the populations’ interactions in the Bohemian Lands before the expulsion, the meeting of Sudeten Germans immigrants and the German host society in West Germany and the Soviet Occupation Zone after the expulsion, and the situation for the Heimatverblievenen in Czechoslovakia, to investigate the significance of these interactions for the construction and reconstruction of individual subjectivities and social relationships (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2008:15).

Qualitative research, such as ethnography, is divided into interpretative (Phillips 2008:85) and representative approaches that aim toward the understanding of cultural activities and behaviors. The interpretative approach builds through fieldwork “an extensive collection of thick description as the basis for [the] inductive generation of an understanding of what is going on or how things work (explanation theory)” (Phillips 2008:85). With a focus on the representation and the telling of the study participants’ mostly unheard stories, I aim to empower human beings through the overcoming of social
and cultural constraints placed on them by history and politics. Their stories further foster an understanding of how music is able (and also unable) to reveal and overcome social processes that create marginalized individuals and entire populations.

**Historiography**

I include historical methodologies in this study to aim for the validation of the data collected during the qualitative research phase. The historical component in this study employs immersion and saturation (Phillips 2008:50) as the main research method by utilizing intentional and unpremeditated primary and secondary sources. Primary accounts contain sources such as *Sudetendeutsche Musikblätter, Das Sudetenland, Heimat*, diaries, accounts of displacement dates and routes, recordings, music programs, music, and photographs of musical events. These sources are verified via external and internal criticism by asking questions such as: “Is the document an original version or a copy? If a copy, where is the original? What is the estimated age of the item?” and “Is the document consistent stylistically with others by the writer” (Phillips 2008:53)? After an in-depth investigation of relevant sources, the final goal of historical research is to provide a “new understanding of something old” or fill “gaps of our knowledge of past events and personages” (Phillips 2008:8). Sudeten-German historiography, for example, shows indifferences in regard to time and reasons of German settlement in the Bohemian Lands and concerning Czech-German social interactions and relations. Historiography on these issues is an important resource to understand how Sudeten-Germans developed individual and collective identities in the Bohemian lands. At the same time, the two-pronged methodological approach highlights incongruences between historical facts and
the individuals’ recollections thereof, which concurrently develop deeper insights into the ways people remember and construct their lives.

**Identification of Sites and Participants**

The criterion sample of participants interviewed for this study includes individuals who experienced the expulsion (*Heimatvertriebene, Ausgewiesene, or Flüchtlinge*), Sudeten Germans who were forced to stay or decided to stay and therefore never left the Bohemian lands (*Heimatverbliebene*), Sudeten Germans who left Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s (*Spätaussiedler*), members from the German host society, and the descendants of all these groups. Although descendants of the displaced did not directly experience the effects of expulsion, I include them as participants, because they provide musical insight from their familial experiences. Through social activities involving music, they experienced, first-hand, efforts to preserve and construct a Sudeten-German consciousness in the new environment. Heimatverbliebene are important participants in this study, because they recall the interrelation between political strategies and musical practices from a very different, a repressed perspective. Based on forced assimilation policies applied by the Czech government, they had no choice other than to “czechify” (Bryant 2002:685).

The study participants are mainly musicians, conductors, composers, music pedagogues, and music lovers who are all familiar with expulsion and its short- and long-term consequences. I also spoke with individuals who described themselves as unmusical.

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57 These are the terms used by the Sudeten-German participants to describe how they perceive(d) the process of expulsion and their status within the process.
and having no connection to music. Some of these conversations allowed for notions of music as not being of any use in times of hardship.\textsuperscript{58}

This ethnography’s biggest challenge lies in the fact that the expelled Sudeten Germans live today dispersed (mainly in Germany, but also in various other countries) and therefore do not appear as a discernible population living in a particular geographical region. Therefore, immersion in the Sudeten-German community can only happen at specific occasions such as the annual Sudeten-German meeting, regional or private gatherings, and by me arranged conversations. The Sudeten-German meeting (\textit{Sudetendeutscher Tag}) was the most logical starting point for this project.

My first conscious interactions with Sudeten-Germans (beside my family and family friends) occurred at the Sudeten-German meeting in 2010 in Augsburg, Bavaria, Germany. I attended this meeting to identify first participants for my dissertation project and to establish contacts with Sudeten-German organizations such as \textit{Heimatverbände} (Heimat associations) of different regions in the Sudetenland, the \textit{Sudetendeutsche Jugend} (Sudeten-German Youth), the \textit{Ackermann Gemeinde} (catholic representatives of the Sudeten Germans), representatives of the Sudeten-German Music Institute, the planners of the Sudeten-German Museum, and other Sudeten-German societies and associations. The process soon highlighted various challenges. Not only did I have to overcome my nervousness to approach foreign elderly people in order to convince them to share with me their life stories, but for the first time, I was confronted with complex

\textsuperscript{58} I will address this further in Chapter 4.
and contested political and historical connotations of Sudeten-German issues. Such issues pertain for example to the use of topic-related terminology, historical divergences, and dichotomies in regard to the perception and portrayal of distress and nostalgia as experienced by contemporary witnesses and discussed by an interdisciplinary community of scholars.

The immersion into the depth of “Sudetengermanness” at my first annual meeting in 2010 was demanding. My fieldnotes include a remark stating how relieved I was to go home at the end of the day. I perceived the accumulation of Sudeten-Germans as a historically and emotionally charged, politically complex, and long grown clique. Their experiences moved between history, memory, and trauma; something I was not able to relate to at that point. I also recognized my various and partly incompatible roles in the field: researcher, colleague, 2.5 generation Sudeten German, friend, acquaintance, niece, cousin, sibling, and daughter. At the event in 2010, I first considered and understood that I myself am Sudeten German.

In this project, I am an insider (from Sudeten-German heritage) and simultaneously an outsider (no direct experience of expulsion). Being a full insider or “native” eventually allowed me to acquire an intimate familiarity and achieve full membership in the Sudeten-German community (see Ellis 2000:739, after Hayano 1979:100). The notion of insider, however, carries various potential biases and prejudices for this dissertation project.59 Particularly outsiders and critics of Sudeten-German contemporary practices and politics might perceive me as personally concerned with

59 See also later in this chapter: biases.
controversies such as post-war burden sharing rather than the musical outcomes of expulsion processes. Various people along the way implied concerns about my intentions and the outcomes of my work asking for the study’s purpose and my opinion on contested issues early on in the process.

In settings other than the annual Sudeten-German meeting, I frequently stood out.60 The majority of the visitors of present-day local and regional Sudeten-German events, who are contemporary witnesses of expulsion, are 70 years and older.61 My presence at those events and my interest in the Sudeten Germans’ individual stories usually prompted their curiosity. After initial hesitation, elderly Sudeten Germans frequently perceived my interest as delightful and energizing. They understood me as being interested in their cultural heritage, which many of them are afraid of losing. Therefore, they were generally open and included me in their active communities.

General fieldwork procedures that I applied from Glesne (2006) to my setting, turned out to be the most successful for recruiting participants: hanging out at the Sudeten-German annual meeting and other Sudeten-German events and approaching people who seemed friendly and welcoming (53). This approach led eventually to word-of-mouth recommendations of other potential participants, which paved the way for my fieldwork.

Excursus: Identifying Study Participants

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60 The Sudeten-German meeting is also attended by organizations such as the Sudeten-German Youth, Sing-und Spielscharen (vocal and dance groups that are composed of members of all ages), scholars of all ages, officials from Sudeten-German organizations and associations, etc.

61 Regional and local events are usually organized by contemporary witnesses, which means, by Sudeten Germans who are in their in their 70s, 80s, and 90s.
I was walking toward the exit ready to leave the Sudeten-German Annual Meeting 2010. Exhausted, but also accomplished. I had introduced myself to many officials of associations, scholars, musicians, representatives of various Sudeten-German towns and regions, as well as some visitors, who are the primary participants for this dissertation. I collected many names and addresses and was equipped to start contacting participants the next day. Although I talked to strangers all weekend, at this point, I had no interviews scheduled. Everyone, who was at first interested, wanted me to call again and then decide. On my way out I caught myself, as many times during the weekend, trying to spot the oldest of the elderly (this is actually a very difficult thing to do), thinking that these persons might be most helpful and equipped for this project. I tried one last time and spotted an elderly man in traditional clothing. He had red checks and glowing eyes. His name is Leopold Wala and he is 92 years old. He looked straight at me, which encouraged me to stop and introduce myself. Immediately, he started talking about Czechs and Germans, about his hometown, and about loosely related events in his life. I understood that these seemingly unrelated thoughts were an expression of his conversations with other experiential insiders (people who experienced expulsion) during the last two days. I was sure Mr. Wala would need a few days after the meeting to get back into his daily life routines. A woman, later I learned that she is his daughter, interrupted him and apologized to me. I let her know that I enjoyed listening and that his recollections were exactly what I was looking for. I explained to her who I was and why I was interested in talking to Mr. Wala. In the next months I learned that it would be the relatives of the elderly Sudeten-Germans who seemed more skeptical about my interest than the elderly themselves. After I could assure Mr. Wala that he did not have to be a music specialist to help me out, he agreed to meet with me in two weeks in order to share aspects of his life with me. I was thrilled. This was the start of the journey. As it turned out, he was the oldest person with recollections dating back longer than the memories of any other participant I would speak to during the entire research process.

Data Collection

Narrative Inquiry: Oral History and Life Story Inquiry

Phillips (2008) defines narrative inquiry as a qualitative research approach in which the researcher studies people’s lives through their stories (7). In this process, the researcher collects these stories in form of first-person narratives. In focusing on the individual, narrative inquiry describes and theorizes the role of individuals within their social environment through which they identify and construct themselves (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2008:1).
Interviews in narrative inquiry take either the shape of oral history or life story inquiry. Oral history, conducted through open-ended and semi-structured ethnographic interviews “proceeds from a historical rather than a fictive stance” and balances “the power between the informants and historian [is] in the historian’s favor, for he asks the questions, sorts through the accounts for the relevant information, and edits his way toward a coherent whole […]” (Titon 1980:281-283). Atkinson (2007) adds what Bruner established in 1991: historical inquiry centers around knowledge building, while a life story is charged with the power of individual life experiences that foster identity construction or “self-making.” The focus lies in oral history more in the voice of the researcher, while a life story foregrounds the in first person narrating storyteller (Atkinson 2007: 228; Bruner 1991:67).

Until the study participants gain trust and provide personal and descriptive information, some of the interviews, or rather conversations, proceed in the beginning in a more general fact and knowledge building way as described in oral history. During the conversation, I ask questions, request more information, comment on issues, and react to the participant’s story while guiding the narrative around musical topics. Guiding questions pertain for example to personal background, musical and cultural differences between the populations living in the Bohemian lands and between host and immigrant society after expulsion, processes of community building and music-making before and after the expulsion, social and political structures and their consequences, and to other individual recollections of expulsion and the arrival in the new environment.
Although I sort through the accounts, decide which information to include or exclude, and determine the coherent whole as described by Titon (1980), the participants are always the protagonists in our interactions. While sharing their musical life stories, they determine the significance of different life experiences for the topic at hand, choose which detail to include or exclude, when to answer which question, or to not answer a question after all. Each participant decides individually if and when I am allowed to step into her or his life and gather “information on the subjective essence of her or his [one person’s] entire life experience” (Atkinson 2007:225). Titon (1980) describes life story inquiry as different from oral history,

[...] in the life story the balance tips the other way, to the storyteller, while the listener is sympathetic and his responses are encouraging and nondirective. If the conversation is printed, it should ideally be printed verbatim. (283)

Although some of our conversations fall more in the realm of oral history - dependent on the participants’ abilities and willingness to engage in a conversation - most of our interactions developed as described by Titon (1980).

A life story is, simply, a person’s story of his or her life, or of what he or she thinks is a significant part of that life. It is therefore a personal narrative, a story of personal experience, and, as it emerges from conversation, its ontological status is the spoken word, even if the story is transcribed and edited for the printed page. The storyteller trusts the listener(s) and the listener respects the storyteller, not interrupting the train of thought until the story is finished. That is not to say that the listener is a passive doorknob; he nods assent, interposes a comment, frames a relevant question; indeed, his presence and reactions are essential to the story. He may coincidentally be a folklorist, but his role is mainly that of a sympathetic friend. (276)

Because I mainly focus on recollections regarding the participants’ musical experiences, I call the method of investigation used in this project theme-based life-story inquiry. With
musical recollections I refer, on the one hand, to memories that are stimulated and retrieved through music-making in the lived present, and on the other hand, to recollections of specific musical practices in particular places, times, and situations before, during, and after expulsion.

I was prepared that being a “sympathetic friend,” who encourages and assists the interviewee to share memories about more or less sensitive life themes, relies heavily on my personal abilities of social interaction and empathy. It is the unspoken connection between two strangers that overcomes conventional social boundaries in only a few minutes and leads to trust and confidence in narrator and listener as the most important prerequisite for an open and fruitful conversation. As Bruner (1991) puts it, the narrator searches in these first minutes for the insurance that her or his stories are listened to, are treated with respect and sensitivity, and will be analyzed by the listener with the narrator’s personal circumstances and “exceptionality” in mind (71). The narrator also considers if the conversation promises to be an enjoyable and rewarding, though possibly nostalgic delving into the past.

In my efforts to build rapport, I avoid talking about consent forms, video recording, and other technical aspects of the interview process as long as possible and rather use the beginning of the conversation to get acquainted with the participant and her or his way of conversing. I briefly introduce myself and my request again and give her/him a chance to also get to know me. The first interactions turn out to be crucial for the participants to speak as comfortably and genuinely as possible about their lives. Usually, issues that concern everyday life, family, or specific musical experiences are
good places to start the conversation and get the interviewee talk comfortably as suggested by Glesne (2006:84).

Although excited about the option to talk about their past, many participants are nervous regarding the “usefulness” of their individual stories for this research project. They often grapple with the question of how their personal and therefore not representative and not generalizable stories could possibly be relevant for any kind of research. I usually can diminish the participant’s fear that she or he might not have anything “useful” to say and convey that each individual story represents one essential mosaic stone for the overall picture of the project’s outcomes. Many participants also feel more at east as soon as they understand that musical knowledge or any specific background is not necessary in order to “help me out.” This reassurance reduces the danger that participants color and construct (and possibly invent) their stories to serve my needs. After all, I search for a variety of people who share with me their musical memories during processes of expulsion and its aftermath.

I conducted over 80 theme-based life-story interviews for this research project since summer 2010: forty-one interviews with expellees older than three years at the time of expulsion and twelve interviews with expellees younger than three years at the time of expulsion, eleven interviews with their descendants, eight interviews with Heimatverblichenen, ten interviews with members of the German host society, and one interview with a Sudeten German expelled to former East Germany. The interviews’ aim is to collect memories of the past in form of narratives colored by the present. I also held plenty conversations with persons working at Sudeten-German associations, people
otherwise interested in Sudeten-German culture and history, and additional conversations with contemporary witnesses and their descendants at local, regional, or national events.

Not always can the study participant and I maintain a focused conversation that leads to my understanding of how this person’s life evolved, how she or he constructs the picture of the past, and how the information might possibly inform my research project. Some conversations circle around other topics (mostly children and grandchildren), or seem to be disjointed and incoherent. The conversations’ attainment is further always influenced by the narrator’s and my daily condition, mood, and ability to concentrate, among other factors such as additional people present during the interview (or coming in and out), interruptions such as phone calls, food preparations, or time limitations. Interestingly, after I transcribe these at first seemingly inefficient conversations I am often surprised by their relevance.

Personal interviews in the participants’ environment are the most rewarding. The familiar environment ensures a comfortable space for remembering where necessary artifacts are close by and an outside schedule usually does not inhibit the course of the conversation. Despite possible distractions, I remember all conversations as extremely informative, full of surprises, and very rewarding. When I leave, I always feel privileged that the participant invited me into her or his life. I am still in touch with many of the participants. Drawing on our conversations, they often follow up and send me letters, newspaper articles, photographs, and other artifacts.

A few elderly Sudeten-Germans express concerns regarding my ability to understand their recollections without having experienced expulsion and its
consequences. Some repeatedly express expectations how the topic’s sensitive historical and political issues should be portrayed in my final representation. Concurrently, the fact that I am from Sudeten-German heritage often convinces skeptic counterparts, opens up new alleys for my research, and even encourages participants to share with me their memories. I am, after all, “one of them.”

A conversation feels especially rewarding when the participants express that they learned new aspects for themselves. Many of them have never shared some details of their past with anyone before. It seems to be easier to share their life stories with a stranger than with relatives and friends. Sometimes, however, I have the impression that they wish it were their children or grandchildren listening to their stories.

**Critiques of Narrative Inquiry**

The process of collecting life stories offers an understanding of how people remember and even how history is constructed. Here I follow Cassirer, who argues that, “in order to possess the world of culture we must incessantly reconquer it by historical recollection. But recollection does not mean merely the act of reproduction. It is a newly intellectual synthesis—a constructive act” (Cassirer 1944:185). In terms of memory studies, these processes of remembering are often questioned due to the missing stability and continuity that memory scholars ascribe to the shaping of reliable memory (Creer 2011:4).

Within a life story, I focus on specific musical recollections, which build the story’s sequential pillars. These recollections are descriptions of musical practices in the Bohemian towns, musical events during war captivity, participation in musical groups
after the expulsion, or other stories that highlight music’s ability or inability to overcome hardship and social prejudice. Barrett (2009) argues that human beings have a basic need for storytelling to understand their environment, their social relationships, and to organize their experiences into sequences of important events (8). It is through storytelling that one understands and communicates knowledge and interpretation of past and present—and is able to speculate about the future (Barrett 2009: 7-18). The researcher needs to take into account, however, that the narrators always construct their stories according to current social, political, and psychological needs. The presumed solid lines between “fact” and “fiction” and between “true” and “imagined” are always blurred.

**Musical Recollections versus Historiography**

While studying life stories and oral histories, the analyzer combines, retells, and thereby interprets the participants’ experiences. The researcher decides which of the story’s details will be highlighted, marginalized, or silenced. Therefore the amount of access the reader will have to the story lies in the analyzer’s hands. In dealing with aspects such as ambiguity and interpretation, scholars in the social sciences regularly assess narrative inquiry and life history with unease and suspicion (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2008:5).

Many sociologists and political scientists dismiss analyses that focus on individuals’ actions as guilty of the logical errors of methodological individualism or volunteerism. Within positivist strains of social science, life stories are reduced to the status of anecdotal, adding color or personal interest but unreliable as a basis for generalization. (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2008:8)
Critics describe narrative accounts as self-indulgent diversions—the stating of unsupported assumptions collected from stories, rather than presenting trustworthy sources of professional knowledge (Bowman 2006:13). Bowman highlights on the other hand that narrative inquiry brings a personal perspective into the field of research that is able to counter overemphasized objective, definitive, and universal research strategies (13). Maynes, Pierce & Laslett (2008) argue further that although participants build their unique life stories from individual details, they can’t be seen idiosyncratic (3). Individuals are always in contact with larger social units. Each individual story describes simultaneously “cultural specific forms, […] provide[s] insights into life trajectories, collective forces, and influential institutions and ideologies. They thus offer a methodologically privileged location from which to comprehend human agency” (Maynes, Pierce & Laslett 2008:3).

Data Analysis and Musical Recollections

Data Analysis: Transcription, Emerging Themes, and “Restorying”

Data collection, analysis, and “restorying” the analyzed data (Creswell 2007:56) are interwoven procedures in this project. Data analysis and written representation continuously inform the focus of the qualitative and historical processes of data collection and vice versa. I analyze the transcriptions, fieldnotes, and other artifacts simultaneously in two different ways:

Writing Narrative after Transcribing and Coding

After transcribing the individual life stories verbatim, I search for returning patterns and themes within the stories, fieldnotes, and other artifacts that allow for a
preliminary organization of the data. This inductive analytical approach reveals themes that highlight unique and general features of a person’s life and various theories that relate to these life experiences. Theoretical concepts and frames that address expulsion in a Sudeten-German context are for example nostalgia, the question of cultural homelessness and ethnic persistence, the transmission of heritage, concepts of transculturalism in the old and the new homeland, memory construction and its relevance and challenges for the present, the (re-) shaping of subjectivities, and the relevance of geographical place for the building and perception of belonging. All of these theoretical frames are investigated from a musical perspective and in this project are addressed within the concepts of belonging, place, and memory. The theme-based structured data is thus the foundation for the comprehensive final written representation describing music’s significance for Sudeten Germans in processes of expulsion and integration. Although this written representation is based on the participants’ first person narratives and on observations of their musical activities, it is at the same time necessarily colored by my analysis and interpretation of these narratives and observations.

Writing Narrative as a Process of Data Analysis

In this analytical approach, the writing of thick description and data analysis are identical processes. After transcribing the life story interviews verbatim and immersing in the data, I “restory” the collected information. This means that I discover and determine emerging patterns while writing thick description. The writing style is thus simultaneously a method of analysis.

“Restorying” or Thick Description
Starting point for my written representation is usually a description of the interview setting, the age and current situation of the participant, and her or his background. I then retell the lived experiences of the study participant topically or in chronological order while focusing on key musical events and experiences, all examined through the lenses of belonging, memory, and place. Within these parameters I also try to compose an appealing plot. The final written representation is thus a combination of empirical, analytical, and theoretical perspectives that lead continuously to new questions and hypotheses.

In order to avoid overly subjective writing while interpreting, retelling, and theorizing the participants’ stories, I center the thick description on verbatim transcribed parts of the interviews. It is nevertheless unavoidable that the written representation of data always is a mix of the participants’ insights and my interpretations thereof. In the end, however, it is important to understand that the story always belongs to the teller, regardless of what I make of it.

Excursus - Writing Ethnography: Data Collection, Analysis, and “Restorying” of Participant Interview with Gretl Heinisch

Mrs. Heinisch is a white-haired short and slim 86-year-old lady with a warm presence. She welcomed me friendly waiting at the front door of her flat in Munich. The careful initial contact that always happens with the study participants took then a few seconds. She smiled and looked straight at me. I recognized something diffident and something very determined in her personality. During the next hours when she shared her life story with me, her expression changed rapidly between shyness and strength; fright and delight. As always, I was struck how quickly I had such a strong impression of a person I had never met before. To judge from our phone call a couple of weeks earlier, I was prepared that I would need to spend some time explaining who I was, what I wanted, and why exactly I wanted to talk to her. Upon meeting, all this was forgotten.

Mrs. Heinisch and I immediately chatted in an open and unprejudiced way. She was eager to share her memories of her hometown Mährisch-Schönberg and her experiences about expulsion and post-war integration. Although she agreed that
recorded the conversation, she seemed intimidated as soon as I set up the video camera. She questioned if she had anything meaningful to say and how she could possibly talk about her experiences in a structured and for me relevant way. I assured her that the few aspects she shared with me before we even sat down, already promised a fascinating and for my research highly relevant conversation. I considered turning off the camera, but then decided to steer the conversation first towards specific experiences such as the musical life in Mährisch-Schönberg and the way she was introduced to music in her family. As soon as she remembered the various musical ensembles and organizations in Mährisch-Schönberg, her music teacher Vati Knirsch, her grandfather who founded the town’s private music school, and her parents who supported her piano and violin playing, she lightened up. She said that music always accompanied her life and that she even met her husband while making music after the expulsion in Gaimersheim.

Almost immediately upon our arrival in Gaimersheim, I tried to find a place where I could again play the piano. And then I found a piano in the village’s tavern. My husband and his relatives were accommodated in one room in the tavern and there we met. We were both looking for a place to play the piano. We were very happy to find each other, to find someone from back home. And soon we played together music for four hands. And we got married. The first thing we bought was a piano. We had not furniture, but a piano. (Heinisch 2011)

She recalled the time when the private music school in the town, founded by her grandfather in 1885, was run by her father. He taught until his sudden death in 1941 about 60 students. Some of the students were of Czech origin, because Mährisch-Schönberg was located right at the Czech-German language border. Because musicianship was determined by the parent’s financial abilities and many people in Mährisch-Schönberg could not pay their children’s music lessons, the Heinisch family was frequently reimbursed in natural goods. They had to shop in certain stores and brought their shoes to certain shoemakers. Mrs. Heinisch read some passages from her grandfather’s diary to me that described these instances in even more detail. At the time of the expulsion, she included this diary in her luggage and managed to keep it during the expulsion.

Mrs. Heinisch’s recollections were clear and focused, but not chronological. Her memories carried her to different places, times, and people. While telling her story, she often laughed and appeared much younger than she actually was. She seemed filled with joy, but also loneliness. I was taken by the shyness and at the same time assertiveness of

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her personality. I could tell from the way she spoke about difficult times in her life that she had spent much time reflecting on these experiences.

When Mrs. Heinisch remembered aspects she can’t believe anymore today she shook her head and covered her face. “My mother was often angry with my father. My mother said ‘oh no he is writing again until late at night’. The people didn't have enough money to buy music so my father wrote music for most of his students by hand. It is unbelievable how much he wrote.” (Heinisch 2011)

After the sudden death of Mrs. Heinisch’s father and the inhuman living conditions in Mährisch-Schönberg, Mrs. Heinisch’s mother became desperate. Mrs. Heinisch remembered that her mother often waited for her when she came back from forced labor and had prepared everything to commit suicide. However, the two women faced the circumstances until their expulsion to Bavaria in 1945.

Although one was not allowed to pack valuable items (such as instruments) once the expulsion order was announced, Mrs. Heinisch, at the time of the expulsion 19 years old, hid her father’s violin in her luggage. She recalled that Russian soldiers came in 1945 and collected all her father’s instruments. They could not take the grand piano for when it was transported into the house, an entire wall needed to be temporarily torn down. They also did not take her father’s violin, for Mrs. Heinisch had hidden it in the basement.

When the expulsion was announced, I did not know what to do with my father’s violin. I knew that it would be destroyed if I left it here. I decided to take it with me. [...] I packed it in between the clothes in my suitcase. I knew that our luggage would be checked again, so I consider it now as fate that we were controlled by a German war prisoner (German war prisoners were forced to look through our luggage). Actually, we were not allowed to speak, but the man saw my name, Orlet, on my suitcase and said that he was friends with a Robert Orlet during the war. He was a musician. I said that this was my father. He asked me if I had anything I wanted to bring. I told him that my father’s violin is in my suitcase. He asked if I had cigarettes and somehow, I had. And then he brought me to a Czech controller who he knew to be human in this process. We gave him the cigarettes and the man smuggled me through. He saw the violin and only said “close the suitcase.” And this way I was able to save my father’s violin. Isn’t that fate? (Heinisch 2011)

63 German original: “Da hat meine Mutter immer geschimpft jetzt sitzt er wieder bis in die Nächte und schreibt und schreibt. Die Leute hatten ja nicht genug Geld um Noten zu kaufen und deswegen hatte er für die Schüler viele viele Noten selbst geschrieben. Unglublich, was der Vater alles geschrieben hat” (Heinisch 2011).

The importance of music and musical instruments during the expulsion depended heavily on the role of music in a person’s life. Mrs. Heinisch stemmed from a very musical family. She not only packed her father’s violin, but also sheet music of folksongs and folk dances that were part of her daily life in North Moravia. During our conversation, she could not explain why she prioritized musical items and left others behind.

In retrospect I ask myself why I prioritized these items. I packed my grandfather’s and my father’s music. A folder full of single sheets. I don’t know why I thought about these items in this situation. I was 19 years old. I don’t know. It was important to me in my subconsciousness. […] I also packed the blanket that lies now here on the piano. It is over a hundred years old. I hid these things in a square basket. Along with the picture of my grandfather that hangs here on the wall. (Heinisch 2011)

Musical repertoire and musical practices did not only help Mrs. Heinisch and her family, but many other Sudeten Germans to regain a feeling of comfort in the new environment. Other participants remembered similar stories of hidden and smuggled instruments or the desire to build instruments of whatever materials available after the expulsion. For many of the participants, however, it was not a primary concern to pack sheet music and musical instruments in this life threatening situation. They focused on items that promised to be lifesaving such as bedding, warm clothes, and dishes.

Musical items as well as pictures of family members represent and signify for Mrs. Heinisch her relation to her hometown that was coined by her musical family and musical practices. She said that although she found a new Heimat in Munich, these items from Mährisch-Schönberg were still a (musical) expression of her origins. She also mentioned several times during our conversation that music and musical talents were the only things that could not been taken away from her and her family during and after the expulsion. She recalled various instances where she and her Sudeten-German friends assembled for music-making as soon as possible after the expulsion. One such event was organized by her former school music teacher from Mährisch-Schönberg.

Vati Knirsch invited us for a singing week in Bad Reichenhall in 1947. I still don’t quite understand how we all managed to meet there without phone or anything. It was the biggest delight when we met at the station and one after another arrived. […] I thought many of the men had not survived the war (such as the friend of my youth). […] We did not have any music, so our music teacher from back home, Vati Knirsch, wrote on big pieces of paper choral movements with various voices and put them on the wall and all sixty of us sang from those pieces of paper until we could sing it by heart. […] Singing was for us like a piece of our Heimat. And most of all it freed us; we had so much joy that no one could take singing away from us. We were allowed to take the songs with us and were allowed to sing them again. The sound, the singing in several voices, this was special. We also sang many folksongs by heart and improvised voices. (Heinisch 2011)

Mrs. Heinisch remembered that Sudeten-Germans assembled soon after the expulsion also in a choir in her new environment in Gaimersheim. Members of the small choir organized in 1949, at this point conducted by Mrs. Heinisch, a folkloric evening in order to popularize Sudeten-German musical and cultural practices in Gaimersheim. “We brought to the host population a piece of our Heimat so that they would realize that we don’t come from just anyplace, but that we actually have a bit of culture, too” (Heinisch 2011).67

Mrs. Heinisch described this and other musical events as helpful for her and her friends to get acquainted with the German host society. Because Mrs. Heinisch brought sheet music, she could share hardly known songs and dances from her Sudeten-German homeland with the Bavarian host society. She says that, for example, the Bavarian hosts accepted the dances “Woaf” and “Spinnradl,” which are still today part of the Bavarian standard folk music repertoire.

Generally, Mrs. Heinisch enjoyed the travel to her past. She was surprisingly collected, open minded, and excited that I listened to her eventful life story. Recalling her past made her realize her own age, the loss of family members, and how much she actually had experienced. She also questioned why she was still alive. Most of the people, who shared her experiences of war and expulsion, had already passed away. Mrs. Heinisch meets with Sudeten Germans, who are still able, twice a year in order to remember their homeland through conversations and music-making. She and her friends are concerned about the future of the musical repertoire and musical practices, which they still continue to practice in order to experience Heimat. The Zeitgeist and its fascination with the new and unknown, rather than the expulsion are, according to Mrs. Heinisch and many other Sudeten Germans, the main reason why their immense song collection might not be practiced and known anymore as soon as Sudeten Germans will stop singing them.

Mrs. Heinisch’s recollections provide ample material for a deeper understanding of music’s relevance in her life. Musical repertoire and musical practices are not only able to mark her belonging to a new place and community, but also help her to positively color her memories.

Mrs. Heinisch’s memories exemplify the twofold purpose of individual life stories collected in this project. They highlight broad concepts of cultural behavior and offer

67 German original: “Und so haben wir den Leuten ein Stück von unserer Heimat gebracht, damit sie gesehen haben, ja die Leute kommen ja nicht von irgendwo her, die haben auch ein Stück Kultur” (Heinisch 2011).
stories of exceptional and mostly unheard individual experiences. These unheard stories sometimes stand in opposition to generalized displacement studies in Sudeten-German historical accounts. Many participants thus express a sense of empowerment as they share their life stories, which they enhance with photographs, music recordings, diaries, as well as live music-making and dancing.

**Validation**

I use various strategies of validation to establish trustworthiness, credibility, and reliability of the data analysis. I ensure the study’s validation through the triangulation of multiple qualitative research methods that provide reoccurring data. This reoccurrence allows me to identify patterns of the participants’ lived experiences. I further compare these recollections with historical sources. General validation strategies are further the use of verbatim transcriptions, fieldnotes, recordings, and a thick description, which remains open to reinterpretation throughout the entire writing process.

I further provide a representative sample of study participants and a transparent interpretation process (Creswell 2007:213-15) as required for reliable narrative research. I further offer criteria for the study’s validation in sharing the participants’ backgrounds and unfold their possible biases.

The most important aspect of validity in this particular study is the disclosure of my own biases. A reflexive and comprehensive description of my Sudeten-German background, past experiences, and possible prejudices allows the reader to understand my position and to be aware of biases that might influence the inquiry (Creswell 2007:208). During data collection, analysis, and writing, I continuously reevaluate my assertions,
assumptions, hypotheses, and consequent conclusions. As often as possible, I share the written representations with the participants to ensure an “authentic” and ethical portrayal of their experiences. This process of peer debriefing, however, turns out to be more complicated than planned, because many of the participants don’t speak English and a translation of the entire representation exceeds the scope of this study. I overcome this hurdle by continuously sharing proceedings and results with the participants.

The following excursus on my family history shall provide a transparent account of where I place myself in the overall story of expulsion and explain my responsibility within processes of analysis and interpretation based on potential biases.

Excursus: Family History

My Mother’s Side.

Whenever my grandmother Erna Keil received per mail the monthly almanac of her hometown Rumburg, no one could talk to her and she did not eat all day.68 She disappeared into another world.

Rumburg is a town in the north of the Bohemian borderlands. My grandmother was born in Rumburg in 1913 and expelled from there in the aftermath of the Second World War in 1946 together with her mother in law and her three daughters (6, 4 and 1 years old). My grandmother’s father committed suicide shortly before the expulsion. My grandmother’s mother in law did at first not get an expulsion order and could stay in the family house (based on her age). The rest of the family left the house and could live for a

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68 The almanac (Heimatzeitschrift) of the town Rumburg is called *Unser Niederland*. The magazine was first released in 1949 and is still in print. It is a monthly almanac specifically for expellees from the North Bohemian regions Warnsdorf, Rumburg, and Schluckenau. The magazine offers not only various stories about the Heimat, poems in dialect, historical accounts, pictures, and information about former inhabitants of the regions (such as honors, anniversaries, deaths), but also information about recent developments in the former Heimat, and discussions related to questions of integration and assimilation of Germans from Bohemia in Germany and other countries. Additional articles address general Sudeten-German topics such as the annual Sudeten-German meeting (to ensure accessibility of the meeting for the ones who can’t participate), recent Czech-German political developments and consequent reactions, and themes of general interest such as “A Sudeten German scored the first goal of the World Cup (This headline stems from a different Heimatzeitung, the weekly Sudetendeutsche Zeitung, June 16, 2006. The goal was scored by Bayern München player Philipp Lahm. His grandfather stems from the Sudetenland and Lahm has “confessed himself to his past” as stated in the newspaper (which means that he visited his grandfather’s home town). [http://www.niederlandverlag.de/whatsnew.htm](http://www.niederlandverlag.de/whatsnew.htm) (accessed May 19, 2012). *Unser Niederland*, [http://www.genealogy.net/reg/SUD/orte/R.html](http://www.genealogy.net/reg/SUD/orte/R.html) (accessed May 3, 2012).
while with my grandmother’s cousin until they were relocated to a refugee camp before the final expulsion. The situation in the family house got eventually dangerous for my grandmother’s mother in law because of assaults by the Czech guerillas. She packed as much as she could and bribed an acquaintance when her goods were searched at the day of the expulsion. This way the family ended up with bedding and other useful goods in the camp and later in Bavaria.

My grandfather, Eduard Keil, had declared himself against National Socialism and fled as a political refugee from Bohemia in 1944. At that point, he also had been alarmed by a rumor that all German men between forty and fifty years old would be shot. He was in contact with my grandmother until their expulsion, then the communication broke down. He was, however, able to reconnect with his family again in Erbendorf, Bavaria in early 1947. There, the family of now six persons lived temporarily in one room. My grandmother earned some money as housecleaner and her mother in law knitted for the people in the village. My grandfather Eduard Keil served first at the American armed forces in the local Casino until the soldiers discovered that he could write beautifully, like printed from a machine. He was then hired to paint posters and to label envelopes. For one hundred labeled envelopes he earned one package of cigarettes, which he then sold to the locals and American soldiers. On the weekends, he built kites for Bavarian children. These activities ensured the family’s living condition, which soon again worsened caused by the currency reform. In the early 1950s the family moved into a flat in Weiden (city close to Erbendorf), where my grandfather managed to work in his old profession at the revenue office. He died from a heart attack in 1956. My grandmother was then 43 years old. She lived in this flat in Weiden until her death in 1996.

My grandmother frequently told me about the times when the family found a hiding place at a cousin’s house before the actual expulsion, the weeks in the refugee camp, the transport in cattle cars from Bohemia to Bavaria, and the challenges of building a new basis of existence. Her daughters (my aunts Ursula (born in 1942) and Traudl (1944-1998), and my mother Edith (born in 1939) often talked and still talk about these times. My aunt Ursula, however, actively remembers only the situation after the expulsion in Bavaria, which she today describes more as an adventure. My mother Edith, oldest of the three sisters, still remembers the time between the end of the war and the expulsion. She described the daily events and threads before the expulsion as daunting. For several months she had to go to a Czech school while identifying herself as German with a white armlet. Shortly before a possible expulsion, my grandmother did not send her to school in order to avoid the family’s separation. The time in Erbendorf after the expulsion describes my mother Edith also as adventurous. Today, she perceives Erbendorf as her Heimat.

As soon as the family moved to Weiden, my grandmother and my mother joined a choir that was initially attended only by Sudeten Germans. My mother describes this choir as an opportunity to reunite with other persons originating from the Bohemian lands. My grandfather Eduard, who described himself as a non-singer would, according to my mother, still attend the choir rehearsals and listen. Although my grandmother found
a new home in Bavaria, she always felt very close to her lost home. She attended the Sudeten-German meeting every year, subscribed to various Sudeten-German almanacs and newspapers, and stayed in contact with acquaintances from Rumburg. She labeled Rumburg as her first and Weiden as her second Heimat.

Figure 4: Picture of the Sudeten-German choir in Weiden (1950), my grandmother is the second from the right in the first row, picture found in the private photo collection of study participant Max Strecker, 2010.

My Father’s Side

My grandfather, Franz Präger, was born in Luditz in the West of the Bohemian Borderlands in 1891. He grew up with his parents, grandparents, and two siblings in what he describes as a happy and caring environment.

Figure 5: “We three siblings. Photographed in Prague in 1911.” My grandfather Franz Präger (right) with

69 Much of this information is drawn from my grandfather’s family history written in the 1950s.
his two siblings Anton and Albine. (Präger 1950s)

My grandfather’s father was a merchant and owned a shop in Luditz, which was located in the family house.

I travelled with my parents to Luditz in 2010. My great-grandfather’s house still exists. It is now dark grey and the characters of my grandfather’s (and my father’s) name are gone. We parked our car close to the house, but did not leave it, because many Czechs are still today concerned that German expellees come back to reclaim what was once their property or desire to set a foot in their former homes. This happened frequently in the late 60s and regularly after 1989 initiated by the so called Heimwehtourismus (nostalgia tourism). As soon as we parked, we saw faces behind curtains and lights turning off. We waited for a few minutes so that I could take in the environment and then we left. I did not dare to take a picture.

My grandfather wrote in the 1950s until his death in 1958 a by then 500 page comprehensive family history. The history, which spans the time from the 17th century until the year 1945, addresses not only issues concerned with family history, but also provides information about political developments, recollections about my grandfather’s private and work life, as well his experiences of war and pre-expulsion. He enhanced his narrative with many artifacts such as newspaper articles, postcards, and private photographs. Before the family’s expulsion (my grandfather, his wife Maria Präger and my father Franz Präger, then 7 years old), my grandfather managed to secretly send private belongings such as photographs, documents, and other valuables with some of his coworkers to Bavaria, where the items were hidden in a farmer’s barn. My grandparents were able to relocate many of these items a few years after their expulsion.

My grandfather studied in Prague and worked during the first Czech Republic as a school inspector in Tachau (Tachov). After the German invasion in 1938 the situation...
in Tachau dramatically changed and he temporarily lost his job. He writes about the year 1938:

Figure 7: My grandfather’s entry in the family history. These are the opening lines from the second volume describing the year 1938.

The year 1938 was not only for the Sudeten-Germans a momentous year, it also marks a sad turning point in our private life. Very soon it became apparent that the highly celebrated "liberation from the Czechs" meant for so many of us nothing else than the liberation from a happy and wonderful time! Yes this is indeed how it was - the time after Hitler's invasion in our Sudeten-German homeland was for us a continuous chain of serious anxieties and difficulties in our professional lives, mortifications and affronts of various kinds, dearth and distress everywhere, burdensome coercion of the political party in every part of our lives, separation from the family, and the hard and long-lasting sickness of my wife – this continued until the terrible collapse of the German Empire and our expulsion from our centuries-old, beloved homeland! (Franz Präger 1950s)

My grandfather and his family were expelled from Tachau in the summer of 1946. After one week in a refugee camp, they were deported via train to Germany. My grandfather was in the exceptional situation that a teaching opportunity was waiting for him in Weiden, West Germany. The Sudeten-German educational system was already before the expulsion valued in West Germany. However, the cattle train, in which they were deported, was the first train to go to former East Germany rather than to West Germany. By early 1947, my grandfather had managed to acquire a residence permit, which enabled the family to move to Bavaria. At that point my father had missed school for almost two years. My grandfather’s job was still available in Bavaria, which helped
the family to transition and integrate comparatively quickly. However, my grandfather writes in his family history the following lines: “I need to stress that what we experienced in Czechoslovakia before 1938, especially regarding my professional life in Tachau, was the most beautiful, happiest, and lighthearted times of our life. It is forever a pity that it could not remain like this” (Franz Präger 1950s).

My grandfather's family history leaves me deeply moved. I realize though that his memories are reconstructions of a past time, written in a time, in which he tried to digest, sort, and understand his previous experiences. In this sense his recollections are incomplete, partial “truths,” and heavily subjective, but very valuable data for the building of the overall expulsion picture.

**Limitations**

Besides the earlier mentioned tensions between oral history and historiography and potential biases based on my Sudeten-German heritage, the sample of the study participants presents another limitation of this study. As soon as I had more study participants than I was able to interview, I focused on individuals who indicated that they have a musical background or a musical story to share. Although it is legitimate for a study focused on music to primarily interview individuals with specific experiences and expertise, the results indicating music’s significance and relevance in processes of expulsion need to be viewed accordingly.

Another limitation presents the fact that I was only able to interview one participant expelled to the former German Democratic Republic. I, however, spoke to him in person and on the phone almost ten times. An additional limitation presents the

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70 Study participant Alfred Jumar.
almost exclusive sampling of Germans. The description of the pre-expulsion living conditions and relations between Czechs and Germans in the Bohemian lands is therefore primarily based on German perspectives. The inclusion of study participants from Czech, Jewish, and Roma populations is not within the scope of this study.
CHAPTER 3

MUSICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMES OF THE BOHEMIAN LANDS

Alfred Jumar, born 1924 in Český Dub (Böhmisch Aicha):
I remember clearly that Germans and Czechs got along well and also
cultivated each other’s folk music and specifically their songs. I can still
sing some basic Czech songs. Czech classical music also was popular
among the Germans. For example Germans really liked and played
Dvořák’s music. As far as I remember people did not consider music to be
national, because people still remembered the Austro-Hungarian Empire—
nationality played a subordinate role. The origin of beautiful music was
not really important. (Jumar 2011)71

Waltraud Richter, born 1935 in Oberleutensdorf (Litvínov):
I remember my mother’s stories. She lived during the Volkstumskampf.72
Three percent Czechs lived in my hometown Oberleutensdorf in 1900 and
about forty percent in 1938. They mainly came to work. My mother would
have never sung a Czech song, especially during the more intense
Volkstumskampf. I don’t know any Czech songs. (Richter W. 2010)73

Erich Sepp, born in the late 1930s in Reichling, Bavaria:
Someone from the radio contacted me the other day and asked for some
information about Mahler and his contact to Bohemian folk music and
music-making. And I said “there you are really on the wrong path.” There
is no connection between Mahler and Czech music. Mahler was German.
He was integrated in the German parts in the Bohemian lands and then

71 German original: “Ich erinnere mich genau, daß Deutsche und Tschechen sehr gut miteinander
ausgekommen sind und durcharaus auch wechselseitig ihre Volksmusik gepflegt haben und ihre Lieder
insondere. Ich kann auch noch ein paar tschechische Lieder aus der Zeit. Und die klassische Musik, die
tschechische, die war auch bei den Deutschen sehr beliebt. Die Deutschen mochten zum Beispiel sehr gerne
Dvořáks Musik. Irgendwie betrachtete man das meiner Erinnerung nach gar nicht so sehr als national
gebunden, sondern irgendwie gehörte das noch zum alten Österreich Ungarn und da spielte die Nationalität
eine untergeordnete Rolle. Woher dann eine schöne Musik kam, das war nicht so vordergründig” (Jumar
2011).

72 Volkstumskampf refers to the rising tension between Czech and German populations especially
during the time of the late First Czech Republic and the Protectorate of Bohemian and Moravia (1939-
1945).

73 German original: “Ich erinnere mich an die Geschichten meiner Mutter. Sie hat im
Volkstumskampf gelebt. In meinem Heimatdorf Oberleutensdorf lebten in 1900 drei Prozent Tschechen
und in 1938 ungefähr 40 Prozent. Die meisten kamen, um zu arbeiten. Meine Mutter hätte nie ein
tschechisches Lied gesungen, besonders nicht während des Volkstumskampfes. Ich kann kein tschechisches
Lied singen” (Richter 2010).
lived in Vienna. There is no way to establish any relation to Bohemian brass music. (Sepp 2010)\textsuperscript{74}

The study participants’ memories reveal that a (music-) history of the Bohemian lands is coined by the longstanding and intercultural relationship of the Germans with the Slavic-speaking Czechs. Mr. Jumar experienced the Czechs’ and Germans’ perceptions of their respective musical practices as well as their interactions generally as supportive and respectful. Mrs. Richter, however, remembers Czech and German relations as antagonistic.\textsuperscript{75} Mr. Sepp’s story further implies contemporary challenges of labeling individuals while using the multi-layered term “Bohemian.”

Gustav Mahler was born in Bohemia, which suggests both Czech and (Sudeten-) German orientations. However, Mahler was born during the Austro-Hungarian Empire and therefore habitually is perceived as Austrian. I will discuss this and similar cases in more detail later in this chapter. Mr. Sepp refers in his statement to the frequent moving of entire families between Czech and German (and earlier even Austrian) orientations according to political development or personal preference.

Although these recollections cover different historical, political, and social periods and circumstances, they capture century-long encounters of antagonism and solidarity between the populations in the Bohemian lands. While a music history of the


\textsuperscript{75} Mrs. Richter remembers this aspect partly through her mother’s memories.
Bohemian lands is also influenced by the large and ancient community of Bohemian Jews, and more distantly the Roma or Gypsies (Nettl 2002:269), I focus in this chapter primarily on Czech and (Sudeten-) German musical repertoire and practices. I specifically present musical recollections that the participants described as homeland-defining. For many of them, their expulsion not only was marked by material loss, the loss of beloved people and a sense of belonging, but also by the temporary loss of diverse musical practices and traditions. Distinctive musical-political experiences, as described by the study participants, encapsulate local, regional, and national musical repertoire and practices and explain the persistent significance of the homeland for many Germans from the Bohemian lands.

In this chapter, I provide a brief history of the Bohemian lands focusing on the events since the First World War. I ask if the Germans' musical practices, influenced by these political and historical events, can be defined as specifically Sudeten German and, extending this question, if the Sudeten Germans are a separate ethnic group (as different from the Germans in the German Reich). Drawing from my ethnographic materials, I highlight that although interactions between Czech and German populations remained rare after the First World War, the Bohemian lands were a transcultural environment. Despite their experiences of flight and expulsion, the study participants generally are drawn toward the past intersections between Czech and German cultural practices.

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76 For Sudeten Germans expelled to the former East Germany or the Germans remaining in Czechoslovakia, cultural loss was usually not temporary, but a long-term loss.
Historical Background

Situated in the center of Europe, the Bohemian lands were, especially in early history, a transit region frequently home for a variety of migrant populations (Bauer 1990:10). At the same time, the Bohemian lands were located in the midst of the conflicts between East and West, which led to influences from and tensions between the Bohemian lands and the bordering powers (Bauer 1990:9). These circumstances fostered a constant battle for a unified country and for independence from the bordering nations. The developing Slavic orientation to the West, which played out in the Christianization and therefore is closely related to the Holy Roman Empire, should turn out as critical for Czech history.

Under the reign of the Bohemian dynasty of the Přemyslids (ca. 900-1306), the various tribes in Bohemia and Moravia were unified in a Bohemian state with Prague as the capital (Bauer 1990:22). In the twelfth century, a significant number of Germans settled in Prague and the border regions of the Bohemian lands. This was connected to strong relations between the Přemyslids and German clergy and politicians. This process of German settlement is since the 19th-century typically labeled as “German eastward expansion” or “Colonization of the East” (Ostkolonisation) (Bauer 1990:28). The movement brought a large amount of Germans, especially craftsmen and merchants to Bohemia, which initiated the foundation of German towns around the year 1000. This was followed by the establishment of German law and German cultural centers (Brömse
The eastward expansion raised long-discussed issues regarding the Germans’ role in the Bohemian lands. Were they carriers of valuable cultural knowledge or marked their arrival the beginning of a long-standing and complicated story of foreign infiltration (Bauer 1990:28)?

Bohemia and Moravia flourished in the Late Middle Ages and were considered as the heart of Europe (Seibt 2002:18-20). Prague developed into an important center that combined German and Czech cultural practices and reached its heyday under the emperor Charles IV (1316-1378). Although the majority of the population was Czech, the German minority constituted Prague’s upper class and many Germans held positions of prestigious church administrators (Prinz 1999:28). Musically, this time was dominated by minstrels such as the Münch

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77 First German musical accounts in the Czech lands stem from monks who came from Austria and Bavaria (Koch 1997:18). Their music was not German or Czech as such, but Gregorian chant based on music from the Middle East. In 978, when Thietmar von Merseburg came as bishop to Prague, three socially and musically diverse populations gathered as described by Cosmas (Koch 1997:19 cited after Brömse 1988:41): “[…] the clergy [intoned] the Te Deum Laudamus. But the Duke and the higher nobility sang Christe keinado […] Kyrie eleison […] but the ordinary people and the laymen shouted Kerlessu” (Brömse 1988:41). Kerlessu was an invented expression for Kyrie eleison because the ordinary people were unable to comprehend Latin (Koch 1997:19).
von Salzburg Hermann and Oswald von Wolkenstein, who sang in the German language and appeared mainly at the court.

Early on, both populations nurtured an interrelation, in which they used each other to consolidate their power in Europe. Until the expulsion, this interrelation was coined by intercultural experiences of coexistence, competition, but also cooperation (Seibt 2002:18-20). Each population eventually strove to become the prevailing cultural power in the Bohemian lands. The Germans soon manifested their authority, which constituted the beginning of an enduring tense relationship between Czech and German populations.

The centuries leading to the First World War were marked by major historical events. The burning of the Czech reformer, theologian, and martyr Jan Hus in 1415 (he had criticized the wealth and behavior of the church) caused a revolution of the Czech population. King Wenceslaus (1361-1419) excluded the furious Hussites from church duties, which led to the first defenestration of Prague and eventually to the so called Hussite Wars (Bauer 1990). These times of hardship destroyed a rich cultural life in the Bohemian lands and in its cultural center Prague and provoked the emigration of numerous talented musicians. As a consequence, German secular and sacred music fell silent almost until the end of the sixteenth century (Brömse 1988:52).

An early instance in the Thirty Years War, The Battle of White Mountain in 1620 (Schlacht am Weissen Berg), in which the Roman Catholic Habsburgs defeated the Bohemians, marked the end of the Bohemian period and the beginning of 300 years of

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78 Prague defenestration: Hussites attacked principals and administrators in the court house and threw them out of the window.
Habsburg reign. Vienna developed as the new primary cultural center, Prague was defeated (Bauer 1990). The time under Habsburg rule (1620-1918) is described as “a trauma of Czech national consciousness” (Prinz 2000:29). Czechs labeled this period also as temno (darkness). German culture and language were invigorated and therefore many Czechs chose German as their first language and oriented themselves generally toward German culture. “In this period, the last symbol of Bohemian autonomy disappeared” (Prinz 2000:29). Yet, in this period of enlightenment, the populations also experienced significant improvements in, for example, law and education.

During the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in the second half of the 19th century, the Czechs redeveloped national strengths that not only showed in the use of the Czech language, but also in a strong Czech cultural presence. This time period further was increasingly marked by the cultural, political, and social separation of Czech and German populations, one that after 1918 grew into antagonism (Heimann 2009).

**Excursus: About the term Sudeten German**

Parallel to this cultural separation developed the term *Sudeten German*, a designation used to label and subsume all Germans in the Bohemian lands. Derived from the mountain range *Sudeten* in North-Eastern Bohemia, the term sporadically developed as early as in the mid-19th century (Hader and Fuchs 2000:1404). Prior to the increasing separation between Czechs and Germans, the Germans named themselves according to

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79 Bohemian can imply both, German and Czech. Prinz refers here to Czech.
80 The term Sudeten German was also used to distinguish the Germans living in the Bohemian lands from other Germans living in the Habsburg Monarchy such as Alpine Germans and Carpathian Germans.
their regional belonging such as Egerländer (Germans from the Egerland) or Kuhländler (Germans from the regions called Kuhländchen) or under the more general labels Deutschböhmnen (German-Bohemians) or Deutschmähren (German-Moravians). Based on the Bohemians’ settlement in various secluded regions in the Bohemian lands and their ability to easily switch between Czech and German orientations (mainly based on the use of language), Sudeten Germans have, until the emergence of the label “Sudeten German,” rarely been considered a distinct population that was either separable from Germans living in the Greater German Reich, nor from Czechs, or Jews. I use the term Bohemian above on purpose, because it implies both, Czech and German orientations. Study participant Alfred Baumgartl (b.1928) in Stará Role (Altrohlau), describes that people in the Bohemian lands were not perceived as Czechs or Germans, but as Bohemians. He experienced the Czech—Sudeten-German relation as synergy.

A Sudeten-German consciousness did not exist in Bohemia, but a Bohemian consciousness. One was Bohemian. All my relatives for example lived in Bavaria, Germany. I visited Germany the first time when I was 8 years old. We were considered Bohemians. Bohemians, who spoke German, or Bohemians, who spoke Czech. Because we all lived in the same cultural space. Bohemians did not recognize this anymore, because of the rising German-Czech antagonism, but the people outside considered us still all as Bohemians. (Baumgartl 2011)82

81 The German regions in the Bohemian lands are usually organized in the following regions: a) in the border regions: Adlergebirge, Altvatergebirge, Beskiden, Böhmerwald, Egerland, Elbetal, Erzgebirge-Saazerland, Kuhländchen, Mittelgebirge, Polzen-Neiße-Niederland, Riesengebirge, Schönhengstgau; b) Sprachinseln (German parts/cities in the inner Czech part of the country): Brünn, Iglau, Olmütz, Prag, Wischau; c) Südmähren. Most of the Sudeten-German study participants label themselves today again (or always did) according to their regional belonging in the Heimat.

These notions highlight the challenges of the label Sudeten German, in that it is not an ethnological term, but a political one. The increasing tension between Czechs and Germans since the foundation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 required the members of either population to be clearly distinguishable. The label Sudeten-German therefore superseded the former politically charged names *Deutschböhmnen* (German-Bohemians) or *Deutschmähren* (German-Moravians) (Hader and Fuchs 2000:1406). These labels implied German superiority and their use was penalized by the Czech Ministry of Interior between 1918 and the annexation of the Sudetenland to the greater German Reich after the Munich Agreement in 1938 (Hader and Fuchs 2000:1406). Any Bohemian or Moravian connection to Germans and Germany was condemned and all German institutions and associations had to be amended by the label Sudeten. Later, the term Sudeten German also implied the possible involvement of Germans with pro-nationalist actions. Because the term is related to these problematic issues, it is still politically and emotionally charged and contested in its contemporary usage. Furthermore, the term is problematic as it is an auxiliary and political construction unable to capture the diversity of cultural and political orientations of the Germans originating from the Bohemian land. As explained in the preface, I use the label Sudeten German exclusively to refer to the community of Germans originating from the Bohemian lands. The study is further based on these Germans’ perceptions of the term and their individual experiences of being Sudeten German.

Interestingly, other study participants perceived the label Bohemian differently. They described that Bohemian referred always to the Czech population.
Historical Developments in the Bohemian Lands after 1918

After the foundation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the Germans, who had developed a cultural dominance during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, were superseded by Czech leadership. The in 1920 released language law constituted the Czech language as the “national, official language of the Republic” (Brandes 2010:647). Nevertheless, Edvard Beneš, then Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, specified that German would be used equally in matters of administration, at courts, and in parliament (Heimann 2009:59). He further declared that public office would be open to all nationalities, the voting system would ensure proportional representation of all nationalities, and local administration would be conducted in the language of the local majority (Heimann 2009:59). In order to build a functioning nation, Germans periodically were included in governmental roles (Heimann 2009:72). The Sudeten-German study participants remember this period variously as cooperative, but also as burdensome and oppressive. The rising National Socialism further inexorably reinforced the separation between the Czech and German populations. After the Munich Agreement in 1938, the Czechoslovakian government was forced to cede the border regions to the German Reich, which led to the dissolution of the Sudeten-German diaspora in the Bohemian lands (Brandes 2010:648). According to Brandes (2010), approximately 300,000 Czechs fled the border regions and settled in the inner Czech parts (648). There, Adolf Hitler established on March 16, 1939 the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia with the plan to Germanize and eventually fully

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83 Germans inhabitants constituted in 1921 23.4 percent of the population living in the Bohemian lands (Brandes 2010:648).
incorporate the Bohemian lands into the German Reich (Brandes 2010:644, 648).

Leadership roles once again reversed and a German hegemony developed. Journalist Elisabeth Wiskemmann described this relationship in 1938:

> German settlers have everywhere created a political complication, because, arriving whether in the twelfth or the sixteenth or the eighteenth century, they have—unlike the Flemish weavers or the French Protestants who came to England—refused to be assimilated, on the general grounds that they were socially more advanced. To the Slavs, among whom they most settled, they appeared as invaders and robbers, though rigid frontiers were perhaps only erected long after the German colonists had appeared. (B)

Andreas Wehrmeyer (2008), music historian and head of the Sudeten-German Music Institute in Regensburg (Bavaria), describes these various forms of cross-cooperation through a contemporary and more differentiated lens: “The borders between collaboration and resistance are much more fluent than oftentimes perceived (there are simultaneously forms of resistance in collaboration as well as partial collaboration in resistance)” (14).

84 Wiskemmann published her book shortly before the formation of the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia. “She became involved in German politics and became an ardent opponent of National Socialism and was soon writing articles on German affairs for a number of periodicals. […] Although her warnings about the nature of the Nazis went apparently unheeded by British officialdom, Wiskemmann gained a reputation as an outspoken critic of Nazism, not least among the Nazis, and she was arrested by the Gestapo and expelled from Germany in July 1936. After her expulsion from the Third Reich, Wiskemmann continued to devote her energies to writing and journalism and was commissioned by the Royal Institute of International Affairs 1937 to make a study of the ethnic Germans living within the borders of Czechoslovakia. The fruits of this study appeared as Czechs and Germans in 1938, which was followed a year later by her second book, Undeclared War (1939)” (Wikipedia 2011).

Excursus: Transcultural interactions and ethnic identity

The Bohemian border regions offered all necessary features for the development of transcultural identities. Bakthin (1986) suggests that the most intense and productive life of cultures happens in areas where cultures meet and communicate in everyday life and not in places where groups have become enclosed in their own specificity (2). The multi-ethnic living situation in the Bohemian lands allowed for regular daily Czech-German transcultural encounters. Recent ethnological discussions address the appropriate labeling of groups that are perceived as independent entities, but at the same time are shaped and defined through their relationship with “others,” with whom they continuously intersect and interfere.

Terms typically applied to label both German and Czech populations are “ethnicity” and “ethnic group.” Ethnicity refers to cultural groups whose individuals identify with each other through a shared traditional heritage, a common history, and a mutual culture (language, religion, etc.) (Barth 1998: Preface). Schermerhorn (1970) defines an ethnic group as:

A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are: kinship patterns, physical continuity […] religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features or any combination of these. (12)

Although ethnicity refers to a long-grown and shared entity, it is always only a temporary alignment of people. In the study of ethnic and national conflict, scholars have recently addressed the problematic handling of groups as self-evident entities (Brubaker
2002:164). Rogers Brubaker (2002), for example, discusses the tendency to represent a
group as an ethnic, racial, or cultural bloc of seemingly “unitary collective actors with
common purposes,” to which shared characteristics and agency can simply be attributed
(164). He calls this practice “groupism” (Ibid.). Brubaker suggests to examine groups in
dynamic, relational, and disaggregated, rather than bounded and concrete terms
(Ibid.:167). Tara Zahra (2010) further stresses the necessity to consider individual mind-
set and subjectivity of the groups’ members to more comprehensively describe seemingly
self-contained communities (96).

This discussion is highly relevant for the setting in the Bohemian lands. The
populations living in these regions were inevitably intertwined. According to need and
political situation, in chameleon like fashion, many were able to take on defining
characters of either population. Although this ability has mainly been ascribed to the
Czech population, also many Germans changed their identity as needed.

During the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Protectorate of Bohemia
and Moravia, Czechs were frequently undistinguishable from the German population.
The study participants remember that Czechs not only spoke German fluently, but also
changed their names to German spellings and adopted a German life style. This situation
changed during the time of the first Czech Republic (1918-1939) and in the aftermath of
the Second World War. My mother Edith Präger, for example, remembers that after the
war, all Germans had to wear a white armlet in order to be distinguishable from the
Czech population. Neglecting this rule had serious consequences. My mother, then six
years old, frequently forgot this armlet. However, she remembers that she was able to
adapt after only a few weeks. When she was taken to task, she answered in flawless
Czech that she was a not a German, but a Czech girl.

The notion of cultural flexibility captures the conditions and challenges for many
inhabitants of the Bohemian lands. Despite the described strong intercultural ties between
Czechs and Germans, which are also reflected in musical repertoire and musical practices
(as discussed later in this chapter), I discuss Czechs and Germans in this project largely
as separate populations. This decision is based on my ethnographic findings that, despite
occasional transcultural collaborations, Czechs and Germans generally developed their
own cultural characteristics and practices. Nevertheless, the study participants’ memories
oftentimes imply a strong subliminal relation to Czech culture.

The Road to Expulsion

After the Second World War, more than three million Sudeten Germans (about 23
percent of the country’s inhabitants) lived in Prague and in the border regions of
Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia (Koch 1998:1597). The border regions were once
again given back to Czechoslovakia and the historical relationship between the
populations ended with the Germans’ expulsion.

Motives for the expulsion are still discussed in historical scholarship. For a long
time, expulsion motives were perceived as triggered by ancient hatreds and tensions
between the Czechs and Germans living side by side in a politically-charged
environment. Recent discussions put forth that the expulsion was caused by 19th-century
nationalism, which led to the desire to align national and ethnic borders (Franzen and
Troebst 2010:694). This fostered, according to the latest investigations by Philipp Ther
(2011), “ethnic engineering” hitherto labelled as “ethnic cleansing” (Ther 2001:44); rational politics that alter the composition of populations in order to prevent further upheaval (Ther 2011:79).

The idea of “nation” as developed in 19th- and 20th-century Europe, “created preconditions for the cleansing of minorities” (Ther 2001:44). The three great powers involved in the drawing of a new European postwar order: USA (Harry S. Truman), Great Britain (Winston Churchill, later Clement Attlee), and the Soviet Union (Joseph Stalin) considered human transfer one of the only means by which future wars and violence in Europe could be prevented. Although the Sudeten-German expulsion is thus habitually perceived as a consequence of the Potsdam Declaration in early August 1945 (Kramer 2001:5), it was further a result of earlier plans made by President Edvard Beneš of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in the early 1940s (Nittner 1990: 206, de

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86 XIII. ORDERLY TRANSFERS OF GERMAN POPULATIONS

“The conference reached the following agreement on the removal of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary [only a protocol, no declaration]:

The three Governments having considered the question in all its aspects recognize that the transfer to Germany of German populations, or elements thereof, remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, will have to be undertaken. They agree that any transfers that take place should be effected in an orderly and humane manner.

Since the influx of a large number of Germans into Germany would increase the burden already resting on the occupying authorities, they consider that the Allied Control Council in Germany should in the first instance examine the problem with special regard to the question of the equitable distribution of these Germans among the several zones of occupation. They are accordingly instructing their respective representatives on the control council to report to their Governments as soon as possible the extent to which such persons have already entered Germany from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and to submit an estimate of the time and rate at which further transfers could be carried out, having regard to the present situation in Germany.

The Czechoslovak Government, the Polish Provisional Government and the control council in Hungary are at the same time being informed of the above and are being requested meanwhile to suspend further expulsions pending the examination by the Governments concerned of the report from their representatives on the control council.” (Jewish Virtual Library 2012:para.8).
Edvard Beneš’s plans and Constitutional Decrees (May 1945) deprived the ethnic Germans during the expulsion of their civil rights and protection (Haslinger 2014). The unspeakable nature of Nazi German occupation policies in Eastern Europe before and during the Second World War motivated the expulsion of the Germans initially under the most humiliating conditions. In early 1946, the Allies, alarmed by the appalling conditions of the expellees arriving in the Western Zones, established new agreements with Czechoslovakia. “Thereafter the conditions [of the expulsion strategies] slowly improved” (Ther 2001:56).

**Excursus: A recollection of expulsion in the controlled phase**

Study participant Mrs. Gromes, her mother, and her four siblings received the expulsion order from their hometown Wudingrün during the so called “orderly and humane” expulsion phase in July 1946. The expulsion order stipulated to pack 30 kilogram of the family’s belongings within a few hours. Because all technical equipment and valuables such as money, jewelry and musical instruments needed to be left behind under the threat of force, Mrs. Gromes’s mother had been nine times illegally, and thus at the risk of her life, in the 40 kilometers distant Bavaria to hide the family’s most important belongings at friends’ and acquaintances’ houses. The family could retrieve some of these items a few years later. Just before all instruments were officially picked up or destroyed by Russian troops, Mrs. Gromes had given her zither to the Czech neighbor boy. He had moved with his family into Mrs. Gromes’s former German neighbors’ house after the neighbors’ expulsion a few days earlier. The Gromes family had to leave the house with the key left in the lock and then assemble with other expellees on the village’s marketplace. Mrs. Gromes’s father had not yet returned from the war. The family was then sheltered for a few days in an old cloth factory in the close by Falkenau, until about 1200 Sudeten Germans from the region had assembled. They then were loaded into cattle cars and brought to Bavaria. Mrs. Gromes’s brother fell sick with diphtheria. His mother hid him, because ill individuals were usually left behind or shot. Today, Mrs. Gromes’s brother is over 70 years old. After a couple of weeks with thousands of other expellees in a camp, the family was brought to Rohr (Bavaria) and assigned to live in one room of a local brewer family’s house.88

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87 It is important to hint at the fact that, for example de Zayas, is considered as having presented politically colored historical facts and thus the reference to President Edvard Beneš. Scholars are in the midst of trying to determine Beneš’s role in expulsion.

88 Ager (1999) describes phases of expulsion, which I presented as ethnographic material, in terms of forced migration studies as: Pre-flight (economic hardship and social disruption, physical violence, political oppression), Flight (separation), Reception (first arrival), Settlement, Resettlement (cultural
**Sudeten Germans’ Memories of Musical Practices in their Bohemian Homelands**

In order to determine musical aspects that best describe the “sounding” Bohemian homelands, I ask the study participants about specific Sudeten-German musical repertoire, performance practices, sounds, musical traditions, and other possible noteworthy aspects that they remember from their Heimat. Unsurprisingly, I gathered a large amount and variety of responses and reactions.\(^{89}\) The study participants originate from various regions and educational systems and therefore experienced music in a variety of ways. Some of these regions were separated by mountains and therefore their inhabitants developed distinct cultural and musical practices. Participant Mr. Gromes provided additional reasons for the development of these distinct practices referring to the bordering nations. Germans felt the need to culturally assert themselves against the Czech population, which fostered their community and honed their distinct cultural practices (Gromes 2010). At the same time, all the bordering nations crucially influenced the musical practices of the populations in the Bohemian border regions. He illustrated this two-sided impact discussing the Kuhländchen, a region close to his hometown Šumperk (Mährisch-Schönberg).

The German-speaking regions had to assert themselves against the Czech populations and Czech culture. Therefore, the [German] people bonded. Wonderful. This fostered specific cultural practices. The people in the Kuhländchen, for example, had beautiful songs. And you know why? The music and the musical practices were influenced by the Poles who lived in

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\(^{89}\) The following presents only a fraction of these answers collected from the study participants.
the Northeast of the Kuhländchen, by the Slovaks from the Southeast, by the Czechs from the South, and by the Germans from the North. The Kuhländchen was a point of culmination. (Gromes 2010)⁹⁰

Mr. Gromes highlights (as many other participants) that Sudeten-German musical repertoire and musical practices are not only influenced by Czech practices, but also by Moravian, Polish, Bavarian, Roma, and Austrian music.

The study participants remember further homeland-defining musical aspects such as the prominent instrument makers in Graslitz (Kraslice), who constituted, together with the instrument makers from the bordering cities in Germany, a European center of instrument-making. They further mentioned the organ builders from Elbogen (Loket), and the bagpipe makers and bagpipe players from the Egerland. Other participants recall statues of Czech composers, such as Bedřich Smetana and Antonín Dvořák, as musically significant. I further collected information concerning pioneering musical performances in the pre-war Bohemian lands such as the first complete performance of Beethoven’s Missa solemnis in D, Op. 123 in Warnsdorf (Varnsdorf) in 1830. This seminal performance was celebrated with another performance of the work one hundred years later. This performance in 1930 was attended by some of the study participants. Many of the participants’ musical recollections further refer to popular orchestras or chamber music ensembles such as the Köckert-Quartett,⁹¹ the ensembles of the German and Czech

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⁹¹ Originally founded in 1939 under the name Sudeten-German Quartet.
opera houses in Prague, the Prague symphony orchestra, and the Marienbader (Mariánske Lázně) and Karlsbader (Karlov Vary) Kurorchester (spa orchestras).

Study participant Hans Müller (b. 1932) in Bavaria, shared with me so far overlooked information about the popular salon band Albert Sänger and the widely known women orchestras of Preßnitz (Přísečnice). His deceased wife, Evelyn Müller (nee Sänger), was the granddaughter and daughter of the leading musicians of the Preßnitz orchestras. Beginning in 1830, Preßnitz orchestras travelled the world and significantly contributed to the generally positive worldwide reputation of Bohemian classical musicians (Müller 1995:5).
One of the most prominent Preßnitz salon bands was led by Mrs. Müller’s father, Edwin Sänger.

Figure 10: Damenorchester “Hans Enzmann,” around 1890. Third man from the right is Evelyn Müller’s grandfather Hans Enzmann. Women orchestras usually were run by a male conductor, however, some Preßnitz orchestras consisted only of women and therefore were run by female conductors (Müller 1995:9). Private photo collection of Evelyn and Hans Müller, 2011.
The Salonkapelle Geschwister Sänger, a traveling and also locally employed entertainment band, changed its name in 1937 to Sudetenkapelle Edwin Sänger. This change was caused by political developments in the Bohemian lands. As seen in the photographs above, this name change also entailed an adjustment of attire. The ensemble
expressed their national belonging not only through the group’s name, but also through performances played in traditional clothing.

After the expulsion, many members of the Preßnitz salon bands and orchestras were able to continue their music-making in various new ensembles in West Germany. Edwin Sänger and his siblings, for example, relatively quickly found new opportunities for music-making while playing for local festivities and associations. These musical opportunities presented themselves only because members of the family Sänger could transport some of their instruments prior to the expulsion in secret nightly trips to the bordering German Saxony (Müller 1995).

Another prominent musical figure, mentioned by the study participants, is the influential musicologist and music pedagogue Walther Hensel. Hensel co-founded the Sudeten-German branch of the youth movement called *Wandervogelbewegung* in 1911 (Richter 2012:7) and established the lay singing weeks *Finkensteiner Singwochen* in 1923. Many of the study participants had met Hensel at the reestablished singing weeks after expulsion.\(^{92}\) Hensel fostered poet and theologian Johann Gottfried Herder’s (1744-1803) idea of the folksong as a cultural and historical voice. Herder defined the essence of a culture in its peasants, its “folk,” as the antidote to the mischiefs of the modern world. Based on these categories of folk and non-folk, folk music still generally implies conservative, national, and rural notions.\(^{93}\)

\(^{92}\) Variations of the Finkensteiner Singwochen are still organized by the Walther-Hensel-Association. During fieldwork in 2011, I have participated in a singing week. Because the use and function of music is similar to other groups (such as the Iglauer Singkreis), I have not specifically discussed my observations of the Walther-Hensel-Association in this project.

\(^{93}\) I will discuss the relations between folk, folksong and nation, as well as contemporary perceptions of folk music more in Chapter 4.
Another influential musical group, described by the study participants, is the *Sängerbund*. The *Sängerbund* is a Sudeten-German singing association founded in 1919 to strengthen the Sudeten-German collective in the increasing *Volkstumskampf*. Some participants showed me examples of songbooks, in which pages were ripped out or glued together. These instances exemplify eliminated songs that Germans were not allowed to sing during the National Socialist period. Some participants further mention names of famous singers, conductors, composers, and instrumentalists who were born in the Bohemian Lands such as the Moravian tenor Leo Slezak and the composers Jan Dismas Zelenka, Jan Václav Stamic, Leos Janáček, Gustav Mahler, Fidelio Finke, and Ralph Benatzky.

Many participants describe music-making in amateur and folk music settings as the most important homeland-defining parameters. They remember musical practices as meaningful social interactions, shared by many. For example, the small town Wallern (Volary) in South Bohemia, located close to the Bavarian Forest, maintained with only about 4000 inhabitants in the late 1940s a large orchestra, a male choral society, *Schrammelmusik* (Schrammel music), a church choir, a brass ensemble, and a chamber orchestra.

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Hast (2004) provides one possible definition of folk music: “Folk or traditional music is a body of orally transmitted, usually rural-based, non-professional, non-commercial repertory created by and for ‘the folk’. ‘Folk’ denotes music that has a long history within a specific community, often functions in rituals and serves as a reminder of shared cultural values. Because of the process of oral transmission from generation to generation, the names of original composers are often forgotten, and tunes and songs undergo a gradual process of change, becoming products of a community over time rather than of a single individual” (16). For further information of Herder’s influence on the development of folk music/folksong and the idea of nation, please see further literature such as Bruno Nettl, *Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents* and Mark Slobin, *Folk Music*. 

Other widespread Sudeten-German musical traditions were regular public folk music and folk dance festivals and the private “evening singing” at home. Many of the participants describe family music-making as significant and formative. On long winter nights, when the families’ duties as farmers were not required, they met for spinning and other craftwork in one home (to keep the heating costs low) and entertained themselves with music and dance. Study participant Mr. Gromes, for example, could sing hundreds of folksongs by heart: “we grew as human beings and we grew together through the music and the texts of the songs. My siblings and I always sang in three voices at home” (Gromes 2010).  

I collected further a large number of significant folksongs, called *homeland songs* (Heimatlieder), which originate from the Bohemian lands. They not only symbolize the Bohemian lands as beautiful former homeland and denote the Sudeten-Germans’ pasts, but also transformed into important musical markers in post-war Germany. Remarkable are further a very intense and comprehensive music education in public and private institutions, even in the smallest and most secluded Bohemian, Moravian, or Czech Silesian villages. Generally, the study participants describe a distinct, rich, and vital musical life throughout the Bohemian lands. Every town usually maintained an orchestra, music theatre, choir, *Musikschule* (private music school), and folk music ensembles.

Some of the study participants raise more contested issues of Sudeten-German music and musical practices, such as determining the nationality of composers and other important musical figures. Gustav Mahler, for example, was born in Bohemia during the Austro-Hungarian Empire and therefore usually is considered an Austrian composer. This often causes incomprehension for some Sudeten Germans, who claim him as a Sudeten-German composer. Mahler’s origins in Bohemia ensured him an entry in the *Lexikon zur Deutschen Musikkultur Böhmen, Mähren, Sudetenschlesien*. A quote in the lexicon highlights that it might have been not only difficult for outsiders to describe Mahler’s nationality in the realm of Czech, German, Jewish, and Austrian orientations, but even for Mahler himself, “I am without home in three different ways; as Bohemian among the Austrians, as Austrian among the Germans, and as Jew in the entire world (Karbusicky
According to the earlier provided discussion of the term Bohemian, it is evident that, although Mahler was born in the Bohemian lands, he cannot automatically be labeled as Sudeten German. Another example provides the case of Franz Schubert. Although Schubert was born in Vienna, some Sudeten Germans claim him as Sudeten-German composer based on his Bohemian ancestors. Critics assess such musical claims frequently as attempts to gain recognition and cultural power in times of political tension.

**The Bohemian Lands as Transcultural Musical Landscape: The Question of Sudeten-German Music**

The participants’ recollections highlight the challenge of defining distinct Sudeten-German musical repertoire and musical practices. When the term Sudeten German was established, a Sudeten-German ethnic consciousness developed, which was, however, not reflected in a distinct Sudeten-German musical culture (Koch 1997:24). Musical repertoire displayed a hybridized character mainly of Austrian and German musical features, frequently combined with Czech and German folkloric characteristics. Sudeten-German music further encompasses compositions that originate in the Bohemian lands and repertoire composed by Sudeten-Germans. A cohesive Sudeten-German folk music did not exist in that the Sudetenland was defined by separated geographical regions. Sudeten Germans, however, developed distinct performance practices that partly differed from the ones customary in Germany as discussed in Chapter 5.

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95 German original “Ich bin dreifach heimatlos: als Böhme unter den Österreichern, als Österreicher unter den Deutschen, und als Jude in der ganzen Welt” (Karbusicky 2000:1612).
These distinctive performance practices possibly led musicologist and musician Hugo Kinzel to state in the first issue of the *Musikblätter der Sudetendeutschen* in 1936, “This magazine aspires to have its own, unique character, which is based on a specific Sudeten-German manner and founded in the Sudeten-Germans’ cultural-political situation and historical destinies” (1). Music historians, such as Michael Komma, Peter Brömse, Rudolf Quoika, Gotthard Speer, and Widmar Hader also argue that the developments in the Bohemian lands allow for the writing of a history that describes a distinct musical culture of the Germans in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia (Brömse 1988:14). Although this perception of a Sudeten-German distinctiveness can be seen as typical for its times, it has since substantially changed. For example Rudolf Quoika (1956) argued that a distinct Sudeten-German music is not apparent, for the Sudeten-German “tribe” simply did and does not exist (9). This notion is still a subject of discussion in circles concerned with Sudeten-German history and culture. Composer and music historian Peter Brömse (1988) mentions in his *Music History of the Germans in the Bohemian Lands* that some scholars argue “East German music”—which might have never existed as such—amalgamated long ago, especially since the acculturation of the Sudeten Germans in Germany, into European musical history and musical practices (13). This notion raises another terminological question, which can’t be answered in the

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96 Besides Speer, these music historians and composers were all born in the Bohemian lands (with German nationality). Gotthard Speer (b.1915) in Silesia; Rudolf Quoika (b.1897) in Saaz, Peter Brömse (b.1913) in Prag, Karl Michael Komma (b.1913) in Asch, and Widmar Hader (b.1941) in Elbogen.

97 Certain musical practices gained political importance based on the notion of the “second battle concerning the German East,” “die zweite Schlacht um den deutschen Osten” (in Brasack 2012:128, cited after Herde).
Joint Musical Practices?

Although the study participants’ recollections show little evidence of Czech-German musical interactions, many of their memories suggest an awareness and longstanding relation to Czech music-making. Mr. Baumgartl, for example, describes Czech-German (musical) relations as follows,

There were about 70 Czechs in my hometown, but they did not speak Czech anymore. They spoke German and they seemed to be German. There were also Czech families who came during the Austro-Hungarian Empire as railroad workers. They stayed and soon spoke our dialect, but they still could speak Czech […]. In the beginning there were no differences between Germans and Czechs, but between workers and the more educated bourgeois. We had the choir of the porcelain workers and the bourgeois choir. (Baumgartl, 2011)

Some of the interviewees even remember that they regularly sang and played Czech music. Alfred Jumar, who was born near the Czech language border in Böhmisch Aicha recalls,

We sang old German folksongs during the so called „Dämmerstunden“ (at dusk). Every available family member came. We sang mainly in German, but sometimes we also sang in Czech. […] Czech songs were definitely cultivated by the Germans. However, we sang mainly old German folksongs, but we did not sing any specific Sudeten-German repertoire. We never sang with any Czech inhabitants. (Jumar, 2011)

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Gilbert Kutscher, (b. 1935) in Opava (Troppau) stemmed from a Czech-German mixed marriage and provided different recollections. His Czech mother stopped singing Czech songs when he was a child because of the rising collision between the Czech and German populations. Mr. Kutscher did not remember any Czech folksongs or children’s songs.

These accounts reveal that, although the Bohemian border lands were a transcultural environment (especially until the rising Volkstumskampf), daily life generally showed a separation between Czech and German inhabitants. Although singing and playing of Czech repertoire was common, the study participants hardly recall shared cultural traditions and joined musical practices as assumed to develop in transcultural living conditions. Music histories, home town almanacs, and concert programs underline these notions of a Czech-German cultural separation. The list of performers’ names of the 140 musical performances that occurred between 1919 and 1939 in Tachov (Tachau), does not itemize a single Czech name. This does not seem remarkable, because Tachov is located in the middle of the Sudetenland. This list, however, expounds the notions described earlier by Mr. Baumgartl, the analysis of almanacs and concert programs is problematic, because Czech inhabitants frequently took on German names or changed their Czech names to the variant German spellings. The concert programs reveal,


100 Mr. Kutscher died in April 2012.
101 Although this can be verified by many historical sources, the participants’ recollections might be influenced by the way of their processing of expulsion experiences.
however, that German repertoire dominated the concert performances in Tachov (as in many other towns in the mainly German border regions).

**Conclusion**

During the conversation with study participant Mr. Gromes, I asked him to play a piece on his violin that best reflects his perception and memory of home. I expected him either to play a Sudeten-German folksong originating from his “old” home in Northern Moravia or a piece that combined old and new home such as one of his compositions, which he described as being influenced by Eastern musical characteristics. To my surprise, he chose the second movement of Dvořák’s ninth symphony *From the New World*. His choice expressed his sense of his past, in which cultural practices indeed established separate communities, however, members of both populations also naturally drew from each other. When he stopped playing, he paused and said: “This music made an impression on me. [pause] We have to thank each other, [pause] the Czechs and the Germans.”

Mr. Gromes’s reflection can be explained with an observation by music historian Michael Komma,

> It is an undeniable fact that, after the *Volkstumskampf* is finally over, the Czech-German symbiosis is still alive in the memories. The Germans accept and even miss now, after the expulsion, the Czech musical characteristics as something that belonged once to them and made them complete. (1960:17)

> The transcultural space defined by Czechs and Germans, which formed a hybrid cultural unit until the 1930s, can only partly be expressed in a shared musical identity as

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102 German original: “Die Musik hat mich geprägt. Da müssen wir uns gegenseitig danken, die Tschechen und die Deutschen” (Gromes, G., 2011).
suggested by transcultural theory. Political developments, such as the rise of National Socialism, were the main factors to temporarily impede and even defeat transcultural developments. The populations were forced to solidify their positions rather than being able to take on traits of their counterparts. Musical communication in the Bohemian lands is therefore rarely remembered in form of joined music-making or as the interchange of repertoire, but mainly in a sensible awareness for each other. An awareness or “transcultural ethic” (Nielsen 1995:803) that still frames and coins the Sudeten Germans’ musical memories.
CHAPTER 4

SOUNDING OR PRACTICED HEIMAT: TERRITORY, NOSTALGIA, AND COMMUNITY BUILDING

Introduction

Auf d’Wulda (Moldau)

1. Auf d’Wulda, auf d’Wulda, scheint d’Sunn a so gulda, geh i hin über d’Bruck. Furt schwimman die Scheider, tolaus ull-wal wei-der und koas kimmt mehr z’ruck.

2. Muß außi i a schwimma, ova koas kimmt mehr z’ruck! Vom Böhmerwald kriagn will i s’Brautbett und d’Wiagn und de Trucha auf d’Letzt.

At the Moldova

1. The sun shines golden over the river Moldova, as I walk over the bridge. The wood in the river always floats downstream, thus no slice will return.

2. Even if I have to swim afar with the river, I will not stay away, because my Heimat is the best place to be. I would like to get the bridal bed, the cradle, and the last chest, from the Bohemian Woods.

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103 Text written in dialect as spoken in the former German parts of the Bohemian Forest.

Figure 13: Folksong “Auf’d Wulda” (Sturm1973:2).
In June of 2011, I spent several days in a youth hostel in Frauenberg with a group of about twenty 65-90-year old Sudeten Germans. Located in the Bavarian Forest, Frauenberg is just across the border from these Sudeten Germans’ South Bohemian hometowns (today in the Czech Republic). Since 1963 they have reunited annually in Frauenberg or another town in the Bavarian Forest to commemorate their former homeland and their past. The daily program of the joyful week consisted mainly of dancing, singing, and (physically and spiritually) visiting the former homeland.

Norbert Lang, a distinguished 80-year old music professor, usually takes on the singing events during the reunion. For health reasons, however, he had to cancel. The group asked me to conduct the rehearsals. Their repertoire consisted of generally-known German folksongs and more specific Sudeten-German repertoire. Since I was familiar with the German folk music and its traditions and became acquainted with many Sudeten-German folksongs earlier during my fieldwork, I was happy to step in.

At the first rehearsal, I asked the group which song they most associated with their Heimat. A murmur was in the room and many times I heard “Auf’d Wulda.” Wulda is Bohemian dialect and refers to the river Moldova. The Sudeten-Germans reminded me that the Moldova (Vltava) originates in the Bavarian Forest and flows all the way through their homeland to Prague. The Moldova is thus an inherent part of their remembrances of their homeland; not only as a geographical benchmark, but also musically.\(^\text{104}\)

So we decided to sing and rehearse “Auf’d Wulda” next, even though I did not know the song. Like many dancelike folksongs, it is in a major key and in three-four time.

\(^{104}\) Another significant and well know piece referring to the Moldova as musical and geographical benchmark is Bedřich Smetana’s *The Moldau* (Czech “Vltava”), which he composed between 1874 -1879. “Vltava” marks one of Smetana’s six symphonic poems, which he combined in the cycle “My Vlast” (My country/my fatherland).
I did not have the time to read and think through the text in Bohemian dialect, so the musical characteristics made me assume it was a joyful song. I cued the choir in a tempo that would allow a dance in ¾, but no one sang the tempo I suggested. After the first verse we stopped and I suggested a faster tempo and more energy. But they told me that this was a “getragenes Lied” (solemn song). Their remembrances of expulsion and the lost homeland transformed the song into a profound piece; a solemn hymn of their Heimat. We sang the song again, this time very slowly. A couple of singers’ got teary eyes. Later, they told me that tears flow every time they sing or hear the song. It is “our” song, they said.

Although the song “Auf’d Wulda” has been a popular tune for these Sudeten Germans already before the expulsion, it specifically shaped their geographical sense of belonging (close to the Moldova) since the expulsion. Still today, when they hear or sing the song, it repeatedly renews this sense of belonging through its origins in the Bohemian lands, its musical characteristics, and the evocation of homeland images. The intensity of these homeland associations and memories have transformed the song, into a meaningful “anthem of belonging,” also called a Heimatlied (homeland song). In this process, the notion of Heimat constituted the overarching umbrella for a sense of belonging that the expellees lost upon their expulsion.

Although the desire of establishing some sort of ”homeland” and sense of belonging is a general phenomenon, Heimat is typically perceived as an inherently German concept, shared by German speaking cultures only. This derives from the fact that Heimat can only partly be translated into other languages (Applegate 1990, Blickle 2002, Confino 2006). While Heimat finds equivalent expressions in many Slavic

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105 Heimat, as a word that is difficult to be translated into other languages, provokes the important question of, “Who owns Heimat?” In his article “Heimat denken. Zeitgeschichten und Perspektiven,” Konrad Köstlin (2010) references Willi Oberkrome who asks this question. Oberkrome critically comments on the perceived “Germanness” of the Heimat concept. He argues that the German attribution of Heimat shows an “Alleinstellungsmerkmal” (unique characteristic or unique selling point) as if Heimat would not be possible anywhere else. He continues that Germans tend to keep a mystery around Heimat.
languages, there is no English translation (Blickle 2002:2). As I will discuss in this chapter, Heimat means “home,” “homeland,” “motherland,” “native land,” “native region,” “native country,” but also refers to “nation,” “nation-state,” and emotions such as “longing” and “belonging.” For most of the study participants, Heimat remains a distinct concept with an emotional quality in their individual memories of a specific territory, time, and social environment.

Based on ethnographical and historical materials, I have found that certain musical repertoire and specific performance practices serve as valuable tools for the immigrants to recall, reconstruct, and renegotiate their different perceptions of Heimat. Music is therefore an inherent part of Heimat’s definition and Heimat’s retrieval. I focus in this study particularly on three most distinctive parameters of Heimat produced by musical practices: territory, temporality, and social environment. My ethnographic materials demonstrate that the immigrants re-experience and re-establish elements of these parameters through music and musical practices and consequently were and are able to rebuild a new sense of belonging after their expulsion. They negotiate this new relationship to their Heimat repeatedly while distinguishing between their “old or primary” Heimat in the Bohemian lands and their “new or secondary” Heimat in Germany. A few of my Sudeten-Germans participants, however, mention that they don’t

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107 In this chapter, I mainly speak about Heimat in relation to the expellees in West Germany (musical practices were limited or repressed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, as discussed in Chapter 6).
know where their Heimat is today or question if they actually have one. In our conversations, I further explore concrete processes and conditions necessary for the building of a new sense of belonging. As discussed in the following, such conditions are, for example, matters of social support, cultural recognition, and the expellees’ abilities to adjust to the new life situation after expulsion.

I further claim that forced migration with no option of return constitutes a different significance of Heimat for many of the expelled than for individuals who left their Heimat voluntarily or still live in what they perceive as their Heimat. Being unable to return to the place that once signified belonging initiates, perpetuates, and strengthens the connection to this specific place. This longing for home is also the prerequisite of a likely idealization of the past and Heimat. Cultural goods such as food and clothes along with lived cultural practices such as traditional rituals and customs, patterns of social behavior, mother tongue and dialect, literature, art, and, as highlighted in this study, music and dance, are the tools that recreate this idealized feeling of place.

Before delving into ethnographic analyses, I provide an overview of the most important ideological shifts of Heimat in the last century. This exercise will highlight Heimat’s malleable and multifaceted manifestation in relation to the Sudeten Germans’ experiences and recollections.

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108 According to Philipp Ther, the term forced migration is contested in contemporary migration research. Scholars question the possibility to accurately define “forced” in the context of migration, because, according to them, all forms of migration are forced. See Philipp Ther (2007:20). Ther offers in a footnote references to scholars who argue against the term Zwangs migration (forced migration). Although one could argue that all migration is forced in some way (leaving a nation, for example, for economic, political, work, family, or educational reasons), voluntary migration usually leaves options of return and rarely is connected to the same extent of hardship and violence as forced migration.
Heimat—Social Significance and Historical Development

Heimat’s fundamental notions of belonging developed as early as in the 18th century introduced by Johann Gottfried Herder (Blickle 2002:53). He encouraged the German folk\(^{109}\) to demonstrate their presence via, for example, their \textit{Volkslieder} (folksongs). The folk experienced through these communal expressions the belonging to a defining and supporting cultural unit, a nation. As a collective concept, Heimat defines the nation’s inhabitants as culturally similar.

The politically constructed national border is the criterion determining one’s belonging to this collective of Heimat. People who live outside the nation’s border are usually excluded from the collective within and are assumed to be different in various ways. They might speak another language, adhere to diverse cultural customs, or practice a different religion. Populations, such as the Sudeten Germans, who live close to a national border, often show a more developed sense of belonging to their community and Heimat. This is based on their geographical living situation, in which they regularly face the dichotomy between belonging and foreignness. They are usually well informed about their neighbors from whom they consciously demarcate or with whom they identify according to situation and necessity. This is especially intriguing in the case of the Sudeten Germans. They are ethnic Germans and therefore related to the Germans living in the German Reich (\textit{Reichsdeutsche}), but also lived since the 12th century in the Bohemian lands. Therefore, many study participants describe that they or their ancestors did not quite belong to either population. Their sense of belonging and Heimat was and

\(^{109}\) People sharing a nation, but mainly referring to the rural population, peasants.
still is defined by both notions of unity (belonging to a Sudeten-German community living in a certain geographical space) and diversity (not belonging to either the Czech or German communities before or after expulsion). This cross-generational strong identification with other local Sudeten Germans caused for many an enduring feeling of extraneousness once dispersed in Germany after expulsion.

In the early 20th century, the rhetoric of Heimat and belonging fostered German national developments that eventually led to (also problematic) notions of unity expressed in nationality and patriotism. Of course, a nation-state is never a homogeneous entity. It is usually divided into various geographical areas in which inhabitants speak diverse dialects and might even adhere to different life styles. Despite these differences, Heimat as a concept related to nation strives to combine the local, the regional, and the national. This, however, was obviously more complex in pre-war multicultural Czechoslovakia as discussed in Chapter 3.

Due to increasing industrial forces and a general attraction of a flexible urban lifestyle in the early 20th century, Heimat became mainly associated with rural contexts. As Confino (2006) argues, urbanization and industrialization turned Heimat into a “hopelessly antimodern” escape from present modernity with a “nostalgic longing for a bucolic past” that fostered anti-industrial and anti-technological ideas about a return to a basic state of society (27). My ethnographic materials highlight what Boa & Palfreyman (2000) describe as developments of opposing concepts of urban against rural, metropolis against province, modernity against tradition, artificiality against nature, hybridity and alien otherness against rootedness and the familiar (Boa & Palfreyman 2000:2).
At the same time, the emerging thought of nationhood paved the way to Heimat’s ideological use of Blut und Boden (blood and soil) by the National Socialists, which idealized concepts such as descent and race. Therefore, Confino (2006) claims, Heimat “epitomized [during that time] all that was wrong with German nationhood:” reactionary politics, antimodernist tendencies, manipulative strategies, and provinciality (27). Many of the participants experienced these negative views of Heimat directly after expulsion. For them, Heimat was “negatively laden, even frowned upon, because of its connection to the Third Reich. The word had after the expulsion here a bitter aftertaste. It was not liked and we avoided it” (Gromes, L. 2010).

Until the Velvet Revolution in 1989, the existence of Heimat as the native place depended on the expellees’ remembrances. Their relationship to Heimat therefore usually represented a “backward-looking liaison” that initiated longing for a bygone and seemingly intact and idealized world (Heinze, Quadflieg & Bührig 2011:7-8). Memory plays further a crucial role for the rebuilding of Heimat, because memory provides continuity to the feeling of nostalgia and dislocation, (Creet 2011:3) which in turn keeps alive and shapes the remembrances of the old Heimat.

When the desire to return to this “ideal” world is no longer connected to this specific location, but rather turns into a general need for belonging, Heimat changes into a utopian place that constantly needs to be established anew (Heinze, Quadflieg & Bührig

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110 German original:”Heimat war negativ besetzt, sogar verpönt, wegen der Verbindung zum Dritten Reich. Das Wort hatte hier nach der Vertreibung einen bitteren Nachgeschmack. We wurde nicht gerne gehört und wir haben es vermieden” (Gromes, L. 2010).
111 Some Sudeten Germans, however, were able to visit Czechoslovakia before the Velvet Revolution in 1989.
2011:7-8). Still today, musical practices facilitate this constant renewal of Heimat and belonging for Sudeten Germans. Probably this perpetual reconsideration of Heimat led Blickle (2002) to point out the Germans’ ambiguous handling and portrayal of the concept. He argues that all Germans think they know what Heimat means,” but as soon as someone asks, the difficulties begin” (1).

This was not the case during my fieldwork, however. All the participants had concrete ideas about their Heimat, which they were always eager to share. Their ideas, however, usually do not encompass the range of complexities that scholars ascribed to the “production and consumption of Heimat” (Blickle 2002:2). For the participants, who very often are aware of the term’s historical and political contexts, Heimat is a concept that every one of them has experienced, thought of, and dealt with during her or his life time. This became, evident when I received several dozens of letters and emails with poems, essays, descriptions, and scholarly papers, or was given boxes of recordings, paintings, and photographs that all express Heimat.

For example Roswitha Seeliger, born in 1923 in Reichenberg (Liberec), wrote the following short story titled “Mein Reichenberg.”

1923
I was born in this city. As a child, I experienced family, home, and nature as described in the folksong called Jeschkenlied. … In my youth, I got to know my homeland through hiking. --- I was happy in my Reichenberg.

1945
All happiness had an end. I was not allowed to go back home. My parents and the entire family were expelled. --- It was not my Reichenberg anymore.

1972
I am married 20 years. With my husband and my child, I visit my Heimat. But how does it look here! The city is deteriorated, my husband’s parental home is gone, and mine is dilapidated. We do not meet a single familiar person with
whom we may or could speak in German. --- No, this is not my Reichenberg anymore.

1991
We receive an invitation from Reichenberg’s major to come visit the city. I travel back to Reichenberg with my family. We meet many former acquaintances and we make new friends. We also speak German with each other. The city is in the process of being renovated. We are welcomed in the town hall…. --- Will you be my Reichenberg again?

1993
I am now 70 years old and retired. I could just enjoy my comfortable life in Bavaria. But I can’t let go of Reichenberg. I constantly work for my hometown. I also repeatedly visit it and hike with my husband in the mountains. Then we really feel “drhejme” (dialect for in our Heimat). I am sure: as long as I will live -- - you will be my Reichenberg. (Seeliger 1993)

Mrs. Seeliger read this story to me during my visit at the elderly home where she lives today. Her husband recently died and she is not in the physical condition to return to Reichenberg.

Another study participant, Alfred Jumar, born in 1924 in Böhmisch Aicha (Český Dub), wrote a short essay called “Heimat, was ist das?” (What is Heimat?) for the Reichenberger Heimatblatt (almanac) in 2011. Mr. Jumar described in this essay a 2010 trip to his Heimat with a group of other Sudeten Germans. In this essay, he includes dictionary definitions and quotes from authors and a brief ethnographic narrative of his yearning for Heimat during post-war war captivity in an American camp.

When I recall my own experiences, I realize that I most longed for my Heimat when I was far away from it. During war as a soldier in the field, I was overwhelmed by my longing for my parent’s home and my secure childhood. And my heart felt peculiar and I most thought of my Heimat, when my companions intoned in the middle of the American grassland the song “Heimat, deine Sterne […]” (“Heimat, your stars”) during war captivity in the camp that was fenced by barbed wire. (Jumar 2011)\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{112} Alfred Jumar. 2010. “Heimat, was ist das?” “Wenn ich meine eigenen Erfahrungen bedenke, so wird mir bewusst, dass mir am deutlichsten in der Fremde mein Heimatbedarf bewusst wurde. Als Soldat im Krieg an der Front wurde die Sehnsucht nach dem Ort des Elternhauses unter der geborgenen Kindheit
Mr. Jumar denotes here Heimat’s important gender connotation that not only constitutes a Heimat defining parameter, but also further explains the expellees’ lasting connection to their Heimat. This gender connotation is its link to motherly and “feminine sensibilities” such as home, children, and family (Confino 2006:86). At the time of war and chaos in the 1940s, when the perceived security of Heimat took on greater significance, most men were at the front or prisoners of war. In this context, as recalled by many of my male participants, and as expressed by Confino (2006), war fostered a close association between women and Heimat: “both [ideally] stayed away from war and battle, representing an image of normality and home to which men longed to return” (86).113 “Motherland,” as opposed to “fatherland,” embodied the feminine and was therefore the more appropriate notion representing Heimat (Blickle 2002:3). Although Heimat and “fatherland” refer to the same geographical space, “fatherland” is different from motherland because it denotes more the state with its political and public constructs rather than the place of one’s origin (Blickle 2002:3). As addressed later in this chapter, a theme that emerged during my fieldwork shows that specifically mothers and the youth were the driving forces to reestablish a “new” belonging and Heimat after the expulsion.

For expelled Sudeten Germans, the understanding of Heimat as the place of return and safety was violated and destroyed by the end of the Second World War. Suffering children, burnt houses, dispersed families, and most significantly

übermächtig. Und wenn in der Kriegsgefangenschaft Kameraden im stacheldrahtumzäunten Lager in den Weiten der amerikaischen Prärie das Lied “Heimat, deine Sterne […]” anstimmten, wurde einem schon eigen ums Herz.”

113 In many cases, only years after the men returned to their families, they found out that this is not how the events in reality played out in the Heimat.
raped women denoted the violated Heimat (Confino 2006: 86). For the time being, this specific Heimat vanished for Sudeten Germans without an option for return. Vital cultural customs and practices that allowed for a re-construction of Heimat, however, could be collectively “reclaimed” by Sudeten Germans in West Germany.\footnote{“Reclaimed” refers to the (political) construction and claiming of cultural customs as Eastern and therefore specifically Sudeten-German.}

**Heimat in Musical Repertoire and Musical Practice**

Sudeten Germans took with them music (a cultural practice that is able to transfer between places, borders, and populations) in form of musical knowledge and skills; recollections of repertoire, performance styles and traditions; individual “sounding identities” (Cumming 2000:128); and sometimes even as concrete sheet music and instruments. As discussed in Chapter 3, repertoire that characterized (and still characterizes) the old Heimat is usually composed by (Sudeten-) German, German, Austrian, or Czech composers (and other Eastern European composers) and encompasses genres such as folk music, salon music (operetta, *Schlager* (popular folk music)), and classical music. This repertoire is still most prominently featured in dance music ensembles, orchestras, chamber music ensembles, brass ensembles (*Blasmusik*), *Hausmusik* ensembles (groups playing mainly folk music, usually within the family at home or in other private settings), and vocal ensembles. These ensembles developed distinct sound qualities based on specific musical styles and local instruments. Additionally, sounds of urban and rural spaces, and specific events such as local customs,
color the Sudeten-Germans’ remembrances of their Heimat. The conversations with the study participants made me realize that in their memories Heimat still sounds and moves. They were able to recreate this specific ‘sounding’ or, what I call “practiced or lived” Heimat after expulsion.

That Heimat has an explicit “sound” (different for every individual) is not only evident in past and contemporary Sudeten-German musical practices, but also in numerous song collections published before and especially after the expulsion. Ethnomusicologists, such as Johannes Künzig (1897-1982) collected and thus aimed to preserve songs from the expelled and the Sudeten Germans who remained in Czechoslovakia after 1946. Künzig (1977) describes the revised edition of this song collection as a means for younger generations to search for their lost identity and Heimat (4). Many other song collections attribute Heimat’s relation to music and musical practice in similar ways. In Der Schlesische Wanderer (The Silesian Wanderer, 1959), the author suggests that the expellees would be able to retrieve their Heimat through singing the collection’s songs. In the songbook Brücke zur Heimat (Bridge to the Heimat) collected as late as 1999, the author states that he compiled these pieces, because “Heimat lives on in song” (see examples Kürsten 2010:256).

Numerous books describing local musical developments also account for the interest of preserving Sudeten-German music and musical traditions such as Joseph Ruprecht’s Singende und klingende Heimat (Singing and Sounding Heimat) published in 1968. Ruprecht’s study is a comprehensive musical account of regions in Northern Bohemia. He touches on aspects such as church music, classical music, folk music,
musical institutions, music education, influential musicians, and descriptions of local musical practices. All these accounts reflect memories of the expellees that foster the rebuilding of a sense of belonging in a different place and setting based on music and musical practice. My study participant Liesl Gromes describes that musical practices known from the Bohemian homelands address the expellees’ basic needs: consolation through (musical) familiarity and repetition, motivation through the revival of (musical) recollections, and the renewed temporary feeling of individual and collective belonging (compare Seifert 2010:11). Similar to all repertoires that one relates to a certain time, place, and social experience; specific repertoire (predominantly songs) carries through textual images and musical form rich memories for the expelled. The afore mentioned Heimatlied, a folksong describing either the scenery of a specific geographical region or customs and social practices related to this specific place, is one such genre that represents and recreates Heimat.115 Many of these songs were altered in terms of performance practice and relevance since and because of the expulsion and therefore signify post-war social, political, and historical developments.116 Heimatrepertoire generally pertains to secular and sacred music from any genre.

Despite alterations of musical form, performance practice, or the repertoires’ relevance, music and musical practices continue to comprise for Sudeten Germans the essential parameters of Heimat: the relation to a specific place, time, and a social support

115 Although musically and stylistically very similar to German folksongs, some specific Sudeten-German music, such as Heimatlieder was prior to the expulsion not known by the Germans living in the German Reich.
116 I will provide more detail about such developments in Chapter 5.
system through (musical) community building. In the following section, I specifically focus on the significance of locality for recreating a sense of belonging after expulsion.

**The Localization of Heimat**

The study participants usually locate their Heimat at the place of their birth. They and their families typically shared a long history and cultural relationship with this native place or more specifically, native town, to which they “belong(ed).” This emotional and intellectual localization (Verortung) of Heimat and belonging is evident in most of the participants, who left the Bohemian lands aged roughly six or older.\(^{117}\)

Today, many expelled Sudeten Germans perceive their Heimat as twofold. As briefly mentioned before, they label their hometowns in the Bohemian lands as their old or primary Heimat and Germany as their new or secondary Heimat. Many moved various times within Germany until they were able to settle and therefore perceive Heimat as multilocal. Heimat’s etymology shows that the word was until recently not considered in its plural form, because one was perceived to not be able to have various Heimaten.

However, Heimat’s contemporary implications have been reevaluated and resulted lately in the inclusion of Heimat’s plural in German dictionaries.\(^{118}\)

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\(^{117}\) Sometimes, the process of socialization established a significant bond with Heimat earlier than age six. Further aspects that created a strong affiliation with Heimat in children aged younger than six were experiences such as a disheartening welcome in Germany after expulsion or the loss of family members and family support. This strong bond to the Heimat then often exists until today.

\(^{118}\) This is a consequence of global mobility rather than the Sudeten-German expulsion.
My study participant Gustl Gromes, for example, described his Heimat as multilocal. Although, his secondary or practiced Heimat was in Griesheim (Hesse, Germany), his primary Heimat or “daheim” (at home) was his hometown Mährisch-Schönberg (Northern Moravia). Mr. Gromes explained that he is now a Hessian, but that he has his roots, through which he gains and fuels much of his energy, attitude, and inner life, in Northern Moravia. “You can’t cut off my roots” (Gustav Gromes, 13 July, 2010). Mr. Gromes’ “root metaphor” indicates a significant difference between Heimat and Zuhause. Sudeten-German children book author Ottfried Preussler, born in 1923 in Reichenberg, expressed this difference in more detail in the following phrase.

Figure 15: Statement by Ottfried Preußler displayed in the Isergebirgs-Museum in Neugablonz, Bavaria, Germany. Photograph taken by Ulrike Präger in 2011.

119 Mr. Gromes died on December 28, 2012.
121 Ottfried Preussler died in February 2013. My participant Liesl Gromes used a similar description to adhere to this difference. “Heimat is more than the actual place you live in. Here now is my Zuhause (home or house), but not my Heimat. But I also feel fine here now” (Liesl Gromes, 13 July, 2010).
122 Neugablonz (New-Gabolz) is a village founded for about 18,000 refugees expelled from Jablonec nad Nisou (Gabolz and der Neiße). The expellees rebuilt in Neugablonz their world famous glass and jewelry industry that they left behind in Bohemia. Please see further information in Chapter 6.
“Here we are at home (our house is here), but we have been at home over there (our Heimat has been over there).” Zuhause includes the word Haus (home) and refers to the specific building one lives in. Daheim, carrying the beginning of the word Heimat, means a specific place, time, and social circumstances that encapsulate the primary Heimat. Zuhause also constitutes familiar localities that assure belonging and safety and thus tends to be used interchangeably with Heimat.

**Return**

Although many Sudeten Germans had gained a new sense of belonging by the mid-1950s, recurring feelings of nostalgia, many unanswered questions, restless minds, feelings of loss, and also curiosity still cause Sudeten Germans to travel back to Czechoslovakia. Physical returns to the Bohemian lands occurred first in the late 1950s, once the situation between Czechoslovakia and West Germany loosened. At this point, Sudeten Germans had consolidated their positions in shattered postwar Germany, which allowed them to afford traveling (Burachovič 2002:225). Before the fall of Communism, however, a complicated visa application process usually preceded travels to the old Heimat in Czechoslovakia.

Many of the participants state that, although the opening of the border in 1989 marked a historical and emotional highlight in their lives (because it fulfilled their vision of re-experiencing a unified Europe), the unexpected turn raised new questions about their Heimat such as: “Where is my Heimat? What is the condition of my hometown and what is life there today? Is our house still there or who lives in it? And do they use our china” (remembrances from study participants)?
The desire to return to, or more appropriately, to visit the Heimat grew quickly among Sudeten Germans and fostered the commercialization of a new branch of tourism, the so called Heimwehtourismus (nostalgia-tourism). Burachovič (2002) reports that since 1964, and specifically after 1989 about one million of the expelled Sudeten Germans (one third of all expelled Sudeten Germans) became Heimwehtouristen. Music and musical practices that developed since the expulsion into important markers of Heimat and belonging are always part of these travels. Music occurs either in the forms of singing and dancing among the travelers, musical events that reunite expelled and remaining Sudeten Germans (Heimatvertriebene and Heimatverbliebene), or sometimes even as musical occasions that reconnect Sudeten Germans and Czechs.

My study participant Otto Richter, for example, recalled the first pilgrimage of Sudeten Germans to the newly restored minster in Haindorf (Hejnice) in 1991. Mr. Richter joined the pilgrimage as a Heimatverbliebener and spontaneously played the organ in the first post-war German service in the minster, because the regular Czech organ player refused to play the service for the Germans. Mr. Richter remembers that he found a moldy German organ book on the church gallery and played the “Deutsche Messe” by Franz Schubert. This piece is one of the many that after the expulsion had transformed into an “anthem of belonging.” Mr. Richter recalls that all Sudeten-

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123 These travels crucially impacted transnational social, political, and cultural relations between both nations.
German visitors in the Haindorf minster knew this mass by heart. He played a tape for me featuring a participant’s speech recorded during this event.

This church on the hill is not only a place of Christian encounters in our lives, but it transformed into a symbol for all people of the old Heimat who found a new Heimat; for all people who have their origins in this valley and still love it. Many of us heard the sound of this organ before, which is today played by Otto Richter. The organ’s sounds accompanied us during many beautiful events. But also sad and somber moments of farewell have been accompanied by this organ. We remembered this church and the sound of the organ very often after our forced leaving and we thought to hear the sound even for a long time in us. And today the organ sounds for us, brighter and happier than ever, because we were allowed to yet again be back home.¹²⁵

Many Sudeten Germans stated in our conversations that, although it was no problem to visit the Bohemian lands after 1989, it took several years before they actually dared to return. Numerous expellees, such as my grandmother, never traveled back. The reasons are manifold, but usually of an emotional nature. Others mention that they have closed “the expulsion chapter” and have moved on. They do not feel any desire or need to return. For numerous Sudeten Germans, however, there is no actual place to return to, because many villages and towns in the Bohemian lands not only ideologically, but literally disappeared. For example Preßnitz (Přísečnice), a once German populated town

in West Bohemia with a remarkable musical life, was after the expulsion temporarily recolonized by Roma and Czechs, but completely destroyed in the 1970s. The town is now replaced by a reservoir dam.

“Nationalists frequently predicted the mass return of Sudeten Germans to Bohemia in order to intimidate the Czech population and government. This return, however, always was an illusion” (Burachovič 2002:227). This so-called “myth of return” is explained by migration theorists as the fact that a return to the location that once was left is not possible, because the place has changed and “no migrant can be reunited with the site of their estranged culture simply by return migration” (Baily & Collyer 2006:170). Said (1999) further argues that although many migrants return to the place they once had left, “the feeling of ‘being out of place’ may continue (as cited in

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126 Nationalists would still use the term Bohemia instead of Czechoslovakia.
Baily & Collyer 2006:171). Although many of the participants felt “out of place” for a long time in the midst of the German host population (as discussed in more detail in Chapter 5), by the time a return to Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic would have been possible, their life situations had changed. Most of them felt at home in Germany and their determination and hard work after expulsion had paid off. Although the loss of the primary Heimat is for many still painful, most understand now, many years after yearning for a reconciliation with the Heimat, that this place has since the expulsion not been the one they once left. One also might ask, if it ever was.

In 2010, about 20,780 Germans lived in the Czech Republic (Czech Statistical Office:para. 2). Those Germans either remained in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War or are from younger generations who moved there after 1989. None of the persons I interviewed ever seriously considered moving back to their hometowns. Christine Rösch, born in 1930, described her experience of visiting her former Heimat.

> Life at home after the war would have had nothing to do with the life I once left. I only understood several years ago, when I visited my old hometown that life on the Czechoslovakian side of the Iron Curtain would have been much harder than what we went through after the expulsion. (Rösch 2010)

Many Sudeten-German expellees perceive Heimat today similar to Mrs. Rösch. Their description of Heimat alludes to the common shift between the initial attachment to the “primary” Heimat to the later focus on the “new” Heimat. Although Heimat, as

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shown in this section, is usually also geographically grounded, the importance of location differs for every expellee. An important factor in the process of localizing Heimat was the expellees’ capacity to make themselves feel at home in the new environment despite recurring feelings of “incompleteness or impoverishment” (Fritzsche 2002:62).

The Sudeten-German group introduced at the beginning of this chapter is another example that highlights territory’s relevance for Heimat. Although they all established a new sense of belonging in West Germany after expulsion, these Sudeten Germans recurrently highlight in their remembrances the aspect of lost rather than old or primary Heimat. Heimat as geographical and social entity makes this place for them forever singular and irretrievable.

**Wandervögel and the Musical Localization of Heimat**

The members of this group are all followers of the Wandervogelbewegung (migratory bird movement). Their annual meeting in the Bavarian Forest and the Bohemian lands exemplifies current musical expressions that localize Heimat. The Wandervogelbewegung is an anti-bourgeois youth movement (Jugendbewegung) founded in late nineteenth-century Berlin. The movement consisted of mainly German middle-class adolescents who resisted the restrictions of society, while aiming to live a life based on community, freedom, nature, and music. The Wandervögel even created songbooks, such as the Zupfgeigenhansel, which still today are popular in folk music circles and used by all members of the movement.

In 1911, musicologist and singing teacher Walther Hensel co-founded the Sudeten-German branch of the Wandervogel (Richter 2012:7). The movement soon had a
large number of followers and reached far into the Bohemian Lands. Almost all of the participants know the Wandervogelbewegung and several have been or still are members of the movement. Many remember Hensel as a strict, but charismatic musician and pedagogue who inspired the youth to explore their Heimat and other countries through hiking and music and dance. Hensel initiated in 1923 the first singing week (*Singwoche*) that, according to my study participant Herbert Preisenhammer, inspired a wave of singing weeks in not only the (mostly) German populated border regions of Czechoslovakia but also Germany and Austria. Mr. Preisenhammer’s mother participated in this first singing week. Since 1923, these Singwochen were and still are an important part of the musical lay-scene even beyond German and Austrian borders (Richter 2012:7). My participant Justine Schüssel, for example, describes this fascination with the movement not only based on the joyful music-making, but also on the idealistic ideas that the Wandervögel follow. “The attitude is just contagious” (Schüssel 2010). Mr. Preisenhammer argues further that the singing week’s success was based on the cultural power that it provided for the Sudeten Germans in the battle between the various populations in the Bohemian lands.

As an independent movement, the Wandervogelbewegung was forbidden by the National Socialist Party in 1933 and integrated into the Hitler Youth. Nevertheless, many of the participants remember that the Wandervögel were able to maintain weekly singing and hiking events through almost the entire Second World War. Ms. Schüssel remembers that their meetings were not considered as dangerous and thus tolerated.
After war and expulsion, the Wandervögel and their Singwochen soon reappeared in several associations in West Germany. Some of these meetings were initiated by Walter Hensel.

Most of the Wandervögel I visited in the Bavarian Forest in 2011 knew each other from their teenage years in South Bohemia. After the turmoil of war, they were able to reunite for the first time in 1951 in Ms. Schüssel and her family’s just finished self-built house in Bavaria. She remembered that it took until 1951 to reconnect with her old friends who lived after the expulsion dispersed all over Germany. When I asked her about the atmosphere of this first meeting, for a while she was lost for words. Eventually she said that “it was just beautiful” (Schüssel 2010).

Although the movement was initially not bound to a certain location, this changed for many Wandervögel groups after the expulsion. Ms. Schüssel and her friends, for example, decided in the early 1960s to relocate their meetings to the Bavarian Forest close to their Bohemian hometowns. Since 1963 they met annually in this area. I was fortunate to join the meeting in 2011 and experience the Wandervögel’s musical
practices that they remembered from the time in the Sudetenland. Only since about the last five years, they also visited their hometowns in today’s Czech Republic.

One day during the reunion, we travelled to Prachatitz (Prachatice). I was very much looking forward to this experience. At this point, I had collected about 40 Sudeten-German life stories. These stories frequently centered on Heimat and the sorrowfulness about the loss of belonging and Heimat that the expelled experienced. Now, I had the opportunity to observe first-hand the temporary return of expelled Sudeten Germans to this significant place.

The atmosphere during breakfast that morning was already very different from the last days. The elderly joyfully and anxiously anticipated the trip to Prachatitz. The bus ride was accompanied by singing and the telling of stories about the old homeland, which were triggered by the sight of villages, mountains, and rivers. The elderly Wandervögel seemed to me like a bunch of excited teenagers. Some described the trip to their hometown as the yearly highlight.

We were about 20 people and everyone experienced this event differently. Some were happy and excited to be back, others seemed indifferent, some were nostalgic, but all of them were drawn into their past and their contemporary understanding thereof. I knew that they had shared most remembrances plenty of times with each other before, but an outside observer would not be able to tell. Many of the Wandervögel told me that revisiting and reliving their past in their actual geographical Heimat was each time a rejuvenating experience that they enjoyed most with experiential insiders. “Other expellees know what I went through and they do not get tired of listening to my remembrances” one participant said. I noticed that the women generally showed much stronger reactions and shared their memories more openly than the men. I wondered if this had to do with the fact that they remained in the Heimat much longer than the men, who were called for military service and in many cases never returned to the Bohemian lands.

I sat next to Ms. Schüssel when we arrived close to the Prachatitz’s center. She pointed to a parking lot on the left. “Here stood my parents’ house.” She was proud, sad, happy, and excited all at once. Although delighted about her homecoming, Ms. Schüssel’s return to Prachatitz was inseparable from her remembrances of the forced leaving more than 60 years ago.

We left the bus and immediately small groups ran off in various directions. It was not like one expects a travel with two dozens of elderly people. The energy was immense. Two ladies asked me to follow them; they wanted to show me around. Prachatitz is a beautiful small Czech city. Like most towns in the former Sudetenland, the central market square is surrounded by colorful small houses. After much renovation in the last ten years, Prachatitz is again in very good shape. The traces of war, expulsion and the following deterioration during the communist period mostly disappeared.

We speedily walked through the streets. The ladies had clear targets. They showed me the school house, their parents’ houses, the music school (Musikschule) where one of them went for violin lessons, official buildings, the kindergarten, friends’ houses, and the dungeon in which one of the women’s father was imprisoned. The ladies used these places to re-story their past. Many locations in the town recalled not only
memories, but also emotional responses. I realized that the ladies travelled to a place removed from the foreign here and now to their familiar past. Their hometown, although considerably changed, presented itself as a collection of meaningful memorials that told the women’s individual pasts. Here and then, they left the past and assessed the town through the eyes of foreign, but somewhat familiar visitors. What they experienced is a back and forth between belonging and detachment. After several hours of walking and talking our way through the town, we returned to the bus. 90 year-old Berti left Prachatitz with red cheeks and a tired, but fulfilled look. “Now we have to wait until next year to come back.” Some of the Wandervögel left Prachatitz unhappy. I realized that they wondered if this was maybe the last time they were able to visit their hometowns accompanied with these special friends.

One might wonder in what ways these Sudeten-Germans’ reactions differ from people’s experiences who return to a place where they once lived and that they still perceive as a very special place. Although revisiting familiar locations always allows for a travel to the past, this is a more involved experience for expellees. Despite their changed lives and newly developed belonging in post-war Germany, for some, visiting their geographical homeland temporarily excludes this “other” life. This would be very likely different, if the expellees were accompanied by experiential outsiders such as
younger family members. At the same time, this physical homecoming is also an emotional one. The closest these Wandervögel can get to their old Heimat is through traveling to this specific place with experiential insiders with whom they remember and re-experience their past. In this process, cultural customs and practices such as music and dance offer plentiful opportunities to practice Heimat.

Although Heimat is also inherently bound to place, as discussed so far in this chapter, in times of disorientation and uncertainty, the study participants recall that they were able to use musical practices to create a temporary sense of belonging in different places afar from their native Heimat (such as in their secondary Heimat). Prominent examples of this build the experiences of war prisoners.

**POW and POP—Musical Practices as Spiritual Homeland**

Prisoners of war (POWs) are members of the military who were captured or arrested during or directly after an armed conflict and held in custody by the captor state. Prisoners who were captured not during, but after the German surrender were sometimes labeled as prisoners of peace (POP). The treatment of POWs and POPs in the camps usually depended on factors such as availability of food and other resources and the usefulness of the prisoners to the captor nation. All my male study participants who were called to the military service were at some point captured as prisoners of war. Their remembrances portray all shades of treatment from agony to humanity, dependent on time, place, and circumstances. The participants, who survived war captivity despite great distress, usually decline to share their experiences with me directly. They either had written down their remembrances in the decades after the war, which they allow me to
read, or they share a few sentences here and there about their experiences. Even their fragmented remembrances leave memorable impressions.

In this short section, I introduce musical recollections and materials from war prisoners captured by the American and British Allies and brought to camps in the United States and Italy. I explore various significances of musical practices for creating a sense of belonging in light of the specific circumstances in the prisoner camps. According to the participants and as commonly portrayed in historical studies, the American and British generally upheld the standards set by The Hague and Geneva agreements in their humane handling of German POWs and POPs (Britannica 2013:para.7). The reciprocal treatment of Germans and Soviets in camps during and after the war, on the other hand, is generally discussed as inhumane. These broad notions, of course, neglect differing individual experiences.

Elizabeth D. Schafer (2000) generalizes in the *Encyclopedia of Prisoners of War and Internment* in an entry called “Music” that, “Even in the most brutal of camps, the human voice could give comfort and hope where there was little else” (195). Although singing certainly was able to console camp prisoners, many of the participants indicate the significant differences of how music was used and practiced. Much research has been conducted that shows that musical activities often occurred in forced circumstances in order to pretend ostensible joy and pleasure in musical practice for the outside world (Fackler 2007, Bohlman 2004, etc.). Such practices were often based on The Hague and Geneva conventions that “stipulated that detaining powers were to provide recreational opportunities for their prisoners” (Vance 2000:288). In this way, musical practices can
not only be seen as a source for consolation, community building, and even entertainment, but also as a medium that “insinuated itself into the moments of horror and rupture” (Bohlman 2004:105). In his work on musical practices in concentration camps, Bohlman (2004) further refers to music-making that contributed to the daily forms of humiliation (105) and, as discussed by Fackler (2007) music-making was “designated to break the inner resistance of inmates” (6). Musical practices used for these purposes are, for example, the repetitive singing and playing of specific repertoire, forced loud singing for many hours, or the order to musically accompany violent actions by camp guards against other prisoners. Although research concerning these problematic uses of musical practices focuses mainly on concentration camps, many aspects of the camp’s everyday life apply to experiences of war prisoner camps.

According to my ethnographic findings, war prisoners experienced music-making mainly in form of spontaneous singing or as music at command in camp orchestras. The musical repertoire included usually marching music, dance music, salon music, classical music, operetta and opera numbers, and variously camp anthems. The participants, who were held in British and American camps, described music-making variously as survival strategies: to fight cultural homelessness, achieve a sense of geographical and social belonging, and fight demoralizing boredom. Similar to the Sudeten Germans expelled to Germany, war prisoners used music-making as an opportunity to temporarily forget their present life circumstances. At the same time, however, musical practices constantly reminded them of the loss of their Heimat as a geographical and social entity.
Gretl Heinisch, for example, shared with me details of the time when her deceased husband, Erwin Heinisch, lived as a prisoner of war in Camp Shelby, Mississippi, in the years 1943 and 1944. Mr. Heinisch, who played the accordion, piano, and violin, joined the camp’s orchestra and the company band, which mainly performed for fellow-prisoners. Although these musical practices described forms of music-making on demand, Mrs. Heinisch remembers that her husband enjoyed these musical requirements. In an eight-month period in 1944, Camp Shelby’s war prisoners played 23 musical performances “ranging from a piano solo to a concert by the 35-man camp orchestra, which played to an audience of 1,200 in the camp’s amphitheater” (Schafer 2000:195).

Figure 20: “Unser Lagerorchester in Shelby” (“Our camp orchestra in Shelby”). Erwin Heinisch is the second violinist, second row, third chair. Private photo collection of Gretl Heinisch, 2011.
Based on a conversation with my study participant Mr. Heim, I was able to gather more detailed information on the impact of musical practices on war prisoners.

Rudolf Heim was born in 1925 in Troppau (Opava) in Moravia-Silesia. During the last months of the war, he was stationed in Austria. In the overall chaos after the German surrender, Mr. Heim and some of his comrades fled westwards, toward the British troops. This quick-witted decision enabled them to evade Soviet imprisonment. Once in British captivity, the men were transferred to large war prisoner camps in Italy. Since Mr. Heim yearned to return back home to his family and friends after several years of separation, he bolted from the prisoners’ caravan and escaped. On his way toward the Bohemian lands, he met other comrades who came from that direction. They described an impenetrable border and an overall chaotic situation in the Bohemian lands. These circumstances promised to foil Mr. Heim’s return to Troppau. At this point, he lacked official release papers and thus was unable to be employed. Since most men had not yet returned from the war and man-power was desperately needed, he soon found work as an illicit worker in a private sawmill in the Austrian Feldkirchen. In search for music that
always played an important role in his life, he soon joined the village’s church choir and gave violin lessons. Mr. Heim recalls that these activities immediately established faithful contacts with the Austrian locals. During the time in Feldkirchen, he passed several controls by British soldiers. Although they identified him usually as originating from Troppau in the Czech lands, they failed to recognize his German ethnicity. Eventually, however, he was unmasked by British soldiers and was sent to Rimini, and eventually Tarent (Taranto), Italy.

My conversation with Mr. Heim regarding his time as POW (or rather as POP) revealed the favorable treatment of German war prisoners by British troops. Mr. Heim described the time in war captivity as one of the most rewarding periods in his life. Although living in initially chaotic camp conditions, the British Allies almost unconditionally supported the prisoners’ demands for musical practice.

The British gave us plenty of scope. They were happy that we tried to devote ourselves to something meaningful. […] In the camp in Tarent we sat in our tents and what did we do? We sang in four-part harmony. Someone had a songbook and then we comrades sang. I don’t really remember where the music came from. We sang common German folksongs. Soon we had a camp choir and I auditioned for it with the “Sarastro Aria.” The choir was an opportunity for me to ease the boredom of war captivity. […] In spring 1946 the head of the camp in Rimini had initiated an education program for us prisoners. We had a choir, theater group, reader circle, and a string quartet. (Heim 2011)

Eventually, Mr. Heim met in the camp other war prisoners from the Bohemian lands who were trained as violin makers. Together, they built violins from materials such as wooden cookie boxes.

I started to play again with such a violin. Outside of the camp was the base of the German Support Service Italy. This organization maintained a symphony orchestra. One day, the leader came into the camp and asked for a violinist, since too many of his players were released and sent home. I volunteered and played with the orchestra for several months. I think there was no better way to spend war captivity! I learned so much and I

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will never forget this. [...] We comrades from the Bohemian lands were not released yet, because we had no place to return to. (Heim 2011)\(^\text{129}\)

\textit{In late 1946, Mr. Heim learned through the German Red Cross that his parents had been expelled to Miesbach in Bavaria, Germany. In a letter to his parents, he described his pleasant living conditions in and outside the camp. His mother responded and advised him to stay as long as possible in war captivity, for nothing hopeful would await him in Bavaria. Mr. Heim managed to stay longer and returned from war captivity in June 1947.}

At the time when Mr. Heim was uncertain about the condition and location of his family, musical practices created for him belonging and livelihood in, what he described as, his temporary Heimat. He implied that music as a spiritual homeland replaced for him a (temporarily) lost geographical one.

Although inherently intertwined with territory and social implications, aspects of time, as mentioned here by Mr. Heim are another essential parameter of Heimat. In the following section, I focus on Heimat’s temporality in relation to Sudeten-German musical practices.

**Heimat’s Temporality**

The study participants’ always recalled their old Heimat as connected to two specific time periods and their most prominent social implications: pre-expulsion with the socialization during childhood, and the post-1989 era with the possibility to revisit the old

Heimat with experiential insiders. By Heimat’s temporality, I refer in the following to the time when the study participants physically lived in the Bohemian lands before their expulsion. There they experienced first-hand the “greatness [and the treasures] of the past” (Fritzsche 2002:77) that many of them recall today. Such treasures include their remembrances of a secure childhood and youth, family ties, relationships and friendships, and cultural practices that fostered a certain (comfortable) understanding of life. I have hinted earlier at a possible idealization of this past that I will discuss more in this section.

Musical recollections served in the conversations with the study participants as reminders of this cherished past and very often evoked feelings of nostalgia.\(^{130}\) The impact of the dialectics between nostalgia and (musical) memory is decisive for my interpretation of (possibly idealized or otherwise influenced) remembrances. In what ways does nostalgia influence (musical) memories of the past?

**Times (and Places) of Nostalgia\(^ {131}\)**

“Nostalgia [is] literally the pain that [comes] from the intense but unfulfilled desire to go home” (Sullivan 2010:585).\(^ {132}\) Nostalgia is further defined as a) being homesick and shows in the “wistful or excessively sentimental yearning for return to some past period or irrecoverable condition” [such as Heimat] and b) refers to the circumstances that evoke nostalgia (Merriam 2013). According to recent investigations in

\(^{130}\) As discussed various times so far, this depends on the participants’ age at the time of the expulsion.

\(^{131}\) Much is to be theorized about nostalgia. After a brief general discussion, I will, however, only refer to it in the ways the participants used nostalgia. I explain how nostalgia informed their actions and memories of Heimat.

\(^{132}\) Nostalgia means literally: Greek nósos (return to the native land), álgos (suffering or grief) (Sullivan 2010: 585).
the field of psychology, circumstances that evoke nostalgia are: negative affect, social interaction, negative mood and loneliness, and sensory inputs such as smell and music (Zentner, Grandjean, & Scherer, 2008; Grimm, Robins, et al. 2010:390, Wildschut, Sedikides, et al 2010). Wildschut, Sedikides, et al. (2010) argue furthermore that nostalgia is triggered more often by positive than negative affect and as a consequence often releases negative life scenes by following successes (975). Recent benchmarks in nostalgia research that investigated the functional value of nostalgia even indicated that nostalgia “bolsters social bonds [and] increases positive self-regard (Wildschut, Sedikides, et al. 2010:975). To summarize, nostalgia, often perceived as a painful and melancholic experience is, according to these psychological studies a more multifaceted emotional expression that also “gives rise primarily to positive effects, and serves to counteract sadness and loneliness” (Barrett, Grimm, Robins, et al. 2010:390). This dichotomy is also expressed by Batcho who labels nostalgia as “bittersweet, involving a mixture of sadness and wistful joy” (Batcho as cited in Barrett 2010:391).

Collecting oral histories and life stories provided me with plenty of opportunities to encounter these various forms of nostalgia. The study participants describe nostalgia as the longing for this lost place and irrecoverable condition (Heimat) to which they felt they belonged during a certain period of time. In our interactions, musical recollections frequently evoked these feelings of nostalgia that showed both appreciation about the Heimat’s (former) beauty and simultaneously sadness about past events. Concurrent feelings of loss and harm (especially right after the expulsion) often evoked a feeling of
“(culturally) homelessness” (Vivero & Jenkins 1999) in the immigrants. But music and musical practices frequently offered consolation that mediated such feelings.

Ultimately, musically-evoked nostalgia makes the participants feel excited and empowered. They feel enthusiastic about their past and the homeland’s beautiful musical heritage that they preserve through their individual memories. They further feel empowered by the opportunity to tell an unconditionally subjective account of their past experiences, which is expressed through their emotional responses and their interest to continuously provide artifacts, music, photographs, and other materials for this study. Although such subjective accounts have been collected often enough, most times they are generalized in comprehensive displacement studies.

Nostalgia, as experienced by the participants shows a significant generational difference. Sudeten-German children and youth typically experienced nostalgia primarily through their parents’ yearning for their Heimat. The younger expellees were usually able to adapt faster to their new environment and transformed nostalgia into energy that helped to quickly reestablish a sense of belonging. Many of them (especially second generation expellees) eventually deemed the elderly’s nostalgia as exaggerated and unnerving. This was in opposition to their parents (first generation) who seemed to delve into nostalgia as a way of emotional and spiritual return to their Heimat. Generally, the elderly longed for moving (back) into a better situation (ideally the old Heimat), whereas

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133 Musical repertoire that most frequently triggered nostalgia pertains, for example, to the earlier introduced Heimatlieder and other music that the immigrants perceived as inherently connected to the Bohemian lands and a Sudeten-German life style.
the younger generations more likely already arrived at the new destination and accepted its new challenges. I have observed in some of the participants what Ager (1999) describes as intergenerational conflict, “which is likely to increase rather than decrease over time from resettlement” (12). This, however, does not mean that first generation immigrants did not actively face their situation. Although many yearned for the time back at home, especially mothers remained clearheaded and had no other option than to care for the children and elderly. Men either had not yet returned from war captivity or were in conditions of physical or psychological stress. Later, first generation survivors (women and men) often dove back into nostalgia, after they had recovered, gained foothold, and assured that their children had built a new life. Such recurring feelings of nostalgia, observed in Eastern European immigrants through all generations and post-war times, have led authors to variously label the expellees’ nostalgia as “ostalgia,” (Ost means East); as a pun on the stubborn and continuous presence of the East (Abbany as cited in Legg 2004:100). Although these generational differences are trends rather than absolute notions, my ethnographic experience shows plenty of instances of generational conflict.\(^{134}\)

I collected ample examples of how Sudeten Germans (mostly the Sudeten-German youth, soon joined by the local youth) used music actively and consciously to adapt to the new and challenging post-war situation in Germany. They usually neglected changes of familiar musical practices and performance styles that the processes of

\(^{134}\) My ethnographic materials also shows plenty examples of the opposite; of the Youth’s involvement in dealing with nostalgia-evoked memories of the elders.
integration and assimilation demanded, and soon discovered music’s consoling and community-building effects. These experiences prompted, for example, the siblings Burgl, Gustl, Willi, and Walter Gromes to found a vocal and instrumental ensemble, the *Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe*.

**Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe – Nostalgia and Consolation**

Gustl Gromes remembers the inception of this group as follows.

> It was my father’s birthday in Griesheim in 1947. The owner of the farm, where we were assigned to live did not allow us to make music. So we went to a restaurant to celebrate his birthday. There, we ran into friends that belonged to an expellee association that my father had founded. With them was a priest whom my mother knew from the concentration camp in Olmütz. We siblings began to sing for my father, and then the priest said: ‘you need to keep doing this! You need to keep doing this! Our people are waiting for their music but dare not ask for it!’ This is when we started our group. We had always sung in three part harmony back home while washing the dishes. Soon, we invited other Sudeten Germans to join our group. Many walked from far away to sing, play, and dance with us. We named the group initially the *Gromes Siblings*, because the Allies did not allow us Germans to assemble in large groups. We were always announced as the *Gromes Siblings*, but we typically performed with at least sixteen other people. (Gromes, G. 2010)\(^{135}\)

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Expellee associations that were founded abundantly in the late 1940s (as soon as the Allies had lifted the assembly ban for Germans) soon invited the Gromes Siblings to so-called emergency missions. On these missions, they brought music and dance to sites where other expellees from the Eastern provinces (also from regions other than the Bohemian lands) struggled under poor conditions such as economic hardship, social prejudice, and emotional stress caused by the loss of family members, friends, and geographic and material dispossession. The Gromes Siblings performed mainly Eastern European and German folk music and most times initiated joint singing and dancing with the audience members. The group’s members (the group counted soon more than 20 members) initially consisted of expellees who originated from the Gromes Siblings’ hometown, Mährisch-Schönberg. Later, other Sudeten-Germans, Germans from different Eastern provinces (such as Carpathian Germans), and even German locals joined the ensemble.
The members of the *Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe* travelled and performed usually without compensation.136 “The pleasure for sharing music and dance and to counter

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136 Compensated were later trips as, for example, to the USA (1962)
people’s nostalgia was more important and invigorating than anything else” (Gromes L. 2010).137

Mrs. Gromes joined the Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe in 1952. She recalls that most of the members of the group worked (or tried to find work) during the weekdays and traveled and performed on the weekends. These musical events, although exhausting, provided in turn necessary energy to cope with the initially insurmountable challenges in post-war Germany. In over 25 years, the group performed nationally and internationally about 900 times. Although the group stopped performing in the mid-1970s, most of its members, who had developed deep relationships over the years, regularly met until the group’s 60th anniversary in 2007. The absence of younger members was the main reason for the group’s discontinuation.138

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137 German original: “Die Freude Musik und Tanz zu teilen und gegen das Heimweh der Leute zu arbeiten war wichtiger und belebender als alles andere” (Gromes, L. 2010).

138 I will address in Chapter 7 how the second and third Sudeten-German generations deal in current settings with musical practices such as the ones used by the Adalbert-Stifter-Gruppe.
I visited Mrs. and Mr. Gromes in three consecutive years between 2010 and 2012 in Griesheim close to Darmstadt, Germany where they live since 1959. Mr. Gromes had heard about my project from another study participant. He contacted me and offered to contribute his experiences and remembrances to this study. The day before my visit at the Gromes’s home, I spent the day with another study participant who also knew Mr. Gromes. She described him as seriously ill and I prepared myself for the visit in the Gromes’ home.

When I entered their house, I saw nothing of the expected illness. Mrs. Gromes opened the door and introduced me to her energetic and inspired husband. And this is how I experienced him during each of my visits. Although their recollections of their past were frequently characterized by the pain of nostalgia, our time together was equally full of joy and laughter. Mrs. Gromes told me later that she did not recognize her husband on these days, when he was able to share his musical life story and contribute with it to a document that would last.

When I visited them first, we spent all day with their life stories. Then I returned twice to verify my understanding and interpretation of the earlier collected stories. Between my visits Mrs. and Mr. Gromes always gathered newspaper articles, photos, songbooks, and more valuable materials for this study. When I saw Mr. Gromes last in August 2012, four months before his death, we spent most of the afternoon singing and playing music. Music-making still had this empowering effect on Mrs. and Mr. Gromes that it had right after the expulsion.
Childhood and Youth – Idealization and Romanticizing of Heimat

The life stories of the oldest among the study participants often centered on their memories of childhood and youth in the Heimat. Several of my elderly Sudeten German participants describe life before the expulsion as impeccable. The nostalgia for this place and time of a seemingly secure life that was suddenly irretrievably taken away, is perhaps the main reason for idealized and innocent remembrances of this place (as perceived from the outside). Fritzsche (2002) argues that the insistence to talk about this time period, a time period that marks today only a small portion of their lives, is related to this experience of involuntary break caused by the expulsion (77).

Conducting life story inquiry and oral history with elderly participants are frequently criticized for these processes of recalling one’s childhood and youth. Critics question the possibility of remembering these life phases after such a long time period effectively. In my experiences, however, the elderly’s’ remembrances are often
extraordinarily sharp and detailed, albeit sometimes glorified. My participant Alfred Brückner offers his perception of retrieving memories of his youth in the *Heimat*.

I am now 80 years old and independent of my professional life or personal developments. My short-term memory is naturally less functional and my long-term memory works better than ever. Therefore, everything that happened back home in the *Geburtsheimat* (native town) and during expulsion and the new beginning moves into my focus. (Brückner 2011)

Mark Howe (2000) ascribes clear and detailed memories in elderly individuals to “the distinctiveness of the event[s] against the background of other experiences” (67).

This does not mean that experiences of trauma lead to clearer memories than other events, but remembrances of expulsion and arrival in the new environment might still be prevalent in the refugees and expellees’ lives (Howe 2000:67). The participants’ (musical) stories usually span their entire life time, but recollections of childhood and youth, which mark processes of pre-expulsion, expulsion, and integration, are almost always foregrounded.

As evident in all the conversations with the study participants, the natural connection of *Heimat* to times of childhood and youth causes much of its perceived “innocence.” As mentioned before, I observed that the more consciously a person experienced childhood and youth in the Bohemian lands, the stronger usually her or his

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139 German original: “Ich bin jetzt 80 Jahre alt und unabhängig vom Beruf und unabhängig von privaten Entwicklungen. Das Kurzzeitgedächtnis läßt natürlicherweise nach und das Langzeitgedächtnis funktioniert außerordentlich gut. Besser denn je. Und damit rücken das, was ich Geburtsheimat nenne und Erlebnisse der Ausweisung viel stärker in den Fokus” (Brückner 2011).
bond with the lost *Heimat*. For some, the mere thought of their *Heimat* evokes the earlier discussed temporal, but strong feelings of nostalgia and longing.

My ethnographic findings suggest that the idealization of *Heimat* is also strongly influenced by romantic notions of nature. The participants’ images of *Heimat* usually include description or photographs and paintings of rural scenes. Confino (2006) calls this relation between humans and nature “companionship;” the landscape displays human dimensions (46). These romanticized connotations continue to shape expellees’ perceptions of *Heimat*, which are often expressed in *Heimat-memorials*. These memorials are cherished items such as maps, nature books, photographs, paintings, toys, dishes, instruments, and sheet music. Most of these items somehow made their way with the expellees from the Bohemian lands to the new environments in Germany, which ascribed them substantial sentimental value. At the same time, these items often seem needless, random, or old-fashioned to following generations.

Although the idealized portrayal of and *Heimat* is frequently derided by younger generations and urban individuals, it is exactly this kind of joyful and contented natural appearance that can make *Heimat* special for the expellees: the *Heimat* as the beautiful, secure, and worry-free place from the past. The tendency of *Heimat*’s oversentimental portrayal is usually “puzzling for those looking at German [and Sudeten-German] culture from the outside. Many scholars channel this puzzlement into a quick negative judgment that stands in the way of deeper engagement and inquiry” (Blickle 2002:5). Blickle exemplifies this with a quote from Anton Kaes, “Nowhere do kitsch, false consciousness, and real need lie closer together than in the German word *Heimat*” (Blickle 2002:5; cited
after Kaes 1987:175). This statement refers to the problematic (past, but today mitigated) connotations of *Heimat* such as its oversentimentality, its implication of national ideas, and the notion of *völkisch* implying provincial folkdom. Although these connotations of *Heimat* are certainly relevant and problematic, from the expellees’ perspectives, *Heimat* is, as discussed so far in this chapter, a much more complex and multifaceted concept built on the impact of social environment, locality, and specific temporal circumstances that all create an essential sense of belonging.

**Institutionalization of *Heimat*: A Time-Travel to the Past?**

Since the 1950s, Sudeten-Germans not only searched for their *Heimat* through visiting geographical locations as exemplified earlier with the *Wandervögel’s* annual reunion, but also through reproducing the era and social environment of their *Heimat* in institutionalized local, regional, and national meetings. *Heimat* is recreated, for example, in a (partly) staged and institutionalized form at the annual national Sudeten-German meeting. The annual meeting is a two day event usually held in Bavaria and organized by the *Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft* (SL, Sudeten-German territorial association). The first Sudeten-German meeting, in 1950, attracted about 300,000 visitors (mostly first-generation Sudeten-Germans). About 20,000 guests (first-, second-, and third-generation Sudeten Germans and some locals) came to the 2010 meeting, the first one I attended.

According to the study participants, 1950s-era meetings had two main purposes: a) the political motivation to reunite Sudeten-German families and friends and thus to regain power as a political entity (which eventually facilitated burden sharing and social
integration in West Germany, among other things) and b) to create an opportunity for Sudeten Germans to reunite with other Sudeten Germans in order to reconstitute individual and collective identities, based on the shared memory of *Heimat*, expulsion, and the post-war German life.

As a present-day example of *Heimat* (although still politically motivated), the meeting allows Sudeten Germans to continuously renew their memories through conversation, information, and cultural practices. As a contemporary cultural and political tool, it is important to distinguish between the organizers’ goals for the meeting, the Sudeten-German visitor’s reasons for attending, and the ways in which the meeting is perceived and critiqued by outsiders.

The organizers of the annual meeting are frequently criticized for providing a platform for Sudeten-German political leaders to maintain topics of victimization and injustice and to apply certain cultural policies (*Kulturpolitik*) of constructed or “invented” traditions. These policies serve as cultural tools for upholding a post-war “Sudeten-Germanness.” The overall attitude portrayed at the meeting (mainly through political speeches) is often criticized by outsiders: “While the meeting emphasizes the openness for dialogue between Czechs and Germans, critics frequently interpret the meeting as provocation” (Augsburg Wiki, 2006: para.4). Despite these contested connotations, the

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140 Political themes and motivations address mainly contemporary Czech-German relations.
141 Such contested practices are for example “invented” cases of music, dance, and traditional clothing. I discussed these issues and implications in more detail in Chapter 1.
142 The Sudeten Germans’ continuous labeling of themselves as “victims,” causes such contemporary provocative perceptions. The first Sudeten-German meeting in 1950 was named “Return our homeland” and counted about 300,000 visitors. The meeting in 2006 was labeled “Expulsion is Genocide – The Right for Freedom Secures the Future.” The meetings in 2010 and 2011 showed more conciliatory titles “Joined History – Joined Future in Europe” and “Dialogue and Truth – Create the Future,” however,
participants (who are usually aware of these problematic undertones) rather describe the meeting as a link to their past; as a beloved opportunity to reunite with other Sudeten Germans and to celebrate their homeland.

To do so, the program provides plenty of opportunities: exhibitions of, for example, traditional clothing and handicraft; a display of recent literature addressing Sudeten-German issues; applied practice of Heimat via eating, drinking, and communal singing and dancing, and through lectures, discussions, and musical and literary performances. The event offers further more than 80 information booths representing not only Sudeten-German groups and associations, but also various Heimatkreise (regional groups) that represent districts and towns in the Bohemian border regions. Many visitors wear traditional clothing and enjoy culinary delights from their hometowns.

The evening of the first day is marked by music and dance. One musical point on the program is a Sudetendeutsches Volkstanzfest (Sudeten-German folk dance celebration), in which people sing and dance to live music in a large exhibition hall. The majority of the individuals are today between 70 and 90 years old. Some are joined by their children and grandchildren, with whom they sing and dance. Further musical events are the Sudeten-German Schatzkästlein (a concert with classical music from past and contemporary Sudeten-German composers) and a staged performance (Volkstumsabend) of various folk music groups such as the so called Sing-und Spielscharen.\textsuperscript{143} Although the title in 2011 implies that one still searches for “truth” and the discussion of delinquency in the context of Czech-German history. The meeting in 2012 was named “Preserve Origins – Secure the Future.” http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudetendeutscher_Tag (accessed, May 4, 2012).

\textsuperscript{143} The Sudeten-German Schatzkästlein also frequently includes a reading of a Sudeten-German author. The organizers usually invite authors (also performers and composers) based on their Sudeten-German descent. The Sing-und Spielscharen that perform in the staged folkloric evening are choral-and
Sudeten-German folk dance celebration and the staged performance both continue and practice *Heimat* and even present mostly the same repertoire, they are fundamentally different. The folk dance celebration fosters spontaneous communal singing and dancing (practicing of *Heimat* with active participation as inherent in folk music), whereas the staged performance presents the repertoire as art objects on stage (performance of *Heimat* with passive audience involvement). Both events are geared toward the safeguarding of *Heimat*, as stated in the association’s constitution: “to preserve, enhance, and develop the cultural and scientific heritage of the Heimat as part of a German and European culture” (Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft 2013:f).\(^{144}\)

Study participant Harry Höfer (second generation Sudeten German) and his son Felix, both members of the vocal and dance group *Iglauer Singkreis* that regularly performs at the *Volkstumsabend*, explain in more detail the significance of both events for the continuation of *Heimat* in a Sudeten-German context. Both events are now driven by younger generations who keep practicing and performing Sudeten-German music and dance (Sudeten-German traditions that are now almost completely amalgamated with German musical practices). With very few exceptions, today younger generations dance groups that focus on repertoire from various Sudeten-German regions as indicated in their names as for example: Iglauer Singkreis (Jihlava), Schönhengster Sing-und Spielschar (Hřebečsko), Moravia Cantat (Morava), Böhmerwaldkreis (Šumava), Böhmerwaldjugend, etc. They always perform in traditional clothing of their respective regions (as mentioned before the clothing is marked by “authenticity.”) The folk music groups’ repertoire pertains usually to songs and dances from these specific regions. Sometimes the groups add generally-known German/Bavarian/Austrian folksongs and dances. The end of this event is always marked by the communal singing of the German folksong “Kein schöner Land in dieser Zeit” (There is no other as beautiful country as ours). Every audience member rises for this song. The quality of music-making, as mentioned by performers, audience members, and critics, is not foregrounded in this musical event and thus not important. The aim is the Sudeten-Germans’ experiencing of “their” musical traditions and recollections thereof.

\(^{144}\) Again, the question of “authenticity” of these traditions and their problematic political implications are discussed in Chapter 1.
consider themselves as German locals rather than Sudeten Germans. However, during the meeting they consciously and unconsciously create opportunities for the elderly Sudeten Germans that allow experiences of familiarity and community. While the staged performance provides the younger generations with performance opportunities (most of the elderly usually sit in the audience), the *Sudetendeutsche Volkstanzfest* invites all visitors to communal singing and dancing. This *Volkstanzfest* provides the elderly Sudeten Germans, who might not be able to initiate music and dance without the assistance of the youth, with opportunities for musical participation. While many elderly are concerned about changes of musical practices when transmitted to younger generations, the younger are the most important creators of the meeting’s sense of Sudeten-German Heimat. Harry Höfer explains further.

The one event does not work without the other (*Volkstumsabend* and *Sudetendeutsches Volkstanzfest*). For the staged performances (created by the younger), the younger search for new content and aspects that are attractive to them and this way they continuously attract other younger people who are not from Sudeten-German heritage. Together they rehearse and experience a beautiful piece of music and dance. This is the most important part. [...] A little bit later, they fuel the communal singing and dancing with their vivid (musical) presence (Harry Höfer 2011).145

With few exceptions, Sudeten-Germans regularly return to the meeting to remember Heimat as related to a specific time and social environment that they wish to

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145 I will discuss additional generational implications in Chapter 7. German original: “Die eine Veranstaltung geht nicht ohne die andere. Die Jüngeren suchen in den Bühnenauftritten neue Inhalte, um tragende Inhalte der Arbeit zu finden, die für sie attraktiv sind, um auch Leute anzusprechen, die mit der sudetendeutschen Herkunft nichts zu tun haben. Miteinander ein schönes Werk ein zu studieren, dann hat die Probe einen großen Wert an sich. [...] Dann etwas später gestalten sie das gemeinschaftliche Singen und Tanzen mit ihrer lebendigen musikalischen Präsenz” (Haary Höfer 2011).
re-experience and simultaneously feel obliged to preserve. Jan Assmann (1995) describes this obligation as related to the process of remembering.

Remembrance creates belonging; one remembers in order to be able to belong, and this remembrance has at the same time compulsory character. We can therefore call this kind of remembrance normative remembrance. Normative remembrances create individual identity and a sense of belonging (52).146

As described by Assman (1995), the renewal of belonging also involves obligations such as the organization of the meeting, the participation at the meeting, and the preservation of specific memories and attitudes, which are all prerequisites to maintain a Sudeten-German consciousness and presence in the public eye. This probably is another reason why Sudeten Germans return every year to an almost identical event, although the signifiers of their Heimat, such as musical practices and traditions, might only partly be similar to the ones they practiced in the Bohemian lands.

Scholars tend to focus today primarily on these described issues of “invented” and constructed traditions in light of a possible political manipulation of the Sudeten-Germans’ recollections and musical practices (Brasack 2012). Although these problematic notions need to be considered, my ethnographic materials show that a) many Sudeten Germans are aware of past and presents contested practices, but neglect these conflicted political overtones, and b) they enjoy the event for personal reasons as described above. A discussion of Sudeten-German events and their aims and challenges

Practiced Heimat/en: A Social Support System

Another parameter that shines through all the examples introduced so far in this chapter, are the people that constitute Heimat’s social support system. Alfred Jumar’s recollection of returning for the first time to his hometown Böhmisch Aicha in 1957 (aged 33) exemplifies that a person’s social environment is an essential parameter that constitutes a sense of belonging. Mr. Jumar experienced that his old Heimat could not function as his primary Heimat anymore, because his social support system had vanished:

When I returned for the first time to my hometown, it was clear that Heimat is more than a specific geographical area or specific buildings. Heimat are the people that belong to this area. My neighbors and friends...
were gone. Strangers everywhere. And everyone spoke Czech. And that was cold and unfamiliar. (Jumar 2011)\textsuperscript{147}

Mrs. and Mr. Gromes emphasized even more that their primary Heimat, although inherently intertwined with place and time, was significantly shaped by the social support system built from family, relatives, and friends.

Heimat means to feel calm. To feel homelike, local, native. To be accepted. To be needed. To be acknowledged by family and friends. I am now acknowledged here in my new home, but it is still not like my old home. (Gromes, G. 2010)\textsuperscript{148}

I perceive Heimat, where my relatives live close to me. And, as it was in my hometown Wudingrün, where my language or dialect is spoken. We did not find this again here. (Gromes, L. 2010)\textsuperscript{149}

Although Mrs. and Mr. Gromes rebuilt a new social environment in their secondary Heimat (initially even to large parts composed from Sudeten Germans and therefore united in the \textit{Schicksalsgemeinschaft}), these social units were unable to fully replace the ones that defined a more consistent Heimat. This is perhaps related to the fact that Sudeten Germans in the Bohemian lands were not a distinct community either, but rather strongly connected to their immediate community. They were and are still today connected mainly through imaginations of belonging, exclusion, and longing. This notion

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{147} German original: “Als ich zum ersten Mal wieder daheim war, da hat man deutlich gemerkt, dass Heimat mehr ist als nur das Areal und die Bauwerke, sondern dass da eben auch die Menschen dazu gehören die man damals hatte. Die Nachbarn und die Freunde usw. Sie waren weg. Es waren überall völlig fremde Menschen. Und es wurde nur noch Tschechisch gesprochen. Und das war dann doch kalt und fremd” (Jumar 2011).
\item \textsuperscript{148} “Heimat bedeutet heimlich zu sein. Also heimisch zu sein. Angenommen zu sein. Gebraucht zu werden. Und anerkannt zu sein. Ich bin hier in der neuen Heimat jetzt auch erkannt, aber es ist nicht so wie in der alten Heimat” (Gromes, G., 2010).
\item \textsuperscript{149} „Heimat, das ist da wo die Verwandtschaft rundherum wohnt, und die Sprache. Der Dialekt. Und das haben wir ja hier nicht mehr gefunden. [...] Unsere Verwandtschaft, die ist überall hin verstreut” (Gromes, L., 2010).
\end{itemize}
parallels what Shelemay (2011) calls a community built through processes of descent, dissent, and most importantly of affinity (367-375). Although bonds between Sudeten Germans did not completely replace the lost social units, many of the study participants recall immediate relationships with other Sudeten Germans after the expulsion that in many cases last until today.

The participants describe further music-making with experiential insiders from the Schicksalsgemeinschaft as a significant undertaking for the building of a new or secondary Heimat. Alfred Brückner, born in 1931, remembered in our conversation.

But I did not sing with them [my new friends from West Germany.] When I wanted to practice or experience my Heimat, I needed people who originate from where I am from. (Brückner 2011)150

According to the participants, musical gatherings were socially significant, because they created a new sense of comfort, community, and belonging.

Annemarie Richter, born in 1944 in Langgrün (Bystřice) provides an example of music’s capacity for community building. Although she experienced her Bohemian homelands only as a toddler and therefore does not have a clear memory of her Heimat, when aged 50 she developed a strong interest in her roots. She decided to join a Sudeten-German folk music ensemble in order to play her grandfather’s zither, which her mother smuggled from the Bohemian lands to Bavaria. Mrs. Richter recalls that music-making with a group of Sudeten Germans provides her with a sense of community and belonging.

that she did not expect. She describes music-making with this particular group as the most important link to her past.

In this circle of Sudeten Germans I had the feeling of being accepted. It was self-evident that they included me in all their activities. There was immediately a sense of bonding. I live alone and this group became like a family that accepted me. And that provided security. I did not experience this kind of acceptance when I joined the local music groups (Richter, A. 2011).

Although inherently intertwined with Heimat’s place and temporality, the social environment that Sudeten-German events can create, is the most prominent aspect to build a sense of belonging. Therefore, Sudeten-German events often end in mourning as exemplified with the Wandervögel-reunion at the beginning of this chapter. This is also what Andrew Demshuk (2010) observed in Heimattreffen of Silesians expelled from Poland.

The gathered expellees mourned, not that they were unable to reconquer the lost provinces, but rather that they would all be separated again until the next meeting. Heimattreffen crystallized the idea of the human Heimat, something produced through human interchange and the sharing of communicative memories, rather than determined solely by a concrete physical location. (Demshuk 2010:213)

The possibility of social interaction is also what inspires younger generations today to participate in Sudeten-German ensembles. They do not share experiences of place and temporality, but this enables them to provide a new outlook on

“Sudetengermanness” and the practice of music and dance. I will introduce the younger generations’ handling of Sudeten-German musical practices in Chapter 7.

**Conclusion: When Music does not Matter**

Conditions and practices that allowed the study participants to build a new or secondary Heimat (and their mode of recalling their old or primary Heimat) typically depended on: a support system that offered a sense of belonging and acknowledgement; cultural practices such as music and dance that recognized and respected the immigrant’s cultural background; economic and political conditions that included the immigrant; the expellees’ age at the time of the expulsion; and their capacity to make themselves feel at home in the changed environment despite continuous feelings of hardship.

For many expelled Sudeten Germans, music and musical practices opened up unexpected perspectives for building a new sense of belonging, but for numerous others, music was of no importance. Several times during fieldwork, I observed music and musical practices as ineffective or non-existent in the expellees’ lives. For example, study participants recalled in our conversations the impeded feasibility for music-making caused by shaken life-situations, non-musical environments, missing musical ability, emotional strain and lack of motivation, or the ban of music-making in their local environments. Others did not consider music-making as able to contribute to or improve their life situations. As, for example, my father Franz Präger put it “right after the expulsion, my parents were mainly concerned with our daily survival. We tried to find food. There was no time for music-making” (Präger 2011).
Another study participant, Erika Rukolli, exemplified the difficulties that her father, Harry Nerad experienced. As a studied conductor and composer, his post-expulsion life situation did not afford him with opportunities to return to a professional musical career. Haunted by images of his beloved piano left behind on a street in his hometown and his compositions lost, he could not get a foot back on musical grounds in West Germany. Mr. Nerad, however, was able to pursue music privately and as a result accomplished one of his life goals; he composed an operetta with a storyline that displayed his love for the Bohemian lands. This operetta has been performed various times since his 1963 death. Some other of the participants, who also had built successful musical careers in the Bohemian lands but could not draw on this life after expulsion, often suffered under financial insecurity, vanishing musical creativity, and mental instability.

The majority of the expellees’ musical life stories, however, portray situations such as Jakob Gärtner’s, who built a new livelihood based on his extraordinary vocal abilities. Or Dolf Gräf, whose trumpet playing and organizational skills enabled him and his family to quickly reestablish themselves and develop a new sense of belonging based on a swift integration into the West German host society.152

152 As I discussed in detail in Chapter 2 (limitations), this is based on the research methodology. I focused on participants who identified themselves as being able to contribute to this study based on musical experiences before, during, or after expulsion. I did only pursue a few interviews with participants whose lives did not include music and music-making.
Such musical experiences and life circumstances are the focus of the following chapter, in which I discuss music’s significance for the Sudeten-Germans’ acculturation and integration in West Germany.
CHAPTER 5
GERMANS AND SUDETEN GERMANS IN POST-WAR WEST GERMANY

Introduction

Although a vast amount has been written about the processes of Sudeten-German acculturation, integration, and assimilation in post-war Germany, a comprehensive ethnomusicological study that explores the locals’ and immigrants’ interactions through a musical lens has not been conducted prior to this study. This is surprising, because as I will show in this chapter, musical practices in post-war Germany highlight integration patterns that partly differ from generally accepted integration theories. Musical practices also provide valuable perspectives of the expellees’ role for a new German post-war consciousness and a general understanding of both the locals’ and immigrants’ needs and challenges during (for some still ongoing) processes of integration. Within (music-) historical and sociological studies, musical practices also have been variously recognized as having accelerated the Sudeten-Germans’ integration in West Germany; specifically in Bavaria (Krauss 2008:73, Simbriger 1959).\footnote{Recent articles that address issues of Sudeten-German expulsion from an ethnomusicological perspective (but do not specifically address processes of integration and assimilation) are written by, for example, Annelie Kürsten (2009), “Wie klingt Heimat? Musik/Sound und Erinnerung;;'Ansgar Franz, Christiane Schäfer (2012), “Das Liedgut der Heimatvertriebenen in den westdeutschen Diözesen,”and variously in ‘Deutsche Musikultur im östlichen Europa’: Konstellationen – Metamorphosen – Desiderata – Perspektiven, edited by Erik Fischer (2012). As early as 1959, musicologist Heinrich Simbriger explored on a small scale the Sudeten-Germans’ influence on the music scene in West Germany and issues regarding the preservation of a Sudeten-German musical heritage (if existing as discussed in Chapter 3). Publications that also use musical practices as a tool to analyze processes of acculturation, integration, and assimilation, however, are very rare. Those publications pertain mainly to yearbooks of Sudeten-German associations and music ensembles or conference proceedings focusing predominantly on folk music. Later, musical practices obtained integrative characteristics that advanced a new sense of belonging for the expelled Sudeten Germans and the German locals. Such experiences have occasionally been addressed in another}
Immigration studies usually focus primarily on the expellees’ experiences and post-migration conditions. While I, too, mainly address the conditions of the Sudeten-German expellees, I additionally investigate the locals’ perspectives to broaden the understanding of the post-war integration processes in Germany. Since these processes in West Germany were fundamentally different from the developments in the former Soviet occupation zone/German Democratic Republic (as discussed in Chapter 6), I focus in this chapter on post-war integration in West Germany only. Here I look at, from a musical perspective, issues intrinsic to the processes of Sudeten-German integration such as minority-majority relationships, ethnic identity, “ethnic persistence,” and “the changing conception of home (Heimat) and [eventual] corresponding notions of diaspora” (compare Levy 2002:30).

In this chapter, I analyze post-war musical practices and their significance for integration processes, by drawing on prominent models of cultural and social integration developed by historians Leo Lucassen (2005) and Marita Krauss (1999, 2000, and 2008). After a brief introduction of these models, I discuss them in light of their sonic applicability in post-war West Germany. Sonic refers to the locals’ and migrants’ aural perception of the new environment in linguistic and musical terms.

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important “expulsion genre”: the expellees’ testimonies collected in oral histories and mostly unpublished private biographies. The integration of the refugees and expellees in Bavaria developed differently from other German states, because, as discussed later in this chapter, the Sudeten Germans were (and are still today) officially called the Viert der Bayerischer Stamm (fourth Bavarian tribe) and have stood under the protection of the Bavarian government since 1962. This implies that in Bavaria, they are still able to appear as different from the host population.
Processes of Integration and Musical Practices

The integration of the over twelve million expellees from the eastern provinces is celebrated as one of the major successes in twentieth-century German history. This is mainly based on the fact that the integration processes were considered as already successfully concluded in the early 1960s, only fifteen years after the expulsion (Schulze 2001:7). Yet, during my fieldwork, I often encountered a differently nuanced narrative regarding this successful integration. All the study participants acknowledge their official economic, political, and even social integration. Nevertheless, many explain that this general perception of a successful integration does not always align with their personal experience. I have found that understanding deepens considerably when processes of expulsion and integration are analyzed according to ongoing individual experiences and conditions, such as age, gender, locality, education; and subjective experiences such as the level of stress during expulsion, loss of friends and family members, living conditions after expulsion, and individual abilities and experiences of dealing with change and hardship. Integration studies therefore ideally should also include analyses of individual experiences and identities in order to offer the most possible nuanced picture (which often remained invisible in past studies). I have discovered, for example, that the individual’s perception of a successful integration depends highly on her or his age at the

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154 This focus on individuals remained for a long time in the background, because in the past, histories and memories of a few outspoken political leaders too often transformed into generally accepted collective memories, experiences, and explanations. Such instances are discussed in detail by Hahn & Hahn (2010). Generalized studies usually do not include individual conditions that are able to reframe and reshape commonly accepted notions. Another reason why individual accounts often remain in the background is the tension between historians and ethnologists; between the individual experience and the generally accepted fact and “historical truth.”
time of arrival in Germany. Sudeten Germans who left the Bohemian lands at an age when they were already fully socialized and established in their home environment—a period in which forced migration caused an irretrievable break in their lives—typically had a much harder time to leave the past behind and deal with the new life circumstances. Many of these individuals describe themselves today as integrated or rather accepted into the host society, but still as “somehow not fitting.” Lucassen (2005) describes this as “identificational integration” (19); as a personal integration model that marks the extent to which immigrants keep perceiving themselves as different from the host society and are at the same time viewed as different by members of the host society. My ethnographical findings highlight that Sudeten Germans still today maintain and even cultivate their differences from the German host society through, for example, local, regional, and national Sudeten-German events. These communal practices and their individual perceptions underscore the study participants’ understanding of integration and expulsion as continuous process. This also parallels Milton Gordon’s dichotomy of integration as a long-term, intergenerational process (Lucassen 2005:19). In this

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155 This also holds true (even more) for the parents’ of my elderly Sudeten German study participants. Although the parents of the participants passed away several decades ago, I heard about their expulsion and integration experiences through the eyes of the participants.

156 This understanding of integration as a continuous process applies usually only to the oldest of the study participants.

157 Lucassen (2005) explains that there is no definitive duration that defines a successful integration. The length of integration processes is undeterminable, because “integration is never a neutral process; it is embedded in power relationships. Its course depends on the specific configuration of various actors, including migrants themselves” (Lucassen 2005:19). Despite the fact that integration processes vary for everyone, a successful integration of about 12 million refugees and expellees in an overall dysfunctional environment seems rather fast. A successful integration can be defined as the moment in which every immigrant finds a satisfactory and fitting place in society that reflects a new sense of belonging.
chapter, I look more closely at cultural and economic parameters that analyze and explain the post-war integration processes in West Germany.

Troubled by post-war challenges, both immigrants and locals tried to assert themselves as (culturally) powerful communities in the, for everyone, unfamiliar transcultural setting. Specifically, the German locals perceived the immigrants as social and economic interlopers and were therefore concerned about a possible imminent “foreign infiltration” (Schulze 2002) in “their” environment. In musical terms, both groups used (what they perceived as) their own musical practices, performance styles, and musical traditions not only for post-war consolation, but also to strengthen their cultural visibility and to distinguish themselves from each other.\(^{158}\) Notions of differences and social stratification were, according to my findings, in these initial processes deemphasized, because the desire to belong to a community was stronger than factors of difference. As I present in this chapter, many study participants remember that initial musical practices recreated a sense of a new Sudeten-German community that eased their first stress of adaptation in the new environment. At the same time, these developments initially created a cultural gap between host and immigrant communities; a gap that increased the pressure of integration.

Although the concept of integration is commonly understood as the inclusion of the minority into the majority, integration processes are never one-way interactions. The Sudeten-German integration also instigated processes that altered cultural practices and

\(^{158}\) Based on the fact that both populations in post-war Germany are ethnic Germans, it is questionable if they can indeed be labeled as distinct and separated (ethnic) groups. I will discuss this in more detail later in this chapter.
behaviors of the German host society. Integration refers in the study to the process of
merging the Sudeten-German and the German communities that allows both populations
to preserve their cultural heritage. In the broadest sense, Lucassen’s (2005) definition of
integration as a social process “in which all people, migrants as well as non-migrants find
their place in society” (18) fits my understanding of integration as described by the study
participants. From this perspective, Sudeten-German integration has been successful in
that it created not necessarily a unified society, but provided sufficient opportunity for
every member to find a place in the new intercultural setting.159

Although the Sudeten Germans do not feature a music that could be labeled as
fundamentally distinct and different from a German music (as discussed in Chapter 3),
Sudeten Germans brought musical practices and musical styles that differed from the
ones customary in Germany. While referencing various cases, I will show how these
musical differences facilitated instances of musical acculturation or adaptation of the
German majority. This development eventually allowed for a significant Sudeten-German
influence on the West-German music scene. This influence pertains mainly to the genres
of folk music and salon music, but also shows in the realm of classical music.

159 As evident from the following discussion, integration is a messy concept. Recently, scholars
have replaced it variously with terms such as inclusion, adaptation, insertion, and incorporation (Lucassen
2005:18). The study participants also frequently used additional terms such as acceptance or rejection and
involvement. Integration is further more intricate in the case of the Sudeten Germans in Germany, because
the cultural differences between immigrants and locals are relatively small when compared with most
migration environments.

If one considers the constitution of the post-war German community, a question raised by Marita
Krauss (2000) is worth considering: how and into which society can the expellees be integrated if the local
population was equally shaken by war experiences and thus did not act as a unified community? Locals
were equally in need of being integrated into new spacial, social, political, and as I add, sonic
circumstances (Krauss 2000:27) Lucassen (2005) asks a similar question in general migration terms:
“‘Assimilation or integration’ into what” (18)?
When investigated based on individual experiences, post-war processes of Sudeten-German integration reveal various sub-processes of integration, such as cultural segregation, acculturation, and assimilation. Cultural segregation refers to the immigrants’ continuing attachment to their homeland traditions while resisting the realities of their new life (Maier & Tullio 1996:43). Acculturation is the cultural adaptation of the immigrants, who “detach from their old cultural system […] and internalize new values and behavioral patterns” (Krauss 2008:12). Acculturation occurred mostly for the Sudeten-German youth through, for example, intermarriage and the joining of local societies and clubs. They also quickly acquired and adapted to local dialects, life styles, and overall behavior. In recent scholarship, assimilation and integration are often used interchangeably. Brubaker (2004) describes assimilation as “increasing similarity or likeness” (119). In his terms, assimilation is the process of immigrants and non-immigrants becoming similar and of being treated similarly (Brubaker 2004: 119). Another more common form of assimilation describes the immigrant’s complete absorption (Brubaker 2004:119). This complete absorption leads to almost the entire loss of the immigrants’ former behaviors and cultural practices (Krauss 2000:28). I use cultural assimilation in this study in a combined form; as the process of becoming similar that usually includes some sort of cultural absorption and thus partly a loss of ones’ cultural heritage.

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160 Kraus argues that when acculturation fails, marginalization is the logical consequence. In a Sudeten-German context, this marginalization shows not so much as a collective, but in individual perceptions of post-expulsion processes.
Maier and Tullio (1996) discuss integration further as a series of consecutive sub-processes: a) segregation (complete disintegration of the immigrant population), b) partial disintegration (groups of immigrants remain disintegrated), c) integration (advanced cultural and social participation of the immigrants while preserving cultural practices from the homeland), and d) complete absorption (immigrants and locals are indistinguishable; the immigrants abandon their cultural practices completely) (43-44).

Diverging from Maier and Tullio, I consider all the discussed sub-processes of integration as parallel developments that the immigrants and locals experienced in various forms both individually and collectively. Within these developments I observe the immigrants’ and (locals’) different intensities of “ethnic persistence” (Levy 2002:30) or ethnic consciousness, which could often be indexed with the expellees’ age at the time of the expulsion. Examples of ethnic consciousness are, for example, the choice of everyday language. While some immigrants maintained a higher level of ethnic consciousness and therefore spoke their old Sudeten-German dialect (which led to only a partial integration) others adapted quickly to the new West-German dialect and became familiar with West-German specific musical practices (these developments describe sub-processes of integration, such as acculturation and assimilation).

Individual and collective processes of integration are always expressed in the use of language and the practice of music. For example, the disappearance of Sudeten-German dialects from the public sphere, suggests one type of linguistic assimilation.  

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161 This process also implies subtle and diverging individual experiences such as acculturation (the detachment from an old cultural system and the internalization of new values) (Krauss 2008:12) or
form of musical assimilation is, for example, the adaptation of Sudeten-German Heimatlieder as folk-like popular music by the German host population. The original Heimatlied remains recognizable during this process of re-signification and commercialization, but it has been absorbed into a different German genre. Another instance that exemplifies processes of musical integration is the partial implementation of the Sudeten-German minority’s musical styles by the German majority. The fact that the post-war environment in West-Germany can be analyzed applying integration theories advances not only my argument that musical practices highlight different perspectives of cultural interaction, but also that both populations showed variances that define post-war Germany as a intercultural space.\textsuperscript{162} Today, these differences have disappeared from the daily public sphere. Generally, as a collective, Sudeten Germans have been successfully integrated; on an individual level, however, integration processes are ambiguous, multifaceted, and sometimes incomplete.\textsuperscript{163}

\textbf{Sudeten Germans among Germans}

As briefly presented in the introduction, about three million Sudeten Germans were expelled from the Bohemian lands of which over two million arrived in West Germany (over one million settled in the American zone, which is made of Bavaria and Hesse) and about 800,000 in the Soviet occupation zone (Nittner 1990:210). An integration (as the adaptation to the host society without losing their own cultural practices; many still speak their dialect in private or Sudeten-German settings).

\textsuperscript{162} This means that Germans and Sudeten Germans are not different ethnic groups, but (especially after the expulsion) showed different characteristics, they live in a “quasi-transcultural” environment, as established earlier.

\textsuperscript{163} Completed would refer to the study participants’ individual feelings of being accepted; of “finding a place” in a way that would enable them to let go of their Heimat.
estimated 260,000 Sudeten Germans died during or from the consequences of expulsion (Reichling 1986; Bohman 1959; Nittner 1990; Demshuk 2012, Hahn & Hahn 2006).

Figure 28: The dissemination of the expelled Sudeten Germans in the four German partition zones in 1946. Photograph taken by the author in the Isergebirgs-Museum Neugablonz, 2011.

The Sudeten Germans’ arrival in post-war West Germany caused substantial problems, such as food, accommodation, and employment shortages. Most of the participants recalled that the four occupying powers required the locals to host Sudeten-
German families and thus share their living space with strangers. Most of the study participants were assigned to families in rural areas where the war left less destruction. Usually entire families lived in one room or in a barn, frequently without running water or heat. Others lived for many years in refugee and expellee camps established by the Red Cross. After first contacts between immigrants and hosts, the situation quickly grew competitive; everyone strove to improve their quality of life and in this dysfunctional environment. Generally, immigrants were economically underprivileged, a situation that fostered their determination for educational and economic improvement and eventual equality. Almost all the participants told me stories about the Sudeten-Germans’ tireless work in order to reestablish themselves. They built their own homes, contributed significantly to the rebuilding of German cities, offered their expertise in the work force (particularly in education), and thus significantly contributed to Germany’s economic and educational revival (and consequently to the economic miracle in the early 1950s). Based on the immigrants’ placement in rural or urban environments, their chances for a successful new beginning varied significantly.

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164 These Sudeten-German families comprised at this point mostly elderly, children, and women. Most men were prisoners of war (POWs) and had not yet returned (or did not know where to return to for they had been separated from their families and usually did not know where their relatives ended up.)

165 Refugees and expellees usually could not choose where to settle in Germany after expulsion. Most were assigned to certain places. Some Sudeten Germans already acquired job prospects in West Germany before their official expulsion and therefore asked for their expulsion to a specific place in the later so called “human and orderly” phase. There was, however, no guarantee to get to these specific places. Bernhard Parisius’ (2008) suggests in his investigations of differences between rural and urban post-war integration that as soon as Sudeten Germans embraced opportunities to move to undestroyed and even destroyed urban centers, their future possibilities usually immediately improved due to the reoccurring job and educational opportunities (112). Many of the expelled, however, decided to stay in the rural environment, because they originated from rural environments (Parisius 2008:112).
Mrs. Heinisch, for example, experienced an unusually positive arrival in West Germany that allowed her and her mother to recover and reestablish themselves much faster compared to other immigrants. She remembers the overall situation in Germany.

We were Germans among Germans and that was not easy, because, for example we were actually German-speaking Egerländer (from the Egerland in Bohemia). For the locals, the overall situation was particularly difficult. They just got people put into their homes. My mother and I were very lucky, because we were placed in a very nice host family. This helped us to deal with the overall distressing situation. Still today, I am in contact with this family. (Heinisch 2011)

Mrs. Heinisch addresses a crucial aspect of Sudeten-German expulsion. In terms of migration studies, Sudeten Germans were Germans among Germans and thus made fewer cultural and linguistic sacrifices than immigrants usually experience. However, as above quote suggests, immigrants and hosts experienced specific difficulties, such as differences in dialect, exactly for this reason. Study participant Mrs. Gromes, who was ten years old at the time of expulsion, remembers that speaking a different dialect constituted initially a barrier between her and the Bavarian children. But as a member of the 1.5 generation who, according to my findings acculturated usually very fast, she quickly took on the local dialect, which accelerated her integration. Linguistic aspects that influenced the Sudeten-Germans’ integration were also expressed by study participant Alfred Brückner, born in 1931.

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What we experienced is different from contemporary problems of integration. We had the High German language that connected the locals and us. It was difficult though for those who could not speak High German. Dialect isolated and created difference. Eventually, however, we made friends with the Germans, because we realized that we were not that different. (Brückner 2011)

The significance of speaking Sudeten-German dialect was twofold; it constituted a new sense of belonging within the Sudeten-German community in West Germany and simultaneously established separation between the Sudeten Germans and the German host population. This process highlights the initial cultural gap between hosts and immigrants. Although this gap has now disintegrated, Mr. Brückner, who lives today in Swabia, shared with me an occurrence that exemplifies the continuing significance of dialect and accent in Sudeten-German cultural belonging.

I always had a used Mercedes. Mercedes are cheap cars. A few years ago, when it was broken, I got a rental car from the Mercedes branch here in the area. I knew the chef of the branch only a little bit. We talked and then I said to him, “you are not a Swabian, are you?” He said “no, how do you know?” “Well, I can tell from your slight accent. Where are you from?” “From Jägerndorf.” “Jägerndorf? The people from there where expelled in the wild phase of the expulsion in June 1945. They were chased out.” I said. “Yes,” he said.

I said “They were chased out across the market square into a factory. Soon typhus broke out. Hunger. I still remember that. And we were a few boys, driven by our mothers—the mothers were always the ones who kept a clear head—they instigated us to throw bread and potatoes over the factory’s fence at a spot where the Czech officers did not see us. On the other side of the fence were boys of our age who picked up the food.”

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The Mercedes employee and I determined that he was one of the boys on the other side of the fence who picked up the food. These are unique experiences. These are experiences that connect. Since then I always got a cheap rental car when I needed one. 

_He laughs._ (Brückner 2011)

This bonding experience between Mr. Brückner and the Mercedes employee, triggered by accent, marks today for Mr. Brückner a powerful remembrance of childhood and youth. Mr. Brückner was 14 years old when he threw bread and potatoes over the fence to help other hungry Sudeten-German children. His childhood memories, recalled through his adult eyes, shape not only his understanding of his past, but also contemporary scholarly understandings of social and cultural history.

_Mr. Brückner was born in Grulich (Králíčk)_, a village close to Jägerndorf (Krnov) right at the border triangle of Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia. This region is characterized by a distinct German dialect. A German dialect that although similar to Bavarian, Austrian, Bohemian, Moravian, or Silesian dialects distinguishes Mr. Brückner from the German locals (and also from other Sudeten Germans). **He remembered,**

We were the expelled. We did not have an initial connection with the locals. Or maybe just a little bit of one. I joined a class of more than 20 children and I was the only one who lived in the Red Cross camp. And my language sounded different. No one philosophized about my migration background. I was someone from the outside. I was a stranger who caused others to wonder where I had suddenly come from. I showed them maps. And then they were astonished that I could speak German at all. (Brückner 2011)

**Although until recently quite ill, Mr. Brückner introduced himself in our conversation as a strong and self-confident 80-year old man. Already after a few minutes conversing, I was struck by the reflectiveness of his recollections regarding the era of the first Czech Republic, the Third Reich, the time as a mandatory member of the Hitler youth, and the expulsion with all its consequences. Mr. Brückner, who studied history and Austrian national history in Vienna, lives today in Ravensburg (Upper Swabia). He**
cherished this opportunity to reflect on his past and share with me his thoughts and concerns. He addressed issues such as the possible idealization and selectiveness of his recollections and the questionable use of his individual memories for the development of theoretical ideas. He further described musical practices both in the former Sudetenland and in West Germany along with historical and political events as crucial for shaping his life and his perception thereof. He was enthusiastic and moved quickly but thoughtfully between recollecting, reflecting, reevaluating, and reliving his past.

Study participant, Max Strecker, provided another example of how the sound of familiar Sudeten-German dialects and accents enabled expellees to bond in the new environment:

Refugees and expellees met for example while waiting in a train station or travelling in a train compartment. They suddenly heard familiar sounds. Accents and dialects. ‘This person also comes from drüben (over there, implies the Sudetenland).’ We always had the same conversations. ‘Are you also from drinnen (implies the Sudetenland inside Czechoslovakia). Where are you from? Where are you now?’ And the last question always was “when will we be able to go back home?” People thought the expulsion was only a temporary solution. (Strecker 2010)\[169\]

Many Sudeten Germans perceived their expulsion as a temporary situation that inhibited their initial integration. This common certainty of a temporary expulsion was, for example, musically expressed in the saying “In 1950 we will sing ‘Silent Night, Holy Night’ again back at home.” Just as the universal Christmas song “Silent Night, Holy Night” nurtured and consolidated their hope of return to the homeland provided during this initial period of disorientation, German expellees still recall the consolation of this musical saying.

Another factor that determined the expellees’ willingness to adjust to the new situation was the way the German hosts reacted to their arrival. Generally, experiences of rejection and mistrust caused Sudeten Germans to reunite with other expellees who also wished to return back home, rather than to connect with their new fellow citizens.\textsuperscript{170} Mr. Brückner shared remembrances of such reunifications with other Sudeten Germans.

When we met in the early 50s, the Americans did not care anymore if we assembled. We were allotted a house in Stuttgart dedicated for so called German Youth Activities. There we met. We told each other stories, shared experiences, heard and gave lectures. We did not need a TV, because our lives were full of experiences, upheavals, which we were happy to share. That was like therapy. We belonged together as experiential insiders. We knew things that the locals did not know and that united us. And we knew songs that the locals did not know. (Brückner 2011)\textsuperscript{171}
This Sudeten-German bonding strengthened their cultural standing in West Germany, but simultaneously separated them from the host society.

**Sudeten Germans among Sudeten Germans**

The singing week of the Ackermann Gemeinde was one initiative generated to reconnect refugees and expellees dispersed in Germany.\(^{172}\) The study participants repeatedly state that such initiatives helped them to bond quickly. Musical practices often enhanced these bonds and facilitated the expellees’ informal and sociable interaction. These interactions yielded romantic relationships that frequently led to marriage such as for my participants Liesl and Gustl Gromes, Doris and Wolfgang Lippert, Gretl and Robert Hainisch, and Karl and Roswitha Kugler. Mrs. Gromes remembers that “during this entire week we sang, danced, listened to talks, and celebrated Catholic services.”\(^{173}\) Mr. Gromes added that the leaders of the Ackermann Gemeinde feared that the Sudeten-German children and youth would perish in isolation. “They were concerned that we, dispersed to small German villages, would not be able to meet other young people from the Heimat.”\(^{174}\) Sudeten-German spokespersons tried deliberately to delay the possible

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\(^{172}\) The Ackermann Gemeinde is a community in the Catholic Church founded in 1946 by catholic expellees from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Until today, the community is dedicated to the reconciliation between Germans, Czechs, and Slovaks. The focus of the organization’s activities lies on the “positive coping of the expellees’ fate” while “[…] working through the painful history of Germans and Czechs, Germans and Slovaks, […] the preservations of the common cultural heritage. […] dialogue on the creation of a peaceful future. […] advocacy for the respect of human rights and fundamental freedoms, in particular for the maintenance and implementation of minority and ethnic rights” (Ackermann Gemeinde 2002). The community offers since 1946 conferences, workshops, lectures, exhibitions, and other activities and events.

\(^{173}\) “Wir waren so 500 Jugendliche zwischen 15 und 30 Jahren. Wir haben dort eine Woche lang Vorträge gehört gesungen, getanzt; Gottesdienste gab es auch” (Gromes L., 2010).

\(^{174}\) “Da haben sich ein paar zusammengetan und haben gesagt, dass unsere Kinder umkommen in der Einöde. Dort draußen. Die können hier niemanden kennen lernen aus unserer Heimat. Und da haben sie
amalgamation with the West-German population. In 1959, Konrad Poepelt problematized the Sudeten Germans’ assimilation based on his study on relationships by marriage between Sudeten Germans and Germans. He concluded that the larger German population will prevail culturally.

   It is clear that the marriage between Germans and Sudeten Germans is closely related to a change of West-German populations and the demise [Untergang] of East-German peoples [Germans from the eastern provinces, not the GDR]. (Poepelt 1959:57) \(^{175}\)

   This drastic tone of Poepelt’s statement is a familiar one in German scholarship (especially in the first two decades after the expulsion) conducted by politically motivated expellees. Frequently, such notions were expressed to agitate other Sudeten Germans in order to collectively reach pro Sudeten-German goals. Such extreme notions are frequently quoted in contemporary scholarship. Based on my ethnographic materials, however, I argue that only a fraction of the Sudeten-German immigrants supported such notions.

   The arrival of the Germans from the eastern territories constituted another (in scholarship largely unexplored) social and cultural challenge. Not only Germans and Sudeten Germans needed to compete for a new basis of life, but also expellees competed among themselves for a new livelihood in the same (overcrowded and largely destroyed)

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\(^{175}\) German original: “Damit steht fest, daß sich mit der gegenseitigen Verschwägerung aufs engste verbunden und von deren Ausmaß abhängig, eine Wandlung der westdeutschen und der Untergang der ostdeutschen Stammestypen vollzieht” (Poepelt 1959:57). Poepelt is concerned about the biological vanishing of *ostdeutsche Stammestypen* (East-German tribal types).
geographical space. This required the reshaping of social structures in post-war West Germany.

**Sudeten Germans among Sudeten Germans: Camp Buchberg (Geretsried) and Kaufbeuren-Hart (Neugablonz)**

The Bavarian cities Geretsried, Kaufbeuren-Neugablonz, Traunreut, Neutraubling, and Waldkraiburg are major *Vertriebenengemeinden* (expellee communities) founded because of the expellees’ arrival from across eastern and southeastern Europe after the Second World War. In these regions, expellees from the same regions in the Sudetenland settled in empty barracks and surviving industrial buildings that provided first provisional accommodation. This was an exceptional development, because Sudeten Germans usually were dispersed in order to prevent turmoil. For example, in Camp Buchberg (after 1950 called Geretsried) gathered almost exclusively refugees and expellees from the western Bohemian cities Tachau and Grasslitz.\(^1\) Study participant Karl Kugler (see Chapter 4) from Tachau arrived in Camp Buchberg in 1946 to reunite with his parents and siblings. Mr. Kugler remembered that his father (Karl Kugler Sr.), who was an organist and music teacher, started to sing with the camp’s expellees and refugees as soon as he had returned from touring all over Germany with a theatre group that performed for displaced persons (mostly in Jewish camps). Mr. Kugler Sr. viewed it as his task to immediately incorporate music-making into daily life. “He wanted to help the people here in the camp. They were all depressed and discouraged. First, he only sang with the people from Tachau. Soon they integrated

\(^1\) A few refugees and expellees in the camp Buchberg were from Karlsbad.
other native traditions such as folk dancing or installing a maypole” (Kugler 2010). The refugees and expellees owned neither sheet music nor instruments. Therefore, they built provisional instruments from whatever available materials and notated music from memory.

The immigrants from Tachau (Tachauer) had found accommodation in the old administration building of the ammunition factory (today the Geretsried City Hall); most of the immigrants from Graslitz (Graslitzer) lived in the old workers’ barracks. Karl’s wife Roswhita from Graslitz remembers.

We were the Graslitzer and we lived in the barracks; in the slum. Therefore we were branded as the inferior ones. In the beginning, the Tachauer sang only among themselves. There was kind of a

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177 German original: “Er wollte den Leuten im Lager helfen. Sie waren alle deprimiert und entmutigt. Anfangs sang er nur mit den Leuten aus Tachau. Sie haben Volkstanz gepflegt und andere Traditionen wie zum Beispiel den Maibaum aufstellen” (Kugler 2010).
discord between both groups. The Tachauer initially did not want to include us Graslitzer. They did not really let us participate in their musical practices. (Kugler 2010)\textsuperscript{178}

Camp Buchberg expellees experienced in their isolated Bavarian colony processes of integration and separation similar to the processes observed between locals and immigrants in West Germany. Mr. and Mrs. Kugler remember that the conflict between the expellees was eventually resolved through traditional practices: “The expellees from Graslitz decided to confront the Tachauer and stole their maypole in old Bavarian [and Sudeten-German] fashion. They would only return it when they were allowed to join the dancing” (Kugler 2010).\textsuperscript{179} Although this is a rather playful tradition, Mr. Kugler described the situation as quite adversarial. After this event, however, both groups practiced music and dance jointly. The refugees and expellees in Geretsried soon founded traditional Sudeten-German music ensembles, such as the Egerländer Gmoi, Chorvereinigung Geretsried, and the Musikverin Geretsried, all of which exist today. According to Mrs. and Mr. Kugler, it took a while for locals to join these ensembles. “Actually, we have been aliens in Bavaria for a long time. We are still not totally accepted. Some Bavarians still say we live in Gschwerlsried. Of course not all think that way, but the word is still around” (Kugler 2010).\textsuperscript{180}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{178} German original: “Wir waren die Graslitzer und wir haben in den Baracken gewohnt. Und deswegen waren wir von vorneherein abgestempelt als die vom Slum. Angfangs haben die Tachauer erst einmal nur im Kreise der Tachauer gesungen. Es war da ein gewisser Zwiespalt zwischen beiden. Die Tachauer wollten uns erst nicht mit einbeziehen und uns nicht mitsingen und mittanzen lassen” (Kugler 2010).
\item \textsuperscript{179} “Und dann haben die Graslitzer sich nach bayrischer Art den Maibaum gestohlen. Und haben ihn nur herausgegeben, wenn sie mittanzen durften” (Kugler 2010). This dancing tradition around the maypole on the night of May 1 is called Antanzen or Tanz in den Mai.
\item \textsuperscript{180} “Wir waren Fremdkörper. Wir sind auch jetzt noch nicht richtig angenommen. Die Bayern sagen zu uns Gschwerlsried. Also das ist ein böses Wort, das noch herumgeisteird. Es ist nicht, dass alle so denken
\end{itemize}
In other expellee communities, Sudeten Germans soon took the initiative to re-establish themselves not only culturally, but also economically. They founded new businesses based on cultural knowledge and resources brought to the new environment. For example, citizens from the former Bohemian Gablonz (Jablonec nad Nisou) settled in 1946 in the expellee community Kaufbeuren-Hart in Bavaria. There the refugees and expellees rebuilt their world famous glass and jewelry industry that they left behind in Bohemia. They soon renamed Kaufbeuren-Hart to Neugablonz (New-Gablonz).

Figure 31: Comparison of Gablonz (1939) and Neugablonz (1955). Picture from the exhibition in the Isergebirgs-Museum in Neugablonz. Photograph taken by Ulrike Präger 2011.

(Kugler 2010). *Gschwerl* is a pejorative Bavarian term to describe a group of socially low-rated people. *Gschwerlsried* describes the village of the socially lower group (Tagesspiegel 2013).
H.G. Patzig (1950) described in a local newspaper the economic developments in Neugablonz as following.

In the fall of 1945 in a camp of barracks close to Kaufbeuren, a Sudeten-German repatriate manufactured ornamental pieces and crosses out of old cans and sold them to American soldiers. This was the beginning of the Gablonzer Industrie (industry of Gablonz) in the Allgäu. Today, a large settlement of more than one hundred businesses merged in the Allgäuer Glas- und Schmuckindustrie that exports per month goods for more than a half million marks. […]

Almost every father in Gablonz is a business man in the Gablonzer glass and jewelry industry. Every business man completes, with the help of his wife and children, one particular step in the manufacturing process. A glass button, for example, needs six separate steps of production and thus goes through six small businesses in Neugablonz. […]

The people in Neugablonz are recently not even able to keep up with the orders, because of the missing specialists, tools, and materials. Therefore, the representatives of the Marshall administration in Germany granted the industry in Neugablonz funds of two million marks. (Patzig, H.G. November 1950. “Gablonzer fanden eine neue Heimatstätte.” Nürtinger Kreisnachrichten, Neue Württembergische Zeitung, nr.45; Karasek-Archiv, Johannes-Künzig-Institut, Freiburg, XXXIV/20.

As this newspaper article suggests, refugees and expellees from Gablonz actively used their cultural knowledge and converted it into “cultural capital,” to use Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986) term. This specific Sudeten-German cultural capital developed concurrently into trans-border capital (compare Erel 2010:642); the Sudeten Germans actively re-produced and adapted cultural resources from the homeland in the new environment. Businesses such as the glass industry in Neugablonz significantly supported the Sudeten-Germans’ economic standing and respect in West Germany.

Such initiatives called the locals’ attention to the immigrants’ abilities, which opened doors to relationships based on the communal interest in an increasing economy (compare Krauss 2008:72). These relationships furthered for Sudeten Germans a feeling
of belonging that brought them a step closer to their integration; to finding a new place in society.

Although the flourishing jewelry and glass industry diminished greatly in the last decades, Neugablonz still holds a name in international jewelry production. I visited Neugablonz in summer 2011. It struck me as a sad town. This perception was likely influenced by the rainy weather and my knowledge of the town’s history. For example, a majority of the buildings in the center still remind visitors of the provisional buildings set up for the thousands of expellees arriving in 1945 and 1946. Further signs retell the past of Neugablonz, such as the name of the drugstore (Sudeten-Apotheke), the maypole in the town’s market square that shows an artful array of emblems of Sudeten-German cities, paintings on houses that show the arriving expellees, and the Isergebirgs-Museum (designed on behalf of and by members of the Sudeten-German territorial association). The museum (renovated and redesigned in 2003) leads the visitor through the history of the former expellee community. The first thing the visitor views are projections (on wooden boxes that people used during the expulsion) that display characteristics often assigned to expelled populations.
“Flexibility, volition, tied to the Heimat, initiative, resourcefulness, modesty, pragmatism, persistence, diligence, patience, pioneering spirit, and tenacity” (Isergebirgs-Museum, 2011).\footnote{Important to mention is that the museum was designed on behalf of and by members of the Sudeten-German territorial association. Anpassungsfähigkeit, Willenskraft, Heimatverbundenheit, Unternehmungsgeist, Findigkeit, Genügsamkeit, Pragmatismus, Hartnäckigkeit, Fleiss, Geduld, Pioneergeist, Zähigkeit. (Isergebirgs-Museum Neugablonz, 2011)} These characteristics are regularly referenced by scholars and recalled by the study participants as crucial for the Sudeten-Germans’ integration. A different form of “cultural capital” contributed the Sudeten-German children-book author Ottfried Preußler to the museum.
“Wir haben ja unsere Heimat verloren – nein, wir haben sie nicht verloren, wir sind daraus vertrieben worden. Und was wir mitnehmen konnten, das war für die einen das technische Wissen, und das war für mich dieser Fundus an Motiven, an Gestalten...”

Otfried Preußler

Figure 33: Quote from children book author Otfried Preußler (1923-2013). Photograph taken by Ulrike Präger 2011.

“We have lost our Heimat – no, we have not lost it, we have been expelled from our Heimat. What we could bring was for some their technical knowledge, and for me the stock of motives and creatures [...]” Sudeten-German cultural resources, such as Preußler’s influential and popular literary figures, are one example of artistic contributions that further improved the Sudeten-Germans’ standing and integration in West Germany.

Skilled Migration: Sonic Changes in Post-War West Germany

The integration processes in West Germany eventually initiated dialogues between the immigrants and the host society, which also seeded a merging of German and Sudeten-German (highly compatible) musical practices. This merging appeared in the mixture of Sudeten-German and German musicians and a reciprocal influence of their
musical styles, which allowed for a considerable and lasting Sudeten-German impact on the West-German musical scene.

A specific performance style and repertoire that the Sudeten Germans brought to Germany, led to this lasting sonic impact. While not adhering to the well-known myth of the Bohemian’s superior musicality that dates back to Charles Burney’s travel accounts from 1773, my ethnographic data, which also includes accounts from local Germans, does attest a Sudeten-German distinct musical ability that the German locals soon noticed.¹⁸² These notions of an “outstanding and natural musicality” ("überdurchschnittliche[n] und ‘natürliche[n]’ Musikalität") (2013:136) have been propagated since. Brasack (2012) questions this superior musicality and states that such findings have been politically colored. Stressing the immigrants’ outstanding musicality, based on unsupported evidence, was meant to establish their importance and usefulness in post-war Germany (Brasack 2012:137).¹⁸³ Although Brasack raises a valid point, many

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¹⁸² As explained in Chapter 3, the labels Bohemian and Sudeten German are sometimes used interchangeably, which is problematic. Bohemian can refer to Czech and German inhabitants of Bohemia. Some distinguish between German-speaking and Czech-speaking Bohemians and others distinguish between Bohemians (Czechs) and Germans. When the discussion revolves around music, Sudeten-German is often used interchangeably with Bohemian to create a certain Sudeten-German musicality. What Burney really means are the Czech-speaking Bohemians, because later in his travel accounts he describes that the Bohemians are all Slavic-speaking. I use it in the sense that German-speaking Bohemians (Sudeten-Germans) and Slavic-speaking Bohemians did influence each other musically. - One of the earliest sources that describe a remarkable musicality of the Bohemians stems from Charles Burney’s travel documents from the year 1773. This account has been cited in almost every (music-) history of the Bohemian lands. Burney describes the Bohemian musicians as the most musical population in Europe: “I have heard often, that the Bohemians of all nations in Germany and possibly all over Europe the most musical are […] and that if they enjoyed the same advantages as the Italians, they would excel them” (Burney 1959:1).

¹⁸³ Brasack (2012) cites scholars, as earlier mentioned Heinrich Simbriger (1959), who based his argument on genetic evidence and subjective judgment rather than on concrete evidence (Brasack 2012:137). Simbriger, himself a Sudeten German expelled from Bohemia, is obviously influenced by his own experiences and thus perhaps not a representative example. Although his assertions are indeed not based on any scientific evidence, today many immigrants and locals remember some sort of musical talent in many Sudeten Germans. Such recollections could be, of course, influenced and even manipulated by scholars such as Simbriger, but this would not account for the variety of the participants’ recent memories.
of my elderly study participants (locals and immigrants) describe some sort of special musical talent and characteristic Sudeten-German music-making as discussed in the following.

In contemporary expulsion studies, the transfer of enduring and distinct abilities is often summarized in the notion of “skilled migration.” Schulze (2002:44) argues, based on a study in which he investigated identities of refugees and expellees from all eastern territories, that they enjoyed a better educational system than the German locals. One of his study participants remembered,

Yes, they [the immigrants] were different, but instead of inferior, they were actually superior to the natives; they were better educated, they had a better sense of German history and traditions, and the natives in the rural regions in the West were only too backward and unsophisticated themselves to realize this. (Schulze 2002:44)

Some of my findings parallel this rather generalized description, but perhaps a suggestion by Krauss more satisfactorily addresses the Sudeten-German’s cultural, social, and economic influence. Kraus (2008:70) argues that they were able to use their intercultural experiences from the Bohemian lands to their advantage, which helped them to establish themselves again quickly after expulsion. This means that not only were they able to use musical practices to their advantage (in terms of integration and respect), but they also took initiative in gaining cultural presence through organizing music and dance events. Despite their perceived inferiority based on the challenging economic situation.

It is also important to examine musical accounts from younger scholars (not first generation scholars) who describe this notion in a different, more reflective and objective way.
and their poor psychological conditions, they were often one step ahead of the locals.\textsuperscript{184}

My Sudeten-German participant Max Strecker elaborated on the above mentioned

Sudeten-German musical expertise.

The Sudeten-German teachers, church musicians, choir directors, and other musicians who came to Bavaria stood out. They arrived; picked up any instrument they could find and just started playing. Everywhere. And immediately they organized folkloric evenings and choral societies in order to again establish themselves musically. This stood out and also positively struck the German locals. The Sudeten Germans were excellent musicians. [...] Mostly, the music educators carried on the Sudeten-German musical traditions and maintained the singing of folksongs. The musical life overall, and that is something that the politicians still admit, considerably recovered through the Sudeten Germans’ musical presence. (Strecker 2010)\textsuperscript{185}

Mr. Strecker remembers the Sudeten-Germans’ specific way of music-making in the realm of folk music as “aufspuin.”\textsuperscript{186} “Aufspuin” is Bavarian and Sudeten-German dialect for “aufspielen” and refers to spontaneous musical get-togethers in which the musicians improvise and play without using music. Although such practices are also known in Bavaria, Mr. Strecker and many other study participants recalled an infectious and catching way of Sudeten-German music-making. Study participant Dietmar Gräf

\textsuperscript{184} Some participants generally described themselves upon their arrival as inferior to the locals in terms of economics, health, overall life-condition, and perspectives. Without questioning these subjective perceptions, my findings (based on interactions with locals and immigrants) suggest, however, a similar life instability experienced by both groups.

\textsuperscript{185} German original “Die Musikpädagogen, Organisten, Chorleiter, und sonstige Musiker die nach Bayern kamen, sind schon dadurch aufgefallen, dass sie sobald sie da waren irgendein Instrument genommen haben und angefangen haben Musik zu machen. Überall. Und sie haben sofort wieder Gesangsabende veranstaltet und Gesangsvereine gegründet, um sicch sofort musikalisch wieder zu etablieren. Sie Sudetendeutschen waren herausragende Musiker. [...] Meistens waren es die Lehrer, die das Kulturgut weiter getragen haben und die Lieder wieder gepflegt haben. Aber das musikalische Leben, das geben heute auch noch die Politiker zu, das hatte durch die Einfilterung der Sudetendeutschen schon Aufschwung bekommen” (Strecker 2010).

\textsuperscript{186} Sometimes the musicians are not able to read music. They know the patterns of the repertoire by heart and are able to play after hearing a melody once.
recalls his father Dolf’s take on such music-making while comparing sonic differences between German and Sudeten-German playing.

My father always said that the Bohemian brass bands (and they are heavily influenced by the Czech way of brass playing) play incredibly smooth and gentle; dolce. They have a very soft sound. My father often based this on tonality. He said the Bohemians play pieces using sharps that we play in flat keys. This is why they sound different. I have not heard this from others, but this is what my father always said. (Dietmar Gräf 2011)

Study participant Mr. Brückner, too, remembers this characteristic sound. He describes it as also based on an exceptional and unique technical ability. He proposes that the immigrants consciously and wherever possible used this technical ability for their cultural validation.

Other characteristics that Mr. Gräf describes as particularly Sudeten German (he uses the term Bohemian here, which refers to Sudeten-German and Czech music-making) and that influenced the German music scene were musical diversity, virtuosity, and an emphasis on practice over theory.

*Dolf Gräf worked before the expulsion as solo trumpeter for the symphony orchestra in Marienbad (Mariánske Lázně) in the Egerland. By the end of the war, he lived in West Germany, where he soon played trumpet in a dance band in the American officers’ mess.** His work brought him cigarettes and other goods that he traded for an apartment before the expelled Germans from the Bohemian lands arrived in West Germany. With the help of American soldiers he was then also able to transfer his family

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188 Dietmar Graf recalls that his father’s original name was Adolf Gräf. Adolf was a popular name, not only under Hitler’s regime, but even before. Adolf Gräf was born in 1904. His parents as well as Adolf himself were later dedicated Hitler opponents. Adolf officially removed the ‘A’ form his first name and named himself Dolf Gräf.
unscathed to Germany just a few weeks before the official expulsion. This also allowed him to bring his instruments and music to Germany. Because of unfortunate developments in Bayreuth, where he and his family settled, Mr. Gräf was not able to recreate his earlier musical successes in the classical music scene. Therefore, he established himself as a popular trumpeter with his own dance band. His music-making facilitated not only his personal recovery, but also led to his unusual fast integration based on the locals’ respect and enjoyment of his musical abilities. In the German (mainly Bavarian) brass playing scene, however, Mr. Gräf remained a self-determined outsider. His son remembers his father saying that the level of playing in German brass bands was not comparable to what he was used to in the Bohemian lands and that he would rather not play at all, than join any of the local Bavarian folk music brass bands.

My Bavarian study participant Erich Sepp also describes specific sonic differences in, for example, the use of repertoire and instruments. Mr. Sepp, a specialist in Bavarian and Sudeten-German folk music, names the Bohemian brass musician Ernst Mosch (1925-1999) in our conversation as one of the most influential figures in the realm of brass playing in post-war Germany. Mosch, who was an acquaintance of Dolf Gräf, filled, like Mr. Gräf, the time after the war playing trombone in clubs for American soldiers in the American occupation zone (Mosch Musikverlag: 2012). “But soon, the thoroughbred musician Mosch desire[d] to hear and play a ‘real’ polka like at home” (Mosch Musikverlag: 2012). This desire encouraged him to found in 1956 the Original Egerländer Musikanten, an ensemble devoted to Bohemian brass music. Mosch and his band released their first single in 1960, which earned a gold record for one million sold records in Germany. In the 1980s, the Original Egerländer Musikanten had gained worldwide popularity (Sepp 1993:117). According to Mr. Sepp (1993:117), Mosch’s Bohemian style is characterized by dance repertoire usually limited to Bohemian polkas, waltzes, and marches. Mosch and his musicians neglected the Bavarian repertoire such as Dreher, Galopp, Ländler, Zwiefacher, and others. He based his music-making solely on
musical practices he had learned at home (Sepp 1993:117). Mosch’s style found many
imitators. Therefore, the specific Bohemian repertoire, performance style, and use of
instruments significantly influenced the locals’ sonic habits. The Sudeten Germans
(specifically from the Egerland) acculturated and even assimilated local German brass
players, especially in the realm of folk music. Interestingly, Mosch, who early on was a
prototypical example of the earlier described contested “böhmische Musikalität”
(Bohemian musicality), soon crossed over into the more lucrative realm of volkstümliche
Musik (popular folk-like music).

Another example, this one derived from the post-war classical music scene,
进一步描述了典型的捷克音乐制作。于是，上巴伐利亚交响乐团（Bamberger Symphoniker）成为
the first post-war German orchestra invited to concert tours in France, Spain, and Portugal (Program Notes, Archive
Sudetendeutsches Musikinstitut). Most of the members of the newly founded Bamberg
Symphonic Orchestra were Sudeten-Germans (many were former members of the
Philharmonic Orchestra in Prague and the Karlsbad Orchestra). Already in 1946, the
orchestra played its first concert in Bamberg, which was received enthusiastically by the

189 The fact that Germans originating from regions further east in the Bohemian lands often
remarked that the Egerländer brass music has nothing to do with “their” music, highlights how diverse the
Sudeten Germans are and how difficult it is to describe them as one community. As one of my participants
put it, “Mosch has nothing to do with our music and music-making” (Steffke 2012). Brass music, as
performed by the Egerländer brass music, is mainly connected to the regions in northwestern Bohemia.
190 I will discuss this in more detail in the later section in this chapter on folk-like music. Mosch,
as the most popular and import representative of Bohemian (also refers to Sudeten-German) brass music
playing was one of the first who re-signified (and as argued by many of the participants therefore also
misrepresented) Sudeten-German musical practices while applying them to the genre of folk-like music.
191 The orchestra’s first name was Bamberger Tonkünstler Orchester.
German audience. Even twenty years later, the German cultural historian Erwin Panofsky noticed the orchestra’s specific playing style in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

The old character of this orchestra is still evitable. […] the players’ sensitivity seems to be even stronger. […] And once again could one experience Keilberth’s (the orchestra’s conductor, also expellee from Prague) specific ability to combine ratio and heart. (Lassmann, 1966)

It is important to note that journalist August Lassmann’s account (Lassmann was born in 1897 in Troppau) might show his preference for Sudeten-German performance practice based on his origin from the Bohemian lands (this might then be another example of publicizing a Sudeten-German specific (and outstanding) musical ability, as argued by Brasack and others). Erwin Panofsky (born in Hamburg in 1892), who Lassmann cited in regard to the Sudeten Germans’ musical abilities, however, was a German cultural historian.

**Hybrid Musical Forms: “Sacred” Anthem or Commercial Folk Pop Tune**

The Heimatlied “Feierobnd” can serve as a model to understand the changing musical scene and processes of integration. The song’s use and re-signification since the expulsion highlights the multiple meanings, implications, and social functions of musical practice in the West-German intercultural space. Applied to a broader context, the history

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192 This does not mean that I deny him agency to describe the concert in an unprejudiced way.
193 Panofsky’s reference to Keilberth’s sensitive conducting style in this article perhaps expresses sonic characteristics in Sudeten-German music-making that Tomie Hahn (2007) labels as “sensational knowledge.” Sudeten Germans were able to use certain sensitive musical practices that sonically communicated their cultural and musical knowledge. Hahn (2007) argues that such situations of knowledge transmission are able to construct the performers’ and the listeners’ physical and social environments as sensory experiences that re-shape individual and collective subjectivities.
of this specific song reflects and even renegotiates social and political interactions between the Sudeten-German immigrants and their German host society.

**Feierobnd**

's is Feierobnd, 's is Feierobnd. It is evening, it is evening
Es Togwerk is vollbracht, the daily work is done
's gieht allis seiner Haamit zu, everyone goes toward the home (Heimat)
ganz sachte schleicht de Nacht and the night sneaks in softly.

“'s is Feierobnd,” Anton Günther, Gottesgab (Bohemia), 1903

So goes the refrain of Anton Günther’s 1903 “Feierobnd,” a nostalgic song that quickly developed into a popular musical accompaniment to the daily lives of the Gottesgab-based Sudeten Germans in the early 20th century. The composition, which looks to the evening’s quiet, honors the accomplishments and gifts of the concluding day. Sudeten Germans still know the song. For many, however, its original meaning has changed significantly since the expulsion. Today, “Feierobnd” not only symbolizes the comforts of home and community, it also represents cultural loss and death. This example of musical re-signification exemplifies how the “ideological codes” (Kartomi 1994:preface IV) of Sudeten-German repertoire changed in post-war West Germany, instigated by the convergence of Sudeten-German and German musical practices. “Feierobnd’s” various current practices further narrate individual stories of nostalgia and loss.

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194 *Feierobnd* is Bohemian dialect for the German word *Feierabend*, which means leisure time or evening.

195 Gottesgab (Boží Dar) is a small village in the Bohemian Ore Mountains.
The song’s composer, Anton Günther (1876-1937) is still considered one of the most important Bohemian folk poets, folk singers, and folk music composers. He composed about 140 songs, over half of them were published in form of the so called song postcard. Song postcards, invented by Günther himself, became popular collectibles, particularly for expelled Sudeten Germans in Germany. All of my Sudeten-German study participants, no matter from which region in the Bohemian lands they originated, were familiar with the song. Many even possess it in form of this postcard.

Figure 34: Songpostcard – Feierobnd, Anton Günther, Gottesgab, 1903
1. *De Sonn steigt hintern Wald drübn nei,*
   *besaamt de Wolken rut,*
   *a jeder legt sei Warkzeig hi un schwenkt zen Gruß senn Hut.*
   *'s is Feierobnd, 's is Feierobnd.
   *Es Togwerk is vollbracht,*
   *'s zieht allis seiner Haamit zu, Heimat
   ganz sachte schleicht de Nacht*

   *The sun goes down behind the forest,*
   *the clouds are calm,*
   *and everyone puts down the tools and greets swaying the hat.*
   *It is evening, it is evening the daily work is done*
   *everyone goes toward the home and the night sneaks in softly.*

2. *Un übern Wald a Vögela,*
   *Fliegt nooch senn Nastel zu,*
   *Von Dörfel drübn a Glöckel klingt, village
   Dos mahnt: Legt eich zer Ruh!*

   *And a bird is flying over the forest to its nest,*
   *a bell sounds from the close by*
   *That reminds us to lay down to rest!*

3. *Do zieht's wie Frieden durch der Brust,*
   *Es klingt als wie a Lied,*
   *Aus längst vergangna Zeiten rauschts Gar haamlich durchs Gemüt.*

   *There it moves like peace through it sounds like a song,*
   *it swooshes from long gone times, Secretly through one’s mind.*

4. *Gar mannigs Herz hot ausgeschlagn,*
   *Verbei is Sorg un Müh,*
   *Un überm Grab ganz sachte zieht grave.*

   *Many hearts have stopped beating,*
   *Sorrow and troubles are over,*
   *and softly moves a swoosh over the*

   *A Rauschen drüber hie.*

   *Refrain*

   “**Feierobnd**” – *History and Cultural Coding*

   Mrs. and Mr. Gromes, today living in Griesheim bei Darmstadt, recall that

   “**Feierobnd**” was a popular pre-expulsion song in their respective Sudeten-German
The song was regularly sung as an expression of peoples’ satisfaction with their daily accomplishments. Nevertheless, “Feierobnd,” composed as late as 1903, had before the expulsion not yet acquired the status of a traditional folksong as defined by folk musicians of the time. Mrs. and Mr. Gromes remember that Walther Hensel, a leading Sudeten-German folksong researcher and founder of the youth movement labelled Wandervogelbewegung (as introduced in Chapter 4), voiced in the late 1930s his misgivings regarding “Feierobnd’s” future. According to Mrs. and Mr. Gromes, Hensel considered the song too modern, not entrenched, and therefore as “folk-like” rather than traditional. Traditional signified for Hensel (and other folk musicians of the time) the acceptance of a song shown through the songs’ oral transmission from generation to generation. The processes of passing on thereby naturally change some of the song’s musical and textual features, performance practice, and performance context (however not the song’s symbolic character). Hensel and others doubted that “Feierobnd” would still be sung in 50 years. Mrs. and Mr. Gromes stated that:

Hensel said the song needs to prove itself first and that it does not have a future. But he was wrong. Today the song is a well-known folksong, one that touches our soul. (Gromes 2012)

But not all Sudeten Germans were acquainted with “Feierobnd” before the expulsion. Some were introduced to the song after the expulsion from other Sudeten Germans. Such interactions fostered the earlier described sharing of specific regional

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196 Mr. Gromes was born in Mährisch-Schönberg, a town in the east of the Bohemian lands (and thus far away from where the song was composed. However, the Gromes’ family knew the song and sang it regularly at home).

Sudeten-German repertoire among the refugees and expellees that led to the initial cultural gap between Sudeten-German immigrants and German locals. The singing of Heimatlieder such as “Feierobnd” created important musical expressions for Sudeten Germans that still signify the old homeland.

**Musical Coding**

All of the participants, no matter from which region in the Bohemian lands they originate, know the “Feierobnd” song today, most by heart. They state repeatedly that this song is “their song”; it represents through textual imagery and specific musical practice sentiments and memories of their homeland. The once calming folksong, however, has transformed after the expulsion into an anthem of loss and death, as addressed in the last verse. 198

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gar manichs Harz hot ausgeschlogen,} & \quad \text{Many hearts have stopped beating,} \\
\text{vorbei is Sorg on Müh,} & \quad \text{Sorrow and troubles are over,} \\
\text{on übern Gröb ganz sachte zieht} & \quad \text{and softly moves a swoosh over the} \\
\text{e Rauschen drüber hi.} & \quad \text{grave.}
\end{align*}
\]

Many of the participants expressed the wish to have “Feierobnd” sung or played at their funeral. Businesses today understand the commercial potential and desires of the elderly Sudeten-German community. A funeral home in Bavaria, for example, advertises the business with a trumpet version of “Feierobnd” on its website (Wagner 2014). The song’s symbols caused a semiotic connotation that constituted a musical “cultural code”

\[\text{198 The verses are presented in the original dialect Günther used for the song (Ore Mountain dialect).}\]
for the expelled, one often not known or understood by outsiders. Mr. Brückner described this notion in our conversation:

I do not sing this song with my friends in Germany. When I want to relive (practice) my past, I need to sing with people who originate from where I am from in order to remember shared experiences of home, expulsion, and the new beginning. (Brückner 2011)

Songs such as “Feierobnd” preserve not only memories that uphold an idealized past, but also facilitate integration and therefore mitigate for some, an impending sense of “cultural homelessness.” “Feierobnd” signifies both homelessness and home.

Musical Convergence in Post-War Germany - Heimatschlager

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, the changing sounds of post-war West Germany significantly impacted the commercial music scene as is exemplified in the development of the Heimatschlager (popular songs addressing one’s homeland). Heimatschlager, which developed in 1920s Germany, were ‘homey’ songs that offered an escape from the constraints of daily life. Their principal message was that everything will eventually be all right. A message that the German people, hungry to overcome their lingering struggles and eager for a better life, craved (Sweers 2005:79). Song styles showed, for example, single operetta arias and dance music, ranging from folk-like songs to popular German film tunes (Larkey in Applegate 2002:235).


200 Schlagen means to hit, and refers to a song that hits the streets (everyone knows it and sings it on the streets; German: Gassenhauer).
German popular Schlager were important for the notion of a Sudeten-German integration and assimilation as expressed in hybrid musical forms: the Heimatschlager\textsuperscript{201} that achieved considerable popularity in the 1950s until the late 1960s, and volkstümliche Musik (popular folk-like music), which emerged in the 1980s. In addressing themes of expulsion and integration, both highlighted the intercultural situation in West Germany.

Emblematic of this style and power of Heimatschlager was Freddy Quinn’s 1956 song “Heimweh” (nostalgia), which reached number one on the German pop charts in 1956.\textsuperscript{202} Quinn’s 1957 follow-up Schlager, “Heimatlos” (homeless), became the most sold single that year (Schoenebeck 2008:130).\textsuperscript{203} The success of the Heimatschlager was encouraged and promoted by millions of expellees, who were drawn to this light-hearted and comforting genre. All of the participants remember that the Schlager producers effectively addressed the post-war Zeitgeist. Although the Schlager portrayed certain lightheartedness inherent to the genre and appreciated at the time, expellees often attributed profound meaning to the genre as exemplified in the following comment posted on YouTube “Thank you. Memories of my childhood. My father always played this LP. Why, I understood only much later” (Reinhard Pekruhl 2011).\textsuperscript{204} One of the last Heimatschlager dealing unveiled with the loss of Heimat and the impossibility of return

\textsuperscript{201} The Heimatschlager is a Schlager addressing themes of homeland and belonging.

\textsuperscript{202} According to Wolfgang Roehl (2008), Freddy Quinn achieved with the song “Heimweh” his so far biggest success in the German Schlager business. “Heimweh” refrain: “Where the flowers grow, where the valleys are green, there I was once at home. Where I found my love, there is my homeland (Heimatland) – For how much longer will I be alone?”

\textsuperscript{203} “Heimatlos” (homeless), sung by Freddy Quinn, placed number three in the German pop charts in 1960.

\textsuperscript{204} Reinhard Perkul refers in this post to another successful Heimatschlager “Eine Handvoll Heimaterde” (A handful soil from home, 1959).
was a 1959 song “ Eine Handvoll Heimaterde,” sung by Tom and Tommy in 1959.\textsuperscript{205} The text signifies, fifteen years after the expulsion, a musical account aiming to foster the public’s awareness of preceding post-war challenges. The second verse acknowledges the overall successful integration of the expellees in the new homeland.

Tom and Tommy (1959): “Eine Handvoll Heimaterde”

2. Einmal, nur einmal, da ruhten wir aus und schauten zurück in das Tal. So fern war die Liebe, so fern mein Zuhaus’, doch es blüht mir ein Trost überall. Refrain  
3. Viele verloren am Wege den Mut, ich hab’ sie nie wieder geseh’n. Mein Herz, es muss warten, dann wird alles gut, wenn auch Jahre darüber vergeh’n. Refrain | 1. Parting was painful, very hard was the time, when we had to walk into the night. The world was dark, the travel was far, and happiness did not think of us. Refrain: I took a handful soil from the Heimat to the foreign land, and as long as I live, I will remember where I once found love.  
2. Once, only once, we stopped and looked back into the valley. Love was afar and home was afar, but soon consolation bloomed everywhere. Refrain  
3. Many lost their courage on the way. I have never seen them again. My heart will have to wait, and then all will be fine again, although it might take many years. Refrain |

Schlager addressed notions of expulsion (and post-expulsion) and as time went by, was able to mediate more and more between host and immigrant populations. Artists and Schlager industry soon got aware of “Feierobnd” and its commercial value. A jazz trumpet version of “Feierobnd” was released in 1966.

\textsuperscript{205} “Eine Handvoll Heimaterde,” (sung by Tom and Tommy, placed 18 in the German pop charts in 1959. You Tube comment German original: “Danke. Kindheitserinnerung, ließ mein Vater immer am Plattenspieler laufen, verstand erst viel später warum” (You Tube August 2012).
“Feierobnd” as Commercial Popular Folk-like Music (volkstümliche Musik) versus Folk Music (Volksmusik)

In the 1980s, “Feierobnd” was further re-signified in West Germany through its introduction to the host population as commercial entertainment by television shows devoted to popular folk-like music, that is, a mixture of the German Schlager and traditional German folk music. Folk-like music embodies characteristics of traditional folk music such as memorable melodies, major scales, chord breaking, and short periodic phrase structures. Folk-like music, however clearly discerns itself from folk music in that its main concern is not the socially motivated (Jost 1996:59) practice of community building through participation in small settings, but commercial success.

While folk musicians strive for musical practices of mainly orally transmitted repertoire and the use of unplugged instruments—such as zithers, hammered dulcimer, harp, acoustic guitar, brass instruments, alphorns, violin, and harmonica—folk-like musicians additionally utilize drum set, synthesizer, and other amplified instruments.

Folk music is further characterized by spontaneous harmonized a-cappella singing with the option of inventing verses, yodeling, and the portrayal of the folksongs’ inherent functions in, for example, working songs, drinking songs, children songs, dance and wedding songs, or political songs. Such themes are not addressed in much of the folk-like compositions. In most cases, “Feierobnd’s” inclusion in popular folk-like shows not only decontextualizes the folksong in regard to its function, but also through its extra-musical elements, such as traditional clothing that bear little relation to original costumes, deliberately folksy and stereotyped staged TV settings, and interpretations that inappropriately portray the meaning and history of the song (Sweers 2005:79). Such
developments provoked the American folklorist Richard Dorson (1976) to label folk-like music as “fakelore,” as the “popularization, commercialization, and resulting distortion of folk materials” (5). All of these aspects are shown in the folk-like adaptation of “Feierobnd.” The new hybrid folk-like versions of “Feierobnd” further indicate the (musical) assimilation of Sudeten-German musical practices.

Hans Beierlein, the producer of many commercial folk-like music shows, reasoned that these shows would eventually develop a new German national identity “that was lost since World War II. The nation has the desire to be happy and to laugh,” he said (Beierlein in Seesslen 1993:10). Beierlein predicted this new musical national consciousness would arrive through the rejuvenation of performers, show hosts, and a new and catchy sound designs achieved by electronic amplification (Seesslen 1993:11). Although Beierlein was initially successful in staging this new German consciousness, the shows eventually were categorized by critics as provincial (Seesslen 1993:11). The folk-like scene tried to create a new German national identity coined and internationally portrayed by “fakelore” values. Unease against such use among viewers is described by folklorist Jürgen Frey (1987). He recalls, for example a phone call of an irritated viewer of a folk-like TV show to the German Folksong Archive in Freiburg. The viewer requested the archive’s specialists to “make a move against such mischief, because the selling of folksongs under the premise of folk-like popularity is an insult” (263). The folk-like scene, however, was already accepted by the larger part of the audiences.

“Feierobnd” is today frequently performed in TV shows by folk-like stars, such as the young Austrian sisters Sigrid & Marina. Although their performance of the song is
musically similar to the original version, it is removed from its function of participatory music-making. In their interpretation, “Feierobnd” has been transformed into a popular folk-like tune representing beauty and youth. Many of the participants criticize that “Feierobnd” has lost its meaning in such contexts, because of the song’s alienation through the use of High German and a performance style featuring upward slides and a bright and vibrating “jazzy” sound. Not to mention that the producers also omit the uncomfortable phrase “over the grave” and replace it with “over the woods.”

The use of “Feierobnd” in the Schlager and folk-like setting denotes, however, another Sudeten-German musical mark inscribed during the integration by continually popularizing the song within the assimilated community of Germans and Sudeten-Germans. Mr. Gromes, for example, appreciated Sigrid and Marina’s version of “Feierobnd.” Even though it lost, according to him, some of its beauty and meaning caused by the applied “cheap showmanship in the artificial folk-like setting, it still comprised enough of the good-old song” (Gromes 2012). In an interview that I conducted with Sigrid and Marina, they stated that their CD titled *Heimatgefühle* (feelings for the Heimat) that included the song “Feierobnd” was their most popular recording. “People came up to us and said that they liked this CD and especially the “Feierobnd” song. It reminded them of home” (Sigrid and Marina 2012).

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206 German original “Aber sie haben bewusst viel Effekthascherei aus der modernen Zeit mit hineingenommen. Es verliert zwar, aber es ist noch viel vom guten alten Lied erhalten” (Gromes 2012).

207 German original “Die Leute kamen und sagten, daß sie die CD sehr gerne mögen, speziell das Lied “Feierobnd”; es erinnere sie an daheim” (Marina 2012).
At the same time, interpretations resembling contemporary folk-like shows in the 1980s incited study participant Edith Koch to embark upon a private recording project in the 1990s in order to preserve songs in a version she considered meaningful. She taught herself to play the guitar and produced dozens of tapes with songs that signified her homeland. “Feierobnd” was one of these songs. In this process, she recorded a song and then sang the second part to this recording, all of which was recorded again.208

For Mrs. Koch and many other Sudeten Germans, textual, melodic, and contextual changes of “Feierobnd” were considered “intrusions” (Stern 1977:10). The relevance of folksongs expressed by Mrs. Koch describe their significance for Sudeten-German community building and stability; for creating “sociocultural habitus” (Bourdieu 2003), as a metaphorical expression of home and belonging (Schoenebeck 2008:129).

Such instances show that expellees, although often criticizing the de-contextualization and commercialized appropriation of “their” songs, encouraged and even initiated the song’s commercial production. In the end, this commercial version of “Feierobnd” provides the revitalization of home caused by the song’s inclusion into the new sounding Heimat. Its dissemination in contexts such as folk-like TV shows also ensures its transformation into a well-known song within the integrated community of Sudeten-Germans and Germans. Schoenebeck (2008:130) characterizes such developments as the transformation of musical media into Heimat; perhaps this is a case where contemporary musical media provide new formats for old desires. “Feierobnd’s”

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208 This performance practice, however, does not reflect folk music’s functions of communal music-making either. Edith Koch describes this practice as her attempt to preserve “her” music.
post-expulsion acquired ideological and musical significance as a song of loss will slowly fade as more elderly Sudeten Germans pass away. The song, as we can see however, will probably continue to be practiced by younger generations in newly signified versions.

Integration through the Practice of Music and Dance

Examples of individual experiences of integration and assimilation remember the participants in the realm of folk music practices in their post-war local environments. As soon as the Allies lifted the assembly ban in the late 1940s, Sudeten-Germans reunited in newly founded choirs and instrumental ensembles. Soon, they also initiated interactions with the local population to introduce locals to Sudeten-German musical and cultural practices (Heinisch 2011).

The Sudeten Germans expelled to Gaimersheim (Bavaria) founded as soon as possible a Sudeten-German choir. Mrs. Heinisch conducted this choir and in 1949 organized in collaboration with the choir’s members the first folkloric evening in the village to which Bavarian locals were invited. “We brought to the host population a piece of our home so that they would realize that we don’t come from any place, but that we actually have a bit of culture” (Heinisch 2011). The event was described in the local newspaper in 1949 as follows:
Gaimersheim. Heimat evening. (Folkloric evening). The Sudeten-German homeland association organized on Saturday, December 11, 1949 in the Ruppsaal a colorful folcloric evening. Board member Floßmann welcomed the attendees…. He briefly described duties and goals of the Sudeten-German homeland association. Then, a string orchestra played tunes from the SudetenGermans’ homeland. A mixed choir sang under the direction of educator Ms. Orleth songs from the Sudetenland. These songs symbolized a walk through the Sudetenland. Half of the audience members were locals from the host society. The narrator, Mr. Heinisch, described in a touching manner the specific characteristics of the various regions of the Sudetenland, which were accompanied with respective songs from the choir and the band. Almost all of the musicians wore traditional costumes. The audience enjoyed this colorful picture. When the narrator described the Egerland, he included a description of how people from that region spent the evenings in their farmhouses. A boy exemplified this with the song “Rouboutenbou.” For that he received rapturous acclaim. Other Sudeten-German regions were described via songs and short humorous poems in the original dialect. The last contribution was a short and funny theater play called “Die Pendelwette.” The successful event fostered a revival of familiar experiences from the homeland for the expellees and at the same time familiarized the locals with traditional costumes, tradition, and customs of the new inhabitants.

Mrs. Heinisch described this and other musical events as helpful for getting acquainted with the German host society. Because she had packed sheet music at the time of the expulsion that she was able to bring all the way to Bavaria, she could immediately share with and teach the Bavarian locals songs and dances from her Sudeten-German homeland. She says that the Bavarians for example included the dances “Woaf” and “Spinnradl” into the Bavarian folk music repertoire.
Sudeten-German musical practices and traditions transformed in such contexts into narrative tools that allowed the immigrants to tell their past and share aspects of their cultural backgrounds with the locals. Sharing these narratives established intercultural connections between local anti-immigrant populations that often led to reciprocal respect and joint music-making. Mrs. Heinisch remembers that, for example, her former music school teacher Vati Knirsch from Mährisch-Schönberg, who lived after the expulsion in Bavaria, purposefully initiated such joint musical gatherings. In 1947 he was already inviting both Sudeten-German youth and German adolescents to musical meetings. Mr. Sepp remembers similar circumstances in the Bavarian Hohenbrunn, where in 1948 expellees started a brass band called *Egerländer Kapelle*. The band’s original members were expellees from the Egerland and from Danube Swabia (Yugoslavian Germans). After a short while they were joined by a couple of Bavarians. Every member of the band soon wore a Bavarian outfit in order to serve local needs such as performing at weddings and other Bavarian festivities (Sepp 2010). This band built the beginning for the brass bands in Hohenbrunn and neighboring villages.

Two reasons might explain the speed at which this musical merging occurred. First, because the majority of these musicians were relatively young, they tended to show less fear of foreign contact, and thus integrated more quickly. Second, Sudeten-German parents often placed their children in music groups that not only established their children in local circles, but simultaneously their parents and grandparents (Krauss 2008:73). Joint music-making, which also fostered the merging of musical practices and repertoire, functioned for both locals and immigrants as mechanism of cultural validation, facilitated
understanding and integration through experiencing each other's musical practices, and temporarily bridged the widespread hostility that had coloured the interactions between the German hosts and the Sudeten-German expellees. This reciprocal resentment was primarily based on a fear of contact, prejudices, and the host populations' belief that the needs of millions of immigrants would delay or even thwart Germany’s post-war socio-economic and cultural recuperation (Kossert 2008). Bourdieu’s concept of “cultural capital” applies here again. The cultural and specifically musical capital that the Sudeten Germans brought to Germany functioned soon as “social capital;” as the instigator for a new social support system. First contacts between immigrants and hosts soon led to intercultural relationships and marriage, for the younger generation quickly realized that Germans and Sudeten Germans were not that different. The unique intercultural situation allowed for the overall acknowledged fast integration of the Sudeten Germans.

Individual stories provide yet another, more nuanced perspective. Mr. Sepp highlighted that Sudeten-Germans joined local musical ensembles in many cases only much later. His perception of a later musical integration was based on first-hand experiences in his hometown Reichling (Bavaria) and on results from his 1993 study on Sudeten-German integration in Bavarian brass bands. These results also parallel some of my other study participants’ recollections. Sudeten-German non-professional musicians often foremost had to focus on their survival and thus could not take time for music-making and dancing. Other expellees (especially in rural environments) were economically inferior and could not purchase instruments. Expellees also initially moved quite frequently in Germany to pursue employment opportunities and thus did not
integrate until they finally settled (Sepp 1993:111-120 and interview in 2010). Although expellees accounted for about 37 percent (952 inhabitants) of Reichling’s population in the 1950s (Sepp 1993:113), immigrants and hosts did not mix in the local brass band until the 1970s. Mr. Sepp recalled that the band leader was not willing to invest in people who would likely move away after a few months. Moreover, Sudeten Germans usually lived in cramped surroundings, a situation that hindered regular practice (if they actually owned instruments). Herrmann Kölbl, leader of the Reichling brass band from 1966-1975, further recalled that immigrants and locals long treated each other with reserve. This probably explains the fact that Sudeten Germans, who could play a brass instrument, were not asked to join the band and did not take the initiative to be a part of the ensemble (Sepp 1993:113).

Institutionalized Preservation and Practice of Music and Dance

German refugees, expellees, and repatriates from all eastern provinces are officially protected through the 1953 Bundesvertriebenengesetz (Federal Expellees Act). The law not only protects the refugees and expellees’ rights, but also secures the preservation of their cultural practices, because such practices were quickly perceived as significant for the expellees’ well-being and self-definition. 209 Refugees and expellees are

209 § 96, Federal Expellees Act: The cultivation of the expellees and refugees’ cultural traditions and the support of research: According to the constitution, the Federal Republic of Germany and the states have to protect the cultural traditions from all eastern provinces and bring it to the awareness of the refugees and the expellees, all German people, and foreign countries. Archives, museums, and libraries have to be supported, extended, and art collections and educational institutions have to be supported. Scholarship and research regarding the expulsion and integration of expellees and refugees, along with the development of cultural achievements of expellees and refugees have to be supported. The government has to report annually about its undertakings.
further officially represented in Germany through the *Bund der Vertriebenen* (BdV) (the Federation of Expellees), founded in 1957. The BdV is the umbrella organization of 20 regional homeland associations and 16 state associations. In their efforts to support expellees and grant their right of home (*Recht auf Heimat*), the officials of the BdV are often perceived as backwards thinking and politically questionable. Hahn & Hahn’s findings (2010) parallel my ethnographic findings. The Charta of the BdV represents the views of a few expellee spokespersons who invented a specific picture and collective memory of the expulsion. This picture perhaps addressed effectively the emotional expellees in the 1950s, but no longer adequately represents the mentality of most expellees (Hahn & Hahn 2010:446-456). Although for years many of the participants hoped to return to their homelands, eventually the desire to create a new home prevailed. The BdV and the Federal Expellees Act successfully supported distressed refugees and expellees, but at the same time continuously proclaimed a Sudeten Germans’ “otherness” that led to frequent misunderstandings between hosts and locals, and even segregation.

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The main part of the Charter reads as follows on the BdV website:
1. We expellees renounce revenge and retaliation. This decision is for us solemn and sacred in memory of the infinite suffering brought over humankind especially in the last century.
2. We shall support with all our strengths every beginning, which is directed toward the creation of a united Europe in which people can live without fear and coercion.
3. We will participate in the reconstruction and rebuilding of Germany and Europe through hard and tireless work.

We lost our home. The homeless are strangers on earth. God has given humans a home. To forcibly separate humans from their home means to spiritually kill them. ….

Therefore we claim and demand today as we did yesterday:
1. The same rights as citizens not only according to law, but also in reality, in everyday life.
2. Just and reasonable distribution of the war burdens on the entire German population and an honest implementation of this principle.
3. Reasonable integration of all professional expellee groups of in German everyday life.
4. Integration of expellees in the rebuilding and reconstruction of Europe. (Bund der Vertriebenen 2013) Translation by the author.

Their perception is similar to the one of some leaders of the Sudeten-German Territorial Association.
Krauss (2008) points out, institutions such as the BdV further cultivate the Sudeten Germans as a “discernible victimized group” (70), which continues to impede ongoing processes of integration.

In Bavaria, the Sudeten Germans are officially called the Vierter Bayerischer Stamm (fourth Bavarian tribe) and, since 1962, had been under the auspices of the Bavarian government.212 This process bettered the Sudeten Germans’ standing in West Germany, but simultaneously highlighted their otherness. Understandably, the notion of a fourth tribe this still spurs doubts as to whether or not Sudeten Germans truly have integrated in Bavaria (Krauss 2008:70).

Musical practices play a major role in all Sudeten-German private and institutionalized efforts.213 Yet, Takeyuki Tsuda (2009) argues that, despite nurturing distinct ethnic identities, processes of integration caused a loss of much of the Sudeten-German cultural heritage, including music. My investigations so far confirm that Sudeten-German musical practices constantly change and repertoire is forgotten. Meanings and arrangements of pieces are frequently altered in the new environment as exemplified through the adaptation of “anthems of belonging” as commercial folk pop tunes. Despite these developments, the Sudeten-German heritage has flourished over the last sixty years. I suggest that the expulsion (and the Sudeten-Germans’ official protection following the expulsion) actually acted as a catalyst for the preservation of

212 The four Bavarian tribes are: Altbayern (Oberbayern, Niederbayern, Oberpfalz), Schwaben, Franken, Sudetendeutsche.
213 As discussed in Chapter 4, many of these practices are perceived as outdated, even invented, because official institutions usually show less openness toward natural and necessary changes of repertoire and musical practices.
Sudeten-German musical practices. This notion challenges the frequently discussed imminent loss of Sudeten-German cultural practices. Of course, for some of the expelled, the picture is a different one. Specific musical practices, as experienced in their sounding Heimat, only exist in their memories. Some of the study participants are concerned about the loss of their cultural heritage.

**Conclusion**

Following expulsion, cultural differences between the Sudeten-German immigrants and the West German hosts changed slowly but significantly through “the union of two […] groups to form a larger unit which differs from any of the component parts” (Schramm 1979: 5). Investigated from a musical perspective, one discovers unexpected mutual influences. For example, the German hosts also adapted manifold musical practices from the immigrant minority. Generally speaking, Sudeten Germans are today integrated and mostly undistinguishable from the host population. This, however, might not hold true if investigated from an individual perspective.

The intercultural integration processes in West Germany required in the last 65 years the reinterpretation and partial reinvention of both populations’ cultural practices. Musically, such processes are reflected and continuously renegotiated in the use and adaptation of musical repertoire and musical styles of either group, such as exemplified with the Sudeten-German Heimatlied “Feierobnd.” The Sudeten-Germans’ experiences and thus reactions toward these developments vary greatly. Sudeten Germans, who

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214 Some of the participants named this process symbiosis. I reframe from this biological term and transferred this notion in this chapter to concepts of sociology.
perceive themselves as fully integrated into the German host society (usually from the 1.5 generation), are typically neutral toward the usage of the repertoire and musical heritage that they (or their elders) perceived as representing their past and their Heimat. Elderly Sudeten Germans, whose remembrance of the lost homeland is still prevalent, however, continue to celebrate “their” music at occasions designated to define and declare “Sudeten Germanness” such as Sudeten-German local, regional, and national meetings. With these practices, which are generally encouraged and supported by official Sudeten-German institutions, Sudeten Germans repeatedly signify their homeland and simultaneously keep distinguishing themselves from the German host society. Despite ongoing processes of separation and integration (with all its sub-processes), the intercultural situation in post-war Germany shaped eventually a new sounding homeland for both the immigrants and the host society.
CHAPTER 6

(NON)- MUSICAL PRACTICES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE IRON CURTAIN – SOVIET OCCUPATION ZONE/GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA/CZECH REPUBLIC

It is always exciting to talk to my parents about their expulsion experiences. This does not sound right, because expulsion is generally described (and by many of the study participants experienced) as this enormously disruptive and unsettling event. Although both my parents remember their hometowns and the threatening processes that led to their forced departure, they were expelled as children (7 and 9 years old) and seem to have experienced expulsion differently from older expellees. My mother often talks about the adventurous side of expulsion. Maybe this is the case, because at the time, her parents did not share their own worries and details about the expulsion process with their children. Furthermore, my parents’ remember their post-war life in West-Germany overall as optimistic. Perhaps this positive post-war experience caused my mother to consider Erbendorf, the town in which she and her family arrived after expulsion, as her Heimat. My father calls his Heimat Munich, where my parents live since the late-1950s. Both, however, still have some spiritual affinity to their hometowns in Bohemia.

My father and his parents were forced to leave their hometown in 1946. Being expelled in the “orderly and humane” last phase of expulsion, they were able to stay together as a family. My grandfather was in the exceptional position to already have a teaching position in Bavaria waiting for him. However, as I briefly described in Chapter 2, the cattle train in which they were deported from the Bohemian lands was the first one that did not travel to Bavaria. Although the cattle cars had no windows, my grandfather realized soon that the train did not travel in the direction of Bavaria. Eventually, the family arrived in Aschersleben in the Soviet Occupation Zone (SOZ). One year later in 1947, my grandfather was fortunate to acquire a residence permit, which enabled the family to move to Bavaria in the American Occupation Zone. Most other expellees who arrived in the SOZ, such as members of my parents’ close and extended family and friends, had to stay.

My father’s recollections serve as a gateway for this chapter, which largely deals with the reframing and even silencing (Koch 2012) of the expellees’ memories and cultural practices in the SOZ (1949-1990 German Democratic Republic/GDR) and in Czechoslovakia. While the expellees in West Germany experienced predominantly strategies of political, social, and cultural integration, policies in the SOZ/GDR and Czechoslovakia adhered mainly to Zwangsassimilation (forced assimilation policies).
In this chapter, I specifically look at the connection between various forms of political repression and musical practices and explore how these parameters shaped the participants’ cultural presence and their sense of belonging. I further ask in what ways these political, cultural, and social environments might have affected the building and maintenance of the participants’ memories of their Heimat.

Since studies of Sudeten-German music and musical practices in the SOZ/GDR and in Czechoslovakia after 1946 are very rare, this discussion mainly is based on my ethnographic materials. The study participants, who settled after expulsion in the SOZ/GDR, rarely expressed, hid, or chose to neglect for over four decades a connection to their musical past and heritage. It was therefore much more difficult to identify potential participants from these regions. The fact that it took many conversations as well as considerable sensitivity and persistence to retrieve the participants’ memories (especially from Germans who live today in the Czech Republic) perhaps indicates the impact of political and cultural repression on memory.

**SOZ/GDR – Numbers, Linguistic Policies, and Memory**

The SOZ was the European region most affected by the transfer of refugees and expellees (Ther 2002:56). This influx of immigrants was mainly caused by the SOZ’s geographic position. “Three of its five provinces bordered directly on the areas that were emptying the fastest” (Wille 2001:263). 4.3 million of the about 12 million Germans expelled from all Eastern provinces arrived in the SOZ/GDR constituting about 25 percent of the SOZ/GDR’s the inhabitants (Amos 2011:6). The SOZ absorbed not only the highest number of immigrants compared to the other occupation zones, but also held
with 24.1 percent immigrants the highest percentage compared to the native German population (cited in Koch from Schaefer 2012:296). 215 960,000 Sudeten Germans arrived in the SOZ (Amos 2011:6), who were mostly transferred to the SOZ’s eastern region of Saxony (Ther 2002:59). 216 Especially in the early stages of expulsion, people arrived generally in an impoverished and devastated condition to “territories that were among the most heavily damaged” (Wille 2001:264). As early as summer 1945, about 2 to 2.5 million homeless refugees and expellees had “literally overrun” the authorities in the Soviet Zone, because the SOZ functioned not only as a host, but also as a transit state for refugees and expellees (Ther 2002:59). The participants described that they were shifted around various times and often waited for weeks, months, and even years in refugee camps (also-called reception camps) until they were assigned accommodation. These waiting periods were usually caused by the lack of housing or by regional authorities who refused to accommodate immigrants. Between 1949 and 1961 about 2.8 million inhabitants left the GDR, of which about one third were expellees from all Eastern

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215 960,000 Sudeten Germans arrived in the SOZ/GDR compared to the almost two million Sudeten Germans who arrived in the other three occupation zones. Numbers of expellees in the other zones (see also Chapter 1): British zone 32.8 percent, American zone 28.2 percent, and French zone 1.4 percent (cited in Koch from Schaefer 2012:296). In the beginning, most expellees arrived in the SOZ, but the “state and provincial governments […] informed their occupiers” that it was impossible to accommodate millions of expellees (Wille 2001:265). The allies decided that expellees would be distributed proportionally among the four occupation zones (Wille 2001:256).

216 Expulsion numbers are deviant. In Chapter 5, I referenced a source that listed 800,000 Sudeten Germans expelled to the SOZ. These deviations portray political manipulations of the time, complications in collecting statistics because of the chaotic arrival settings, etc. Ther, for example, estimates the percentage of expellees in the SOZ with 4.3 percent (Ther 2002:56). Schwartz estimates that 900,000 Sudeten Germans arrived in the SOZ (Schwartz 2004:70). Wille (2001) states that “it is hard to say how many forced migrants actually arrived in the SBZ […] and how many of them stayed. There are no exact figures” (265).
3.5 million expellees remained in the GDR, who constituted about 20 percent of the GDR’s inhabitants (Amos 2011:6).

In opposition to West Germany, the politicians of the Socialist Unity Party, also variously labeled as East German Communist Party (SED, Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands), carried out strategies that proclaimed the irreversible loss of the Bohemian homelands. This notion called for a quick assimilation of the immigrants in order to prevent the development of a Sudeten-German consciousness based on the notion of Schicksalsgemeinschaft. One of the various attempts for a quick assimilation pertained to the labeling of the refugees and expellees as resettlers (Umsiedler). This term expected refugees and expellees to twist their memories and to reframe from a public discussion of expulsion (Amos 2011:24). At the same time, the label of Umsiedler included an offer for a “legally organized immigration” (Amos 2011:24). Already in 1949, refugees and expellees were prompted to refrain from the resettler label and called former resettlers (ehemalige Umsiedler) or new citizens (Neubürger). Study participant Alfred Jumar remembers that any other self-labeling of the immigrants that would address expulsion was officially reprimanded by state authorities. It was expected and commonplace for refugees and expellees to conceal their place of origin in order to hide

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217 Schwartz (2008) refers to these policies as “restlose Verschmelzung” (106). This description translates rather with amalgamation than assimilation. This addresses clearly the tension in the SOZ; proclaimed as amalgamation, the SED aimed for a quick assimilation.

218 “With this word they wanted, for one thing, to demonstrate to indigenous Germans and to expellees […] that their flight was over and their acceptance in the locality final, and also to underpin the choice of words used in the Potsdam Agreement, according to which it was not a question of cruel expulsion contrary to international law, but of a legal and planned resettlement” (Ther 2002:60). The label resettler had already in the mid-1950s largely disappeared (Amos 2011:24).
their Sudeten-German origins. This for example, led Mr. Jumar to list as his birthplace Aicha instead of Böhmisch Aicha in his passport.\textsuperscript{219}

The required denial of Heimat demanded that immigrants repress their past and renunciate their cultural heritage in any public setting. The SED further announced any “attempts to form special Umsiedler organizations, their concentration into regional groups supported above all by church organizations, and any effects or agitation filtering through from the Western Zone to be eliminated” (cited in Ther 2002:71). Mr. Jumar confirms,

And this was the big difference from the West. We could only talk about expulsion in terms of flight or resettlement, as if this would ever have existed. This was absurd, because most of it was not flight or resettlement but a violent or so-called “wild expulsion.” We were not allowed to talk about our origins and experiences, and this was depressing. […] I heard from our relatives and friends living in the West about the different circumstances there. There refugees and expellees were allowed to preserve and foster their heritage – he laughs – this would have been unimaginable here in the East. (Jumar 2011)\textsuperscript{220}

By 1949, the different integration and linguistic strategies applied in the West\textsuperscript{221} caused the SED to accuse the West German government of not effectively addressing the \textit{Aussiedlerproblem} (Schwartz 2008:106). The SED regime furthermore established even

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{219} Today, Böhmisch Aicha is again listed as birthplace in his passport.
\item \textsuperscript{221} Sudeten-German immigrants in the West could label themselves as expellees (\textit{Heimatvertriebene}) and thus consciously address expulsion and express their perception and understanding of expulsion.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
stronger policies of state control in the SOZ/GDR (Schwartz 2004:71). State authorities continuously proclaimed assimilation policies as strategies to build a new Heimat and to ensure the expellees’ social equality.

Figure 36: SED advertisement. “Resettlers. The SED will help you build a new Heimat. Vote for the SED.”

http://www.europeana.eu/portal/record/08547/DF8CCF7373DC0F789DB96E43DEE7C4CD034BC589.html

Mr. Jumar recalls that these policies indeed led to the expellees’ smooth integration into the host population.

It was not allowed for the locals to show any resentment against us resettlers. We were all GDR citizens. […] I would say that we did not experience any problems in terms of integration into the host society here in the East. This was different from the West where Sudeten Germans were often discredited. We, on the other hand, missed the possibilities to meet like-minded people. Although we could not officially meet other Sudeten Germans, we still met sometimes privately. (Jumar 2011)

SOZ/GDR scholars variously doubt the expellees’ smooth inclusion as internationally proclaimed from the SED government. For example, Schwartz (2004)

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suggests that the post-war years did not show much interaction between the immigrant and the local population (479). He cites an expellee who stated in 1947 that “an amalgamation or assimilation only occurs where professional situations demand interaction! The isolated and socially excluded expellees have the insatiable desire for their lost home” (Schwart 2004:479). This expellee further recalled that the overall living conditions in the GDR were aggravated (Schwart 2004:479).

Mr. Jumar’s recollection then raises a question. Does his remembrance indeed reflect a mindset and memory that the SED leadership tried to instill in the resettlers, or is it an example of how individualized experiences can provide a different perspective? Mr. Jumar’s experiences also indicate that Sudeten Germans, despite a possible feeling of integration in the host society, longed for reunification with other Sudeten Germans. Such longing led to regular illegal expellee assemblies in the SOZ/GDR and encouraged immigrants to travel to West Berlin or West Germany (as long as it was possible) (Schwart 2004:480). Even after the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961, the SED authorities were unable to completely control interaction and communication between the expellees living in East and West Germany (Schwart 2004:480). Through state-controlled observation and interference, however, the SED managed to impede and eventually stop much of the Sudeten-Germans’ assemblies and organizations. Mr. Jumar recalls that the SED authorities further eventually controlled almost all aspects of the immigrants’ and the locals’ professional lives. This meant for Mr. Jumar, for example, that he could never pursue the career he aspired to. Although he studied chemistry in the

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223 Schwartz based this assertion on extensive archival evidence.
GDR, pursued a doctorate, wrote a habilitation, and acquired all other necessary qualifications, he never joined the SED and therefore was not awarded a professorship. Mr. Jumar stated in our conversation that he was unwilling to abandon his cultural heritage and spiritual individuality as demanded by the SED. Many refugees and expellees initially responded to conditions as did Mr. Jumar. Later, many turned into SED-activists for reasons of expediency (Schwartz 2008:113, Jumar 2011) or naturally assimilated into the GDR society based on “contacts made at the workplace and at leisure activities” (Wille cited after von Plato 2001:278). Such assimilative developments were fostered by the assembly ban imposed on refugees and expellees. While this ban was lifted in West Germany in the late 1940s, it remained in the GDR until 1989/90.

In 1953, the GDR regime brought the *Umsiedlerpolitik* to a complete halt and banned all *Vertreibungsfragen* (questions of expulsion) from public discussion (Ther 2002:73). The immigrants no longer were statistically listed as a separate ethnic population, but considered as successfully integrated. Only in 1971, the Aussiedler-discourse returned into the public realm via a dissertation titled *The Resettler Integration into the Social and Political Life in Mecklenburg 1945-1949* written by Hans-Ulrich Krellenbergs at Rostock University (Wille 1993:7). Before this time, any attempts for a scholarly discussion of expulsion were stifled in the GDR (Schwartz 2008:138). Although the SOZ/GDR government established and pursued concrete goals of economic, social, and political assimilation and even succeeded in their aims to make

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224 Philipp Ther (1998) states that Christa Wolf, in her groundbreaking novel *Kindheitsmuster* (Patterns of Childhood) published in 1976 broke the taboo of publicly discussing life in the GDR (50).
expellees unrecognizable from the host population, “it is striking how very limited their expellee policy was in terms of its effectiveness” (Ther 2002:73). Ther refers in this statement mainly to the expellees’ overall poor economic situation.

Although the SED policies weakened Sudeten-Germans’ recollections and perceptions of their Heimat, individual memories of home, flight, and expulsion could not entirely be repressed. Mr. Jumar describes that he and his Sudeten Germans friends intentionally neglected (mostly in public situations) or continuously refreshed (in private situations) their individual memories. The almost entire lack of a Sudeten-German collective in the GDR turned the immigrants’ memorialization processes largely into private and individual undertakings. Their memories were politically repressed only insofar as the expellees’ did not abide by the SED policies (if possible). Although assimilation policies were not able to repress an awareness and memory of home entirely, these policies significantly affected the refugees’ and expellees’ music and musical practices.225

Musial and Social Assimilation of the Sudeten-Germans Refugees and Expellees in the SOZ/GDR

SED politicians recognized music’s potential to re-establish a Sudeten-German consciousness and collective that could threaten Heimat’s repression. Therefore, authorities inhibited that Sudeten Germans would privately gather to listen to Heimatlieder broadcasts (Schwartz 2004:517). Starting in 1948, the public singing and

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225 As mentioned in Chapter 2, the following discussion of the Sudeten-German immigrants’ musical practices in the former SOZ/GDR is based on historical and musicological findings and on one conversation with my study participant Alfred Jumar.
broadcasting of Heimatlieder were prohibited. Accordingly, SED authorities demanded that the immigrants exclusively be exposed to cultural practices and songs from their new Heimat so as to foster local integration (Schwartz 224: 517-518). Although, henceforth “the immigrants’ songs” were banned, some Sudeten Germans developed a practice of setting different words to the locals’ tunes and thus altered, for example, a seemingly trivial song into a nostalgic Heimatlied (Schwartz 2004:518). Beginning in 1951, the broadcast of Heimatlieder from the Eastern provinces was punished with up to eight years of imprisonment (Schäfer cited in Schwartz 2008:10).

Although GDR assimilation policies eventually silenced the immigrants’ public musical expression, Mr. Jumar recalls that many Sudeten-Germans created private opportunities to maintain singing and other cultural practices. There, the immigrants reunited with other experiential insiders beyond their own family.

Although we were not supposed to, we always tried to find friends from our hometown or Sudeten Germans who originated from other regions in the Bohemian lands. And we continuously fostered interactions. Though we all omitted our dialects and spoke High German in public, usually the distinct sound of our language still revealed our origin. The tone of our speaking was our distinctive feature. Once we heard a familiar accent or inflection, we approached each other. People in my generation still do this today. Many of us found a new Heimat in our immediate neighborhoods or in the Catholic Church. And there we lived kind of an insular existence. (Jumar 2011)²²⁶

Mr. Jumar addresses in this recollection, what in scholarly contexts is labeled as “Catholic Church diaspora communities” in the largely protestant SOZ/GDR (Pilvousek & Preuß 2008:16). Catholic Sudeten Germans found under the umbrella of the Church opportunities to reunite and to redevelop a Sudeten-German consciousness, which led for many to their *Beheimatung* (the providing of a spiritual home) in East Germany. Into the 1950s, the Catholic (and also Protestant) Church organized all-German church conventions, in which the clergy officially proclaimed the church’s political involvement in the expellees’ integration and assimilation (Schwartz 2004:557).

Church communities enabled Sudeten Germans to sing sacred hymns that they remembered from their homelands. While all other Sudeten-German music ensembles (*Sing- and Spielscharen*, instrumental ensembles, choirs, etc.) were prohibited, church choirs could be maintained (Schwartz 2004:557). These choirs quickly developed into powerful inner-church immigrant groups and therefore eventually were observed by SED authorities (Schwartz 2004:558). Mr. Jumar recalls that this undercover Sudeten-German musical collective was eventually publicly displayed in a church hymnal appendix comprising sacred hymns that the Sudeten-Germans associated with their Heimat. Many of these hymns originated from the Bohemian lands and therefore were prior to the expulsion not known by German locals. Other tunes included in the appendix were commonly known German folksongs that developed into widespread songs in the former Sudetenland (and as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, transformed into significant

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227 In 1950, only about 11 percent of all GDR inhabitants were catholic (Schwartz 2004:544).
compositions because of the expulsion). Mr. Jumar explains the significance of these hymnal appendices for the Sudeten Germans.

In the Catholic Church we sang our old songs such as, “Hier liegt vor deiner Majestät im Staub die Christenschar.” These songs awakened old memories for expellees. And this made people feel at home and secure. This way we saved parts of our cultural heritage. This even led to an added section in church songbooks, which contained the songs that Sudeten-Germans had brought with them to the new homeland. (Jumar 2011)

Catholic Church hymnal appendices might instigate a reconsideration of the notion of the immigrants’ complete cultural assimilation in the GDR. The appendices perhaps also illustrate how first generation (and 1.5 generation) Sudeten-German immigrants perceived themselves for several decades: as a (more or less invisible) faction of the local population.

Each re-publication of the church hymnal showed, according to diocese, slight changes of the appendices. According to Mr. Jumar, some of these for Sudeten Germans meaningful sacred songs were eventually integrated within the main sections of the hymnals or, according to topicality or waning, omitted. Some songs from the first Sudeten-German hymnal appendix are still found in contemporary hymnals (with an

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“Hier liegt vor deiner Majestät im Staub die Christenschar” is the Kyrie of a German mass composed by Michael Haydn, which he specifically attributed to “the folk” rather than a professional choir and soloists. Such masses are also-called *Betsingmassen* (masses for prayer and singing). The mass using these words is known in two versions. Mr. Jumar described in his quote Haydn’s first version (*Deutsches Hochamt* MH536). Haydn later set new music to the text (*Deutsches Hochamt* MH 560). This version is written for choir and soloists.
indication of their origin from the Bohemian lands.) Most appendix tunes, however, are today part of common knowledge (without indication of origin). Mr. Jumar describes these developments as a reflection of the immigrants’ status and changing position.

These sacred hymns had this special status for about two decades, but then the Sudeten-German church collective slowly dissolved. Our traditions did not play an important role anymore. Most elderly Sudeten Germans already died or are very old and our children and grandchildren usually moved on. (Jumar 2013)²²⁹

Hymnal appendices also appeared in West German dioceses. Ansgar Franz and Christiane Schäfer (2012), for example, found appendices in the dioceses of Hildesheim and Paderborn, while by 1950 the Bavarian diocese Munich–Freising dovetailed the “Sudeten-Germans' melodies” with the other songs that were considered to be West German (396). The immigrants’ sacred tunes as listed in GDR hymnal appendices, however, have not yet been mentioned in music scholarship. This is very likely connected to the common notion of the repression of the immigrants’ cultural practices in the SOZ/GDR.

Further investigations need to be undertaken regarding the ways in which these former GDR hymnal appendices might have delayed the Sudeten-German assimilation. Schwartz (2004) further investigated in detail how this (church-built) Sudeten-German collective influenced negotiations between Catholic Church and the GDR government. A detailed discussion of these processes is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Assimilation in Western Art Music and Integration in Music Education

The SED assimilation policies prohibited Sudeten-German musical practices not only in the realm of folk and sacred music, but also within classical music. Koch (2012) studied recently in a brief article the work of various Sudeten-German composers in the GDR. According to Koch (2012), composers often secretly referenced Heimat in their work. Such references pertained to eastern dancelike rhythms, specific rhythmic changes, or distinct folk-like melodic lines and motives (299). Composers such as Fidelio Finke and Theodor Hlouschek, acted more openly. They intentionally titled their work with Bohemian themes (Koch 2012:299). In 1945, for example, Fidelio Finke wrote a piece titled “Kirmes” referencing a Sudeten-German folksong and the annual fair. Theodor Hlouschek composed in 1954 the “Bohemian Fantasy” and in 1966 “Three Moravian Dances for Orchestra” (Koch 2012:299-300).

It was, however, fairly easy for Sudeten-German musicians and music educators to pursue their musical careers in the GDR. Putting all post-war chaos aside, various reasons facilitated their employment. Koch (2012) provides aspects that match my participants’ recollections, such as, overall shortcomings of musicians after the war, the continuous post-war emigration of professional musicians from East to West Germany, and the urgent need for school music teachers (300). This need for music teachers was mainly caused by the fact that the locals had to undergo a process of denazification (Koch 2012: 300). Employment, however, always depended on the immigrants’ willingness to assimilate.
First Visits Home and Changes after Communism

As a result of the 1989 fall of the Berlin wall, Sudeten Germans expelled to the GDR and since separated from their western neighbors had the opportunity to explore West Germany rather than only their hometowns in Czechoslovakia. In contrast with the refugees and expellees in West Germany, Umsiedler from the GDR usually did not have to go through extensive visa application processes and therefore were able to visit their hometowns before 1989. This does not suggest that the Sudeten Germans in the SOZ/GDR experienced overall less feelings of nostalgia after expulsion, but they had the opportunity to deal with these reoccurring sentiments much earlier than the Sudeten Germans in West Germany. Mr. Jumar, for example, returned to his hometown Böhmisch Aicha (Český Dub) for the first time during a business trip in 1957. The following year, he again organized a trip to Czechoslovakia through a travel agency.

As soon as it was allowed, my wife and I traveled to Czechoslovakia. My wife was from East Germany. Although the expulsion was still kind of recent and present in my consciousness, the trip was amusing. We stayed in a town close to Böhmisch Aicha, but we were not allowed to leave the area close to the hotel. We said to the hotel owner that we were on holidays and would like to not only stay in the same spot. He had to check back with authorities in Prague and ask how do deal with us. It was a great fuss to get to my hometown. Somehow, my wife and I managed to visit Böhmisch Aicha. I cried and my wife cried with me. As if it was today, I remember how it felt to be back home and at the same time to be foreign. This was painful. From then on we regularly returned to Böhmisch Aicha and met more and more people (Czechs and Germans) that I had known from before the expulsion. Several times, the remaining Germans told me that even we, expelled to the GDR, were actually better off than they who had to stay in Czechoslovakia. (Jumar 2011)²³⁰

²³⁰ German original: “Sobald es erlaubt war sind meine Frau und ich sofort in die Tschechei gefahren. Obwohl damals noch alles sehr frisch war, die Erinnerung der Austreibung und Ausweisung, war das sehr amüsant damals. Wir wohnten in Dorf nahe Böhmisch Aicha einem Hotel, aber wir sollten das Areal nicht verlassen. Wir sagten zu dem Hotelbesitzer, dass wir doch im Urlaub sind und auch mal
Mr. Jumar mentions that, although he never proclaimed his nostalgia for the Bohemian lands in public situations when living in the GDR, he always longed for his Heimat. Afraid of being dubbed as a sentimental and old-fashioned Heimat romantic, he kept his yearning mostly for himself, or only sometimes shared it with his family.

Beginning in 1990, the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft (Sudeten-German Territorial Association) persistently recruited the new German citizens. Mr. Jumar did not join the Landsmannschaft or engage in large-scale Sudeten-German events, but he remembers the significance of the first all-German annual meeting in 1990, titled “Creating the Future together.” The meeting was anticipated with great enthusiasm as described in an announcement in the Sudeten-German newspaper *Sudetenpost*.

The 41st Sudeten-German meeting will take place in Munich. In the next weeks, our focus must lie on the preparation of this first all-German event. It is not like any other previous Sudeten-German meeting. Based on the numerous letters that reached us in the last weeks here in Munich and were received by other branches of territorial associations, regional newspapers, official Sudeten-German agencies, and Sudeten Germans in the West, portray the longing of our fellow Sudeten Germans. They still live in a Germany that is different from ours. (Max 1990:1)

Over 100,000 visitors attended this meeting, almost 10,000 came from the former GDR. This number is in comparison to the attendees from West Germany rather low and certainly reflects more than four decades of GDR assimilation policies. Although many

Sudeten Germans individually maintained their connection to the Heimat, as a collective, their memories of the past and their desire to publicly display “Sudetengermanness” slowly faded between 1950 and 1990.

After the meeting in 1990, the leaders of the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft demanded the European Community to open up toward the East and help organizing a future Sudeten-German meeting in Liberec (Reichenberg), one of the former most prestigious cities in the German populated border regions of the Bohemian lands. Based on continuous tensions between the German and Czech governments, a meeting in the East was never realized (Sudetenpost 1990:1).

Although social, cultural, and political processes in the SOZ/GDR were significantly different from the developments in West Germany, the West-German refugees and expellees and the East-German resettlers’ sense of belonging to their Bohemian homelands seemed in many aspects very similar. In musical terms, while Sudeten-German practices in West Germany emerged, shaped, and solidified after expulsion, Sudeten-German musical practices were repressed and almost disappeared in the former GDR (with the exception of music-making in the Catholic Church). The politically steered silencing of the expellees in the GDR, however, was not completely effective. Germans found opportunities to stay in contact with their families and friends expelled to the other three occupation zones. Some Umsiedler, such as Mr. Jumar, further introduced Sudeten-German customs and specific Sudeten-German songs to his family, but as in West Germany, younger generations usually showed limited interest in Sudeten-German issues and traditions.
The situation of the Sudeten Germans who stayed or were forced to stay in the Bohemian lands (Heimatverbliebene) was similar to the conditions of the Sudeten Germans in the GDR. The Heimatverbliebenen, however, experienced the post-expulsion “cultural homelessness” (Vivero and Jenkins 1999) even more directly. While they were able to stay in their Heimat, the new living situation in Czechoslovakia required them to perfect the Czech language and acquire Czech citizenship. According to the Heimatverbliebenen who participated in this study, singing and speaking in German was frowned on and caused serious disadvantages in daily life.

**Musical and Social Assimilation of the Heimatverbliebenen in Czechoslovakia**

Not all Germans were expelled from the Bohemian lands at the end of the Second World War. Sudeten Germans who could choose to either stay in or leave the Bohemian lands usually lived in Czech-German marriages, which typically were categorized according to the man’s nationality (Brandes 2010:650). According to Matěy Spurný (2012), “most of the 100,000 mixed families were allowed to stay” (458). This decree of the Czech National Socialist Party concerned mainly the children “who have to be Czechized and whom we don’t want to lose! There are not so many of us that we can dismiss so many thousands of children, who are half of our blood” (Spurný 2012:458). In order to secure their basic rights, however, mixed families needed to participate in 1945 in re-education camps (Spurný 2012:458).

Many skilled Sudeten German industrial workers were forced to stay in the Bohemian lands, while some other specialists were able to acquire permits. State officials
realized that the nation could not function without the knowledge of these “indispensable experts” (Spurný 2012:458). From more than three million Germans (29.1 percent of Czechoslovakia’s inhabitants) registered in 1930, about 2,921,000 were expelled from the Bohemian lands to mostly Germany and Austria in 1945 (Zimmermann 2013:134) and an estimated 170,000 remained in the Czech Republic (Spurný 2012:457).231 About 65,000 of these Heimatverbliebene did not belong to any of the above described groups, but had to stay because the Western Allies did not accept the arrival of more expellees in Germany (Spurný 2012:459). In 1950 approximately 160,000 Germans were officially listed in Czechoslovakia (1.8 percent of the country’s population) (Brandes 2010:650).

According to the presidential decrees (May 1945), all remaining Germans were initially deprived of their human and civil rights and, similar to their expelled Sudeten-German friends and relatives, they lost their land, house, and belongings, and experienced personal discrimination (Haslinger 2014).

Based on a collective notion of Czech state authorities and Czech citizens, Heimatverbliebene were initially regarded as potential threats to the new state, because Germans were considered responsible for oppressing the Czech population in the pre-war years and causing the terror of the Second World War (Brandes 2001). In order to disperse the Sudeten German clusters in the borderlands, many Sudeten-German families were forcefully displaced to the inner parts of Czechoslovakia (Brandes 2010:650).232 As

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231 According to Brandes (2010), 180,000 Germans lived in 1947 in Czechoslovakia (650). According to Nittner (1990), 250,000 Germans remained (210).

232 The government planned to disperse about 100,000 Sudeten Germans in the inner parts of Czechoslovakia, but actually only 20,000 Germans were moved into these regions.
Spurný (2012) discusses in detail, after the first years of postwar segregation, state officials realized that the Sudeten Germans eventually needed to be assimilated in order to be gained as support for the communist system (461). This goal required the state authorities to grant Sudeten Germans Czechoslovak citizenship in order to offer them equal rights. Although this development might have been the beginning of a positive change in Czech-German affairs, the relationship between both populations remained tense. The 40,000 Sudeten Germans who were still stateless non-citizens in 1950 and the large number of Germans who left Czechoslovakia in the late 1960s attest to this tension (Spurný 2012:463). After the fall of communism in 1989, Germans in the Czech Republic grew into an acknowledged minority. In 2001, 39,106 Germans (0.38 percent of the entire population) called themselves Germans (Zimmermann 2013:135).

In the course of my investigations, I also visited remaining Sudeten Germans and their descendants in the Czech Republic. My ethnographic materials show that their daily life changed dramatically after the expulsion. Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia initially experienced an intensified version of the SOZ/GDR’s assimilation policies (forced assimilation policies/Zwangsassimilationspolitik) and had no choice other than to formally “czechify” (Bryant 2002: 685). This process demanded them to obscure their German background. Heimatverbliebene were not only required to modify national, cultural, and, social subjectivities, but also their personal identities. For example, my participant Ernst Parsch changed his name to Arnošt Parsch. Name changes were only one element in this adjustment process. Such identity changes triggered in many of the elderly Heimatverbliebenen a similar feeling of loss and cultural homelessness as
experienced by the expelled and dispersed Sudeten Germans in East and West Germany. These experiences were further intensified when towns, which were once mostly inhabited by Germans, changed name. Reichenberg, for example, changed to Liberec.

During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to speak to Else Schenkova, a Czech citizen (b. 1925) in the bicultural village Klíčnov (Klitschnei). She is fluent in German and was for most of her life very close to German culture and history. Her hometown Klitschnei was located close to the Czech-German language border and therefore constituted at the time a bilingual environment. Mrs. Schenkova described reciprocal influences between Czechs and Germans and their cultural practices before the expulsion and the repression of these practices in post-war Czechoslovakia. Various study participants, who lived in regions close to the bicultural language border, describe overall friendly interactions between the populations until 1933. Mrs. Schenkova, for example, remembers that the few German and Czech children and young adults in her small hometown played, sang, and danced together while accompanying themselves with instruments such as washboards and watering cans. She further recalls that Czechs and Germans generally enjoyed and listened to each other’s music. “People were not bothered by this environment. It was normal” (Schenkova, 2011). According to the study participants’ recollections, the situation changed drastically after 1933, when the National-Socialist political developments triggered Czechs and Germans to turn more and more against each other. Later, during the time of the Protectorate, the prevailing

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233 The Czech-German language border is also the Protectorate’s border. The village Klitschnei was almost completely destroyed in the late 1940s.
language and culture was German. Although these developments were subject to regional situations, generally, a German dominance produced tension between the populations.

Mrs. Schenkova, at the time of the expulsion 20 years old, recalled war, expulsion, and the changed Czechoslovakian post-expulsion environment quite clearly in our conversation, but revealed only a few of her experiences regarding the critical developments and events in the Bohemian lands. Her self-described impartial handling of historical events due to her inner swaying between Czech and German orientation, turned out to encumber her ability (or willingness) to express her experiences and memories verbally. She recalled, however, that de-Germanization and political developments after the expulsion not only irreversibly changed German inhabitants, but also Czechoslovakia and the Czech inhabitants. Mrs. Schenkova, who had married a remaining Sudeten German in 1947, remembers,

People did not speak German anymore in public places. Nor did we. Only at home did my husband and I speak German. We sometimes spoke German to our children, but they always responded in Czech. They ended up not really learning German, because people stirred up hatred against Germans and everything German. This was a little less the case in 1969, but in the 1970s we had to be very careful again. (Schenkova 2011)

A large number of remaining Germans and their descendants emigrated to West Germany in the late 1960s, due to the temporary political liberalization during the Prague Spring. The approximately 80,000 Germans remaining in Czechoslovakia in 1970 had

diminished by 2011 to 18,658 registered Germans (0.3 percent of the country’s inhabitants).  

While analyzing the remaining Sudeten-Germans’ memories, I identified patterns of emotional, social, and musical reactions to the drastic life changes that can be understood and categorized according to several modes, which I label as (musical) oppression/withdrawal, indifference/fragmentation, covertness, and reconstruction. While Heimatverbliebene applied covertness and continuation only during the Cold War until 1989, instances of indifference/fragmentation and oppression/withdrawal, which also developed during the communist era, continued after 1989. These modes suggest that while some Heimatverbliebene deferred to the political, social, and cultural oppression in Czechoslovakia, for others, music and musical practices offered vital possibilities to counter oppression or reappear musically after the communist era.

(Musical) Oppression and Withdrawal

According to Mrs. Schenkova, the Czech Communist party’s politics meant for all inhabitants “the security of work but no civic and personal freedom” (Schenkova 2011). I experienced this lack of freedom when Mrs. Schenkova and I walked in 2011 through the streets of Jablonec nad Nisou (Gablonz) conversing in German. “This would have been impossible only about twenty years ago” she said. Study participant Alois Galle (b. 1937)

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235 This large decrease is related to the fact that next generations of Sudeten Germans are mostly registered as Czech inhabitants without German nationality (elderly Sudeten Germans were often registered as Czech inhabitants with German nationality). Czech Statistical Office, “Census of Population and Housing,” http://vdb.czso.cz (accessed June 16, 2013).

236 Although remaining Germans had experienced a back and forth between Czech and German orientations before the expulsion (according to political situation), they describe the post-expulsion situation in Czechoslovakia as new and not comparable to their previous life experiences.
confirmed that between 1946 and 1989 any sign of “Germanness” was “unofficially censored.”

Although Heimatverbliebene were not legally prohibited to show their German origins, if they did, their social and professional lives were seriously inhibited by governmental interventions. The participants recalled that German cultural practices and music of any German genre were banned in Czechoslovakia and more or less disappeared until 1989. Important Czech-German musical figures with variant name spellings, such as the composer family Stamitz, were changed to the Slavic version (Stamic) in order to return to the realm of Czech culture (Nettl, 2002: 284). Works of these composers therefore could be performed during the communist era. Otherwise, public musical performances featured almost exclusively works of Czech and Russian composers, performed by musicians from the Eastern bloc, including the GDR. Mrs. Schenkova recalls further that not only musical broadcasting, but also the importation of phonograph records was under governmental censorship.

Out of fear, many Heimatverbliebene refrained completely, even in private situations, from speaking in German or practicing any German cultural and musical traditions. Otto Richter, born in 1924 from a German father and a Czech mother, remained with his parents in Czechoslovakia. His parents decided to stay, because the

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237 Alois Galle, interviewed by Ulrike Prager, July 20, 2011; interview 54, transcript. Exceptions appeared when Czechoslovakian authorities valued the Germans’ economic importance based on the (Heimat)-tourism even before 1989. Exceptions appeared when Czechoslovakian authorities valued the Germans’ economic importance based on the (Heimat)-tourism even before 1989.

238 For example, children of parents who would show their German origins or disagree with governmental policies were not allowed to enter higher education. Although they had the required grades, other reasons were brought forth by state officials to hinder their careers (Galle, A. 2011).

239 An exception is the music-making of the state-controlled Kulturverbände der Bürger deutscher Nationalität in der Tschechischen Republik seit 1969 (Cultural Associations of Germans in the Czech Republic since 1969).
stories about expulsion and the descriptions of the desperate situations in Germany were too intimidating. Mr. Richter remembered an incident of one of his remaining German friends who married a Czech inhabitant in the late 1940s on condition that she would refrain from any German cultural practices. “She would never speak a word in German to me anymore or join a German private reunion. She did not want to attract any attention. She behaved as if she was Czech” (Richter 2011). Such life choices were usually so far-reaching that, even after the collapse of the communist era, many individuals would never again indicate their German heritage. These factors caused after 1989 bizarre situations, in which people often were unsure about the heritage of their neighbors. I perceived in conversations with study participants, as well as via the analysis of their music-making, such expressions of indifference and fragmentation.

**Musical Indifference/Fragmentation**

Some of the elderly Heimatverbliebenen describe that the fall of communism in 1989 brought more irritation than liberation. The possibility of returning publicly to a German orientation, which they had last experienced as children more than four decades ago, was accompanied by fear and the lost ability of code-switching between Czech and German cultural frames (see Navarrete & Jenkins 2011). I further observed Heimatverbliebene as caught in an in-between a state of being drawn toward their

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240 These dichotomies are also a reason why numbers of Germans living in Czechoslovakia might be difficult to verify. Mr. Richter’s friend, although a German very likely registered as a Czech citizen (not a Czech with German nationality).

German original: “Sie hat mir mir nie mehr deutsch gesprochen und hat keine privaten deutschen Treffen mehr besucht. Sie wollte keine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen. Sie verhielt sich als wäre sie eine Tschechin” (Richter 2011).
remembrances of their past and being held back by fear. For many, the tension of this fragmentation prevailed against their desire to re-visit the past. I experienced this kind of fragmentation, for example, in musicians who agreed to publicly perform German repertoire in the Czech Republic, only to cancel the performance at the last minute.

Other Heimatverbliebene proclaimed a state of indifference or even reluctance toward their German past. Mr. Galle, for example, quoted his brother Franz after he had asked him in 2001 to participate in the vocal ensemble of the Sudeten-German cultural association in the Eagle Mountains. Franz Galle (b.1932) stated that re-establishing a Sudeten-German (musical) community and reappearing publicly in the Czech Republic would be unnecessary and nonsensical (Galle 2011). He had relinquished his connection to his German past and the German communities’ decades ago. His state of indifference is perhaps based on his young age at the time of the expulsion and the limited time he had to establish a lasting bond to the German communities in Czechoslovakia. Although five years younger than Franz, Mr. Galle experienced first-hand the difficulties of the de-Germanization based on his mother’s life situation. She was never able to adjust to the changed situation in her homeland.

My mother never sang anymore. She was quiet and she barely spoke Czech, while we were fluent soon after the expulsion. We had to go to Czech school beginning in 1947. My mother repeatedly said that she just had to bear these conditions. She had, however, a few friends with whom she could speak German until her death. (Galle 2011)\textsuperscript{241}

\textsuperscript{241} German original: “Mutter sang nie mehr. Die Mutter war still und sprach kaum tschechisch, während wir alle schon tschechisch sprachen. Das lernten wir 1947 gleich in der Schule. Meine Mutter sagte immer wieder—Kinder wir müssen das aushalten. Meine Mutter hatte aber einige Freunde, mit denen hat sie dann auch deutsch geredet bis zu ihrem Tod” (Galle 2011).
While Franz Galle is clearly indifferent toward his past, reactions of indifference by other Sudeten Germans are often also colored by the fear of being perceived as reawakened nationalists. Further investigations regarding the motives for individuals’ indifference to their German past might reveal further insights into the correlation between political oppression and cultural practices.

(Musical) Covert Continuation

In the desire to counteract the loss of familiar musical expressions and to preserve their erstwhile cultural belonging, some study participants initiated between 1946 and 1989 secret singing and dance events in private settings. Although these events decreased and almost disappeared (typically related to the aging of the remaining Germans), they satisfied, especially in the time shortly after the expulsion, similar needs as the ones expressed by the Sudeten Germans in Germany: the recreation or continuation of a Sudeten-German collective and a Sudeten-German consciousness.

The children and grandchildren of these Sudeten Germans usually do not share these sentiments. They are Czech citizens and generally do not speak German or relate to German heritage. Some even do not know about the past events of expulsion, because these themes were not part of the school curriculum during the communist era. Such circumstances, for example, prompted Amalie Stonjek and Anna Hartmann in the 1960s to collect, secretly record, and preserve folksongs describing their Bohemian homelands as they remembered it from their childhood. Such recordings not only store individual

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242 The cassette tape not only contains songs that they perceived as specifically Sudeten-German (such as Feierobnd), but also generally-known German folksongs.
and collective cultural practices, but also enable reconstructions of these cultural and historical practices for current and future listeners.

(Musical) Continuation

Between 1969 and the fall of communism, Heimatverbliebene were allowed to continue cultural practices in a number of regional so-called *Kulturverbände der Bürger deutscher Nationalität in der Tschechischen Republik* (Cultural Associations of Germans in Czechoslovakia). Although the association’s regional branches were not allowed to meet or communicate and typically were infiltrated with so-called traffic wardens (*Helfer der Polizei*), the individual groups were able to focus on the “preservation of the cultural heritage and the German language of the cultural minority” (Kulturverband 2013:para 2). Several study participants’ descriptions lead me to suggest that these groups were joined or even run by Germans who indeed adhered to their ethnic background, but simultaneously were affiliated with the communist party. A few of these groups still exist today in reorganized settings and under different leadership.

Other forms of musical continuation occurred in religious or private settings. After expulsion, Mr. Richter, for example, played for several years the church organ during catholic services in the neighboring villages of his hometown Velké Hamry (Grosshammer). He recalled that the German priests in these secluded villages stayed for about three more years and continued to work for the few remaining Germans, before Czech inhabitants also moved into these areas. Mr. Richter continues and preserves German cultural practices in Velké Hamry since 1989. I visited Mr. Richter in January 2011.
Driving the 15 kilometers from Jablonec nad Nisou (Gablonz) to Velké Hamry (Grosshammer), the landscape was a winter fairy tale. However, the scenery changed considerably as soon as I entered the little village. Velké Hamry lies in the Isergebirge (Jizera, Czech: Jizerské) in the region of Liberec (Reichenberg) in northern Bohemia. Velké Hamry looked like one of the many villages I have seen so far in the former Sudetenland. Many houses were dark grey with broken portions and crumbling paint. Although much has been restored since the early 1990s, the traces of more than 45 years of deterioration were still distinct and visible. The stores were a bizarre conglomerate of Eastern stores selling flashy colored clothes among anything else one could possibly need. As many times before, I experienced this environment as burdensome and depressing. This was likely influenced by my knowledge of the region’s political and historical past. My perception was also fueled by the many stereotypes connected to this region. “People who don’t trust you. People whom you can’t trust.”

Before the end of the Second World War, about half of Velké Hamry’s inhabitants were German, because the village was located directly at the former Czech-German language border. Today the inhabitants are Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Moravians, Sinti, Roma, Vietnamese, Philippines, and a handful Germans, such as Mr. Richter. His passport states that he is a Czech resident with German nationality.

Mr. Richter awaited me on the main street, next to the deteriorated church. It took me several phone calls to convince him that it would be no problem for me to drive from Gablonz (where I was staying in a hotel) to Velké Hamry. He suggested accommodating me and making a two-hour trip by foot, bus, and train to Gablonz.

When I arrived, I could tell he was excited to have a visitor. His hands and clothes showed traces of hard physical work. I knew from his school friend, Alfred Jumar that Mr. Richter is very poor. He lives in the old farmer’s house that his ancestors built more than 100 years ago. Still today, he draws water from a water pump in front of his house. He said he hopes to be able to do this until his death, because he does not have enough money to live in an elderly home. He heats with a wooden fired oven on which he also cooked until recently.
He now receives food from the elderly home across the street. As compensation, he regularly plays the organ in the elderly home’s chapel. Although the Czech Republic is still mainly atheist, some churches and institutions perform church services since the fall of communism. Most of these services in the Velké Hamry region are musically accompanied by Otto Richter, who learned to play the organ auto didactically.

When I entered his house I was struck by the vast number of paintings and pictures on the walls. They all showed Bohemian landscapes. Most of them were landscapes from the Isergebirge, the region in which he still lives. I have seen many of these pictures in the homes of expelled Sudeten Germans in Germany. Mr. Richter seemed as displaced from his Heimat as these Sudeten Germans who actually left the Bohemian lands after World War II or in the late 1960s. Mr. Richter further showed me about five large boxes full of Heimatkarten (Heimat cards) he assembled or painted himself and still sends to Heimatverbliebenen and Sudeten-Germans living in Germany. “Since 1973, I have worked in this mission: I work for the people who have been expelled and the people who stayed. I try to give them some security. I have also collected many of their life stories. Most of the Heimatverbliebenen who I knew, however, already died, fled...
later with their children, or moved to the West after 1993. But these cards I send to them still make them happy” (Richter 2011).

I understood that mailing these hand painted cards capturing the Bohemian homelands to other Germans, also provides him with a feeling of home.

Figure 39: “Heaven and Earth will vanish,” but the face of my home will always exist in my heart.


Figure 38: Paintings sent to the expelled by Otto Richter. “I had once a beautiful Heimat (fatherland).”
He confirmed this by explaining that he never felt connected to the inhabitants of Velké Hamry.

Here […] people like my organ playing, but we have nothing in common. I feel affinity and belonging, however, when I go to the meetings of the Cultural Association of the Sudeten Germans Zittau, Germany [German town across the border]. […] They have accepted me into their community. I go there with another Sudeten-German woman from Gablonz. We always feel connected spiritually with the others there. (Richter 2011)²⁴⁴

He added later that it would have been perhaps possible to establish connections with the Czech inhabitants if he would have never mentioned his past. He was a German soldier and, because he never joined the political party, worked as a prisoner of conscience in a factory until his retirement. Originally he had studied theology. Heimat, as marked by social interactions and the feeling of belonging, found Mr. Richter since the expulsion mostly outside of his hometown. My impression was confirmed in a letter that I received from Mr. Richter several months after our conversation.

I remember our interaction with respect, because you are interested in the fate of the Sudeten Germans, which is also mine and from which I suffered all my life. At the same time, however, I sought to carry this fate together with other Sudeten Germans through playing the organ and singing in church, and mailing cards to other Sudeten Germans with verses and pictures from our homeland. This way I hoped to nurture and foster the community of the expellees and Heimatverbliebenen, which fills all of us with pleasure and a bonding experience. (Richter 2011)

An entirely different way of continuing German musical practices recalled Mr. Galle (b. 1937). As an ethnic German living in Czechoslovakia, he had to join the *

schwarze Kompanie* (black military company) when he was 18 years old. This company consisted of 25 German *Heimatverbliebene* and one Roma. The *schwarze Kompanie* was also labeled as the company of the *unzuverlässigen Leute* (unreliable personalities).

Members of this company had to build bunkers and other military facilities in various Moravian regions. Mr. Galle described the role of music for the company.

On the weekends we did not have to work and so we went to the bars in the villages. All 25 of us. And there we always sang. We sang in German, even the Roma sang with us in German. We sang songs such as Lilly Marlene. The Moravian inhabitants got tired of us and said that we would destroy their music if we would not change our location soon. And they were not joking. But we kept singing wherever we were. This practice also helped me keep my German going. (Galle 2011)

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Mr. Galle once again sang in German in the Czech Republic in 2002, together with his vocal group called the *Deutsche Gesangsgruppe der Adlergebirgler*, when they again were allowed to sound their origins.

**Musical Renewal and Reconstruction after 1989**

A few Heimatverbliebene consciously chose musical practices as a tool to reintroduce themselves as a cultural entity in today’s Czech Republic. After having refrained from German cultural practices for more than four decades, Mr. Galle founded in 2002 the *Deutsche Gesangsgruppe der Adlergebirgler* in the region of the Eagle Mountains (*Orlické hory*). He described his motivation to establish this group.

> We speak Czech and are now Czech citizens, but we are still Germans. We want to convince the Czechs that we, the Germans, also still live here. We want to show and share how we lived and what we experienced as children; this also means singing the songs of our ancestors. (Galle 2011)

In 2002, Mr. Galle and eight other Heimatverbliebene gathered for the first time to rehearse for a performance at an open house of the Cultural Association of Germans in the Eagle Mountains (*Verband der Deutschen in Oberen Adlergebirge mit Vertriebenen Geburtenbrüdern*).

> We had a big problem. Which songs should we sing? All German songbooks had disappeared. They were all gone. Thrown away and destroyed. I had not sung a German folksong since my mother stopped singing during the Second World War. *He paused.* But then a few women recalled the refrains of a couple of songs. They sang some fragments and

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246 German original: “Wir sprechen tschechisch und sind nun Bürger der tschechischen Republik, aber wir sind auch Deutsche. Wir müssen die Tschechen überzeugen, dass wir Deutsche auch noch hier leben. Wir wollen zeigen, was wir als Kinder erlebt haben das bedeutet auch die Lieder zu singen, die unsere Ahnen gesungen haben” (Galle 2011).
we reconstructed texts and melodies together. This was a beginning.  
(Galle 2011)

A few weeks later, they had collectively reconstructed and rehearsed a number of folksongs that they remembered as related to their Sudeten-German past such as “Horch, was kommt von draussen rein,” “Wo ist mein Heim?” and “Mein Sudetenland.” The first song is a well-known 19th-century German folksong that the Heimatverbliebenen likely remembered from their childhood. “Wo ist mein Heim?” is the German version of the Czech national anthem describing the beauty of the Bohemian homeland. Mr. Galle and the other Heimatverbliebenen of the vocal group decided to perform the Czech anthem in German according to the group’s mission (as stated on their website, they only perform in the German language). The anthem’s refrain reads in the Czech version “The Czech country, my homeland!” while translated to German the refrain reads “Bohemia is my home.” Although Czech can be translated in German as Tschechisch (Czech) or Böhmisch (Bohemian), the members of the vocal group used Böhmisch, thereby referring to the former German inhabitants and parts of Czechoslovakia (the Sudetenland in the border regions of Bohemia, Moravia, and Czech Silesia) as their Heimat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wo ist mein Heim?</th>
<th>Where is my Heimat?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Czech national anthem in German version)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo ist mein Heim?</td>
<td>Where is my Heimat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mein Vaterland?</td>
<td>My fatherland?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wo durch Wiesen Bäche brausen,</td>
<td>Where streams rustle through the meadows,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Mr. Galle and the vocal group performed the third song, “Mein Sudetenland,” at the open house of the Cultural Association of Germans in the Eagle Mountains. This song celebrates the Sudetenland as the bygone Heimat, so beautiful from afar, and indirectly bemoans the loss of a (seemingly) unburdened past. Since this text refers to the lost Heimat, it is likely not one that the members of the vocal group recall from their childhood in Czechoslovakia. Although pre-war events and the war itself foreshadowed the changes that were to affect the region, it is doubtful that Sudeten Germans back then had any call for a song that described the lost homeland. It is more likely that the members of the singing group recalled this song because they had learned it recently from Sudeten Germans who had been expelled to West Germany and who, since the opening of the border after 1989, regularly visit their old homelands.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ See further literature to nostalgia such as Boym, The Future of Nostalgia and Özyürek, Nostalgia for the Modern.
Mein Sudetenland

2. Wo aus Blütenwolken taucht
das Elbeland,
wo die Trauben reifen
längst am Uferstrand,
wo die Jugendzeit mir brachte
Glück und Glanz,
dort sind meine Träume
im Sudetenland.

Where from clouds of blossoms emerges the land of the Elbe,
where the grapes ripe
long ago on the riverside,
where youth brought
happiness and radiance,
there are my dreams
in the Sudetenland.

3. Wo am Bergeshügel
unser Kirchlein stand,
wo ein schmaler Weg führt
hin zum Grabesrand,
wo die Ahnen ruhen
unter braunen Sand,
fand ich Gottes Liebe
im Sudetenland.

Where on the hill
was our little church,
where a small path
leads to the brink of the grave,
where the ancestors rest
under brown sand,
there I found God’s love
in the Sudetenland.

4. Hör ich Waldesrauschen
fern vom Heimatland,

When I hear the whispering of the woods
far away from my homeland,
Mr. Galle mentioned in our conversation that he was well aware that the performance of the Czech national anthem in German and specifically the song “Mein Sudetenland” could be understood as provocation by German and Czech audience members. Mr. Galle, however, did not further elaborate on the relation between the groups’ musical choices and any political objectives. Slightly anxious, however, he shared the songs’ texts prior to the performance at the Cultural Association with the event’s organizers. They indeed considered the song “Mein Sudetenland” as problematic and inquired regarding its appropriateness for performance at the Czech Ministry of Culture. “This was a hassle at first, but it turned out that the officials actually did not care, and so we performed as planned” (Galle 2011). Mr. Galle remembered the audience’s (Czechs and Germans) reactions to the songs as ambivalent.

Some showed appreciation and clapped. Others were silent and looked down. Many audience members came up to us, trying to understand why we would and could sing in German. They were convinced that all Germans had left the country decades ago. (Galle 2011)

I contacted Mr. Galle in 2011 and asked if he would be willing to speak with me about the group and if I even might be able to hear them sing. He responded immediately.

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Dear Ms. Präger, it is nice that there is someone in the world who is interested in all of this. Everything is possible; I will gladly speak with you. I live in Dobruska Num. 30 market square V.L. Veka. Make suggestions. Good Bye. Alois Galle. (Galle 2011)

Mr. Galle lives today in the small village Dobruška (Gutenfeld) in the Eagle Mountains (Orlické hory, Adlergiβerge). Although both of his parents were of German nationality, he stayed via various complicated and painful ventures with his mother and his four siblings in Czechoslovakia. His father never returned from the front in Poland. Mr. Galle is today registered as a Czech citizen with German nationality. His written German in above response is grammatically flawed. Although raised in German until the end of World War II, he hardly used his mother tongue in writing and speaking between the ages of 8 and 52 in Czechoslovakia (he spoke German only with his mother). As I learned later, Mr. Galle’s spoken German is fluent.

I visited Mr. Galle and the vocal group for their annual meeting of the Association of the Germans in Rokytnice (Rokitnitz) in July 2011. Rokytnice v Orlických horách, is a village about 20 kilometers east of Dobruška. It is located within the remote region of the Eagle Mountains and can only be reached via small hilly streets. When I entered the village, strangers waved at me, stopped my car and welcomed me to Rokytnice. They were all Heimatverblichen and expelled Sudeten Germans from the area happy to bond with another German individual (identified via the number plate on my car). About 20 Sudeten Germans, who live now in Germany, travel each year to Rokytnice to attend the festival.

I was very warmly welcomed by Mr. Galle and some other 40 attendees of the annual meeting. Many were touched by the fact that I am interested in their music and musical practices and even more importantly; in them and their stories. The meeting was further attended by Czech officials such as the mayor of Rokytnice and the Committee for the Communication between the Region and Others. The meeting’s program allotted time for speeches by representatives of the different groups (who were all seated separated from each other), a performance of Mr. Galle’s German vocal group, dancing by Czech kindergarteners, and performances by a teenage guitar player and the Trio Neugebauer (a three-member family ensemble of Sudeten-German heritage). For the kindergarteners, this event was one of the many where they perform for elderly audiences. The children

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250 This meeting is one event in a series of happenings during the German St. Anna Festival in Rokytnice and neighboring villages. This annual event references the region’s pre-expulsion traditional St. Anna festival and was revived in the area ten years ago. The festivals’ participants spend a few days together, which they spend with conversation and storytelling, concerts, singing and dancing, a Catholic Church service, visiting of exhibitions, and hiking. (Ausschuss der Stadt Rokitnitz für Verständigung zwischen den Nationen von Bezirk Hradec Kralove und Anderen).
performed a group dance to Czech pop music, which felt out of context, but was meant to welcome the Sudeten Germans in their old Heimat by the youngest generation. Father, son, and daughter from the Trio Neugebauer played a variety of classical music as well as music composed by the teenaged son, all arranged for violin, clarinet, and bass. The Trio Neugebauer still carries the German name of their ancestors. The father, Martin Neugebauer (b. 1969), belongs to the first generation Heimatverbliebene who no longer speak German. The fact that the family is from Sudeten-German heritage privileged them to perform at this event and many other events in the region. Martin was keen on sending me his family tree, which would explain his German roots; it seemed that his heritage has helped him various times in promoting the group and especially his son Michal, a talented violin player and composer.

The vocal group then sang the songs “Heimat” and “Tief im Tole” and after some discussion one other song, of which they performed one verse. Overall, I observed what Mr. Galle told me. “We try to start and finish together.” Because the group’s primary goal is to regain cultural presence as a minority group, performance practice and quality are not so much of their concern. What I perceived, objectively speaking, was a group of elderly people singing folksongs, dressed in beautiful, self-made traditional costumes. Historically and ethnographically speaking, however, these singers represented a generation keen on reviving and reliving repertoire that they had learned from their parents and grandparents.

This is what two singers confirmed when I asked them about the meaning of singing in German. “It is wonderful and I am sad that my grandmother could not experience this. She died in 1985. She did not speak Czech very well and she would have been so happy and relieved to know that the German language and German cultural practices are back in Czechoslovakia” (Anonymous 2011).251

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Music-making and musical reconstruction signified for the members of the *Deutsche Gesangsgruppe der Adlergebirge* a means to reappear in public and raise awareness regarding the presence of a German minority in the Czech Republic. Mr. Galle created with this group a platform for Sudeten-Germans to re-unite, re-discover their Sudeten-German heritage, speak their mother tongue, and re-experience their musical past. At the time of the expulsion, the members of this group were almost all young children. Some were even born even after the expulsion. At the time of the expulsion, the members of this group were almost all young children. Some were even born shortly after the expulsion. Today, they describe music-making as an opportunity to revive not only their (musical) heritage, but also to rediscover their parents’ and grandparents’ past, which simultaneously leads to an exploration of a silenced part of their own sounded history. Mr. Galle’s long-term goal is to transform the largely silent community of
remaining Sudeten-Germans into an audible and visible one. His latest project was a 2013 CD production.

Figure 43: Deutsche Gesangsgruppe im Adlergebirge (German vocal group of the Eagle Mountains), Rokytnice. Photograph taken by Ulrike Präger 2011.

**Conclusion**

It has been a challenge to research and address issues that have been hidden and even silenced for several decades, but recollections of Umsiedler and Heimatverbliebene are all the more important for the understanding of the relations between politics, music-making, and a sense of belonging.

Sudeten-German music and musical practices in the SOZ/GDR and in Czechoslovakia between 1946 and 1989 demonstrate that policies of assimilation and repression generally obstructed the continuation of free musical expression, but at the same time show how some Umsiedler und Heimatverbliebene were able to circumvent
political repression with certain musical practices. For example, music-making in the Catholic Church in the GDR, or singing and dancing in secret contexts in Czechoslovakia, supported and sustained the Sudeten Germans’ cultural, social, and political resistance.

After the Velvet Revolution, Sudeten Germans reappeared culturally, for example, in the introduced vocal group *Die Adlergebirgler* in the Czechoslovakian Eagle Mountains. They take the stage to confirm, celebrate, and honor their cultural presence and, through music-making, remind the audience of their past. Musical practices facilitate in such contexts a “transformation from private to public, from resistive to constitutive,” from local to regional, and perhaps eventually even to national, which otherwise might not be experienced (Bohlman 1999:25). Appearances of groups such as *Die Adlergebirgler* provide younger generations with an opportunity to experience a new, for many unknown, side of Czech history. However, as Mr. Galle indicated, younger people are generally not interested in this kind of musical genre and do not want to spend their time with issues that they or their families have not experienced. Although the reappearance of Germans in Czechoslovakia seems perhaps rare at this point (much needs to be investigated), for these individuals musical practices provide a new undertaking, a new sense of belonging, and for some even a new purpose in life.

The inclusion of German musical practices in the Czech Republic display in a broader context the slow, but consistent, decrease of cultural and political tensions. For example, when Mr. Jumar visited his hometown Český Dub (Böhmisch Aicha) in 2008, he attended a performance in the theater in Liberec (Reichenberg). There he experienced
for the first time in the Czech Republic a Mozart opera sung in its original German language (with Czech titles.)

I bought the tickets speaking Czech and the saleslady told me that it might not be worth seeing the opera for it was sung in German. The fact that I heard Mozart again sung in German in the Czech Republic was a sign for me that much has changed. (Jumar 2011)

If and how these experiences are passed on to younger generations and how younger generations deal with the Germans’ expulsion from the Bohemian lands, will be discussed in the next chapter.

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252 German original: “Ich habe die Karten gekauft und tschechisch dabei gesprochen und da sagte die Kartenverkäuferin, dass es sich nicht lohnen würde, da die Oper auf Deutsch gespielt würde. Die Tatsache, dass ich Mozart in deutscher Sprache hören konnte, sagte mir, dass sich etwas” (Jumar 2011).
CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION

The Past in the Present

In July 2011, I received a letter from Konrad Pfeiffer, who, in 1946, at the age of six, was expelled from Bergreichenstein (Kašperské Hory) in Southern Bohemia to West Germany. In his five-page single-spaced letter, he reflects upon music’s significance for him and some of his family members before and after expulsion. His detailed and informed letter is melancholy, sometimes bitter, and even sarcastic. He added a personal note to me,

I might go too far off topic in my descriptions, but this seems necessary based on conversations I had with younger people. Such conversations repeatedly showed that they are absolutely clueless regarding history and the overall life circumstances back then. I apologize, if this does not apply to you. (Pfeiffer 2011)

The generation gap experienced by Mr. Pfeiffer raises various questions. What do children and grandchildren of Sudeten Germans know about their parents’ and grandparents’ experiences of flight and expulsion? Where Heimat is for later generations and what do they generally think about the Heimat concept? How do they generally relate to the Sudeten-German experience and how does it affect their understanding of a German and European history?

Communicologist Thomas Petersen (2005) conducted a study investigating Germans’ knowledge about and interest in expulsion and integration. He surveyed

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253 The expellees constitute first generation Sudeten Germans, their children second generation, and their grandchildren third generation Sudeten Germans. Third generations usually perceive themselves today as Germans.
expellees, their children and grandchildren, as well as the German public. Petersen shows that themes of expulsion generally spark interest and awareness across generational lines (8).\textsuperscript{254} This interest not only is sparked by post-1989 opportunities to investigate and publicly discuss expulsion, but also is related to the fact that more Germans are in direct contact with expulsion themes today than in the 1950s. This is surprising at first, but as Petersen explains, as soon as Germans from the Eastern territories had given up their hope of return to their Heimat, many intermarried and every mixed marriage brought the German hosts closer to the theme of expulsion (Petersen 2005:8). According to Petersen (2005), today every fourth German (29 percent) is an expellee or descended from an expellee (20), whereas in 1959, 24 percent of the surveyed Germans described themselves or a member of their family as expellee.

Nevertheless, specific knowledge about expulsion regarding numbers, dates, procedures, and consequences, generally is not very extensive. Only four percent of Germans younger than 30 years are informed about exact numbers of expulsion. Most of them stated a number under five million (Petersen 2005:30). Surprisingly, only 17 percent of the refugees and expellees themselves could recall a more accurate number of Germans expelled from Central and Eastern Europe.\textsuperscript{255} Petersen believes that the lack of attention to detail is mainly related to scarcity of investigations and the taboo surrounding expulsion in the 1960s and ’70s (Petersen 2005:30), explaining why only 57 percent of

\textsuperscript{254} Historian Maren Röger supports such a notion in her study on the vast number of recent academic contributions on memory of flight and expulsion (Röger 2014:49).

\textsuperscript{255} As discussed in Chapter 1, this likely is also caused by the disparity of expulsion numbers published within the last 60 years.
those surveyed in Peterson’s study could identify the Sudetenland on a map (31). This perhaps is related to the fact that, although post-war expulsion again is a relevant topic, these themes only constitute one or two 45-minute class periods in most German high school (Gymnasium) history sequences. Furthermore, Petersen’s survey highlights that fewer people living in the former regions of the GDR are interested in the topic (Petersen 2005:41), which is likely related to the assimilation policies applied in the former GDR, as discussed in Chapter 6. Overall, Germans are aware of the Sudeten-German expulsion, but often remain lackadaisical in terms of the details—and some are even put off by its discussions. Peterson found that despite its “relevancy in contemporary contexts [...] every tenth German considers it inappropriate that, of all people, Germans again bring up flight and expulsion” (Peterson 2005:45).

Since the mid-1990s, three main reasons have increasingly turned the public and scholarly eyes toward the Sudeten-German experience. First, the opening of the borders to the Czech Republic after the fall of communism in 1989 enabled Sudeten-German refugees and expellees to visit their homelands (most of them returned for the first time after 40 years). The expellees’ interest to travel “home” even created the new branch of the earlier discussed Heimwehtourismus (nostalgia-tourism). The opening of the borders further allowed researchers and interested individuals to access Eastern European sites

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256 On a scale from 1 to 10, the importance of flight and expulsion was averaged by West Germans as 4.2 whereas inhabitants in the former East German regions averaged flight and as expulsion with 3.8 (Petersen 2005:41). Although the GDR assimilation policies have inhibited the formation of a Sudeten-German consciousness and community, the theme of expulsion in the GDR was not as downplayed as in Czechoslovakia. Sudeten Germans in the GDR found ways to meet and preserve aspects of their Sudeten-German identity (compare Chapter 6). Scholars also lately correct the notion that expulsion was a taboo theme in the GDR (see for a more detailed discussion Schmidt 2006:3-19, as cited in Röger 2012:59).
and archives. Second, the new political order in Europe generated discussions about expulsion and consequent processes, which has aroused the second and third generations’ awareness as being responsible not only for preserving expulsion narratives, but also for shaping a general 20th-century German memory and history. And finally, younger generations realized that narratives of flight and expulsion needed to be collected before those who had first-hand experiences passed away. These notions seem to be confirmed by the large number of museum projects and other forms of memory portrayal and memory preservation currently developing in Germany. Such projects include, for example, Berlin’s Center for Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation, the Sudeten-German Museum planned to be built in Munich,\(^{257}\) and the comprehensive online platform *Gedächtnis der Nation*, launched in 2011.\(^{258}\)

The recent engagement with memory preservation of flight and expulsion reflects a long history of narration, politicization, moralization, remembering, and various ways of coming to terms with the past. 20th-century flight and expulsion scholars, politicians, interested individuals, and those who first-hand experienced the Second World War and its aftermath, all have been part of one or more processes of history and memory-making. Hofman (2004) sees these processes as part of a greater progression leading “from event to fable, from fable to psyche, from psyche to narrative, from narrative to morality, from

\(^{257}\) The Sudeten-German museum is a heatedly discussed project (I attended one intense discussion at the annual Sudeten-German meeting in 2010). In 2011, the museum’s leadership has changed based on disagreements regarding the museum’s appearance, content, etc. The museum’s internet site is recently (and since a while) under construction. (http://www.sudetendeutsches-museum.de/)

\(^{258}\) All these projects have been problematic based on either disagreements between the members in the planning team or based on contested approaches and methodologies of data collection. Schwartz (2008) classifies these recent re-actualizations under the label of “museum and media politics” (118).
morality to memory, from memory to the past and from the past to the present” (vii).
Although perhaps not in Hofman’s exact sequence, stories told by the participants in my study represent all of these memory-making processes.

**Heimat Today**

Creating public representations of the past in the present requires ongoing engagement with the Heimat concept, in that Heimat exposed itself as one central parameter for the understanding of expulsion and integration. Generally, the Heimat topos today is inseparably intertwined with processes of migration. Since people tend to change their homes much more frequently than only several decades ago, Heimat, as a more global understanding, is a moveable and multilocal concept that focuses primarily on everyday relations. Although not anymore bound to place, contemporary concepts of Heimat usually still comprise fundamental ties to family members and friendships acquired in one’s native town. Thus, Heimat unfolds somewhere between one’s origins and the recent life situation.

As a social concept, Heimat experienced in the last decade a reassessment.259 Among many examples of Heimat’s recent revival is an article titled “Heimat – Why humans need it again,” featured in the German magazine *GEO* in 2005.260

Heimat: The place, at which we search with our souls—the more restless the times are, the more insecure the future, the more people long for concealment, consistency, and roots. Heimat is a word that awakens

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259 This reassessment is also likely related to the reawakened expulsion discussions.
260 *GEO* is a monthly magazine touching on issues of geography, nature, photography, popular culture, science, history, and general current events. It is comparable to *The National Geographic*. This article is referenced in Köstlin 2010:24. “Heimat Denken. Zeitgeschichten und Perspektiven.” In *Zwischen Emotion und Kalkül. ‘Heimat’ als Argument im Prozess der Moderne*. 
Despite the public effort to preserve Heimat and Heimat-memories in the context of expulsion, Heimat as a social concept developed in the last decade from a collective to a more private process of negotiating an individual’s role within developments of global mobility. 

Although Heimat remains since the mid-1980s as a crucial reference point for questions of identity and history (Blickle 2002: 153), it now also stands for postmodernity and “modern” life (Blickle 2002:157). These developments move away from local, regional, and national “Heimat thinking” (Applegate 1990:18) to global thinking has fostered works in literature, film, and theater that critically challenge both innocent and idealistic associations as well as political and social misappropriation of the 19th- and 20th-century conceptions of Heimat. This new way of thinking has initiated a movement called Antiheimat.

Antiheimat

Antiheimat referred to everything opposing the 19th- and 20th-century Heimat concept. Literature, film, and theater representing Antiheimat are “conscious, oppositional, and democratic, or, at least, ha[ve] the courage for conflict” (Blickle 2002:142). Accordingly, Antiheimat artists and proponents “associated [it] with the ability to take a hard, even merciless, look at things […]” with a “[…] willingness to

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261 “Heimat: Der Ort, an dem wir mit der Seele suchen - je unruhiger die Zeiten, je unsicherer die Zukunft, desto mehr sehnen sich die Menschen nach Geborgenheit, Beständigkeit und festen Wurzeln. Heimat ist ein Wort, das Sehnsucht weckt, das Erinnerungen auslost - und zugleich selbst eine bewegte Vergangenheit hat” (Bruner 2005:para.3).

262 Heimat remains a national experience in for example times of soccer World Cup, Olympic Games, certain political and economic events, or generalized discussions of national stereotypes.
engage in life’s cruelties and paradoxes” (Blickle 2002: 147-148). One artistic outcome of this approach was Edgar Reitz’s 53 hour and 25 minutes, 32-part television series *Heimat (I-III*) filmed between 1981 and 2006, viewing the life of a rural German family. Reitz’s *Heimat* is painful to watch. It is indeed a merciless mirror of the bitter and desperate reality of isolated German village life between 1919 and the 1980s. Reitz forces viewers to contemplate Heimat’s contested image in that he successfully portrays “the myth about the possibility of a community in the face of [post-war] fragmentation and alienation” (Applegate 1990:19). 25 million Germans (54 percent of the West German public with a television connection) watched sections or all of the 32 parts (Blickle 2002:147-143) of Reitz’s saga. It was the most watched series in German television history (Blickle 2002:143) and one example production opposing the popular Heimatfilm genre. Above discussed aspects of Heimat’s mobility and de-politicization, however, eventually allowed the renegotiation and redefinition of Heimat as a global social concept able to provide “concealment, consistency, and roots” (Bruner 2005:para.3) for those who never lost their homeland.

During fieldwork, I experienced another form of what I consider to be Antiheimat: younger Sudeten-German and German generations’ avoidance of Sudeten-

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263 Heimatfilme are sentimental movies that usually play outdoors such as in the Alps or in the Black Forest. Films generally feature sentimental love stories centering on village life. Most often, two men fight for one woman. Viewers are usually aware that the films portray the Heimat topos far off the mark regarding an “authentic” portrayal of what Heimat might signify for them. Heimatfilm’s popularity, particularly in the late 1940s and 1950s, allowed for a renaissance of Heimat along with a partial neglect of its problematic political connotations that it had accumulated earlier in the century. “The old comedies of love in the countryside with their village heiresses, loyal and clever farmhands, and inevitable endings became in the plays of Franz Xaver Kroetz, Werner Fassbinder […] cruel stories of abuse, adultery, crude sex, and mental limitations of the country folk” (Blickle 2002:142). These critical examinations of Heimat eventually turned into attempts to publicly evaluate and explain German history.
German themes and “Heimat-talk” due to embarrassment. I experienced several situations in which the Sudeten-German study participants’ children or grandchildren entered the room in which the study participant and I conversed. Very often they seemed embarrassed by their parent’s, or grandparent’s stories, which they consider to be overly emotional, too private and inappropriate, or a story that they had heard many times before. Others were embarrassed by their parents’ or grandparents’ emotional and physical involvement in the story-telling. Other times, I recognized embarrassment when family members overheard that the study participant offered me to take all her/his songbooks and pictures, because their children and grandchildren would not know what to do with the materials and eventually throw them away. In some cases, I sensed embarrassment in younger family members, because they had not yet taken the time to collect their parents’ or grandparent’s stories and memories. When put into a familial context, the nebulous engagement with expulsion, as identified by Peterson, can bring forth feelings of guilt and manifest embarrassment.

**Musical and Political Embarrassment**

Other members of younger German generations describe themselves as privately and publicly engaged with and captivated by Sudeten-German history and culture. This interest usually is sparked by their parents’ and grandparents’ past. Felix Höfer (b.1987), for example, is a member of the *Iglauer Singkreis*. The *Iglauer Singkreis* is a choir founded by Fritz Stolle in Iglau (Iglau lies on the historical border between Bohemia and Moravia) in 1941 and reestablished by Stolle in 1947 post-war West Germany. Today, the choir director is Fritz Stolle’s son Wilfried.

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264 The *Iglauer Singkreis* is a choir founded by Fritz Stolle in Iglau (Iglau lies on the historical border between Bohemia and Moravia) in 1941 and reestablished by Stolle in 1947 post-war West Germany. Today, the choir director is Fritz Stolle’s son Wilfried.
ensemble’s regular weeks of singing and dancing based on his father’s role as the choir’s administrator. Felix Höfer has been a member of the Iglauer Singkreis as long as he remembers. “My parents never suggested that we [Felix and his sister] would come to the singing weeks, they just took us along” (Höfer F. 2011). Although Felix Höfer never actively decided to be part of the Iglauer Singkreis, he still is. “When I am at a singing week, I am in another world, perhaps an idyllic world. […] I temporarily forget everyday life, gain new energies, and have a good time” (Höfer F. 2011). He says that his motivation to be part of the choir is not so much based on the wish to preserve his forefathers’ heritage and shape their history, but mainly to foster relationships with other choir members of his age, whom he describes as his best friends. At the same time, Felix Höfer remembers moments of embarrassment at a younger age when, after the holidays, he told his classmates that he had spent the break with his parents singing folksongs.

When I was younger and the others [his classmates] asked me where I spent my holidays, I always was embarrassed. I was embarrassed about spending time with my parents and singing old stuff. […] They thought that was uncool and weird. I could not convey what kind of community I was experiencing during the week besides when I invited a friend to come along. […] Later, I understood that I did not have to be embarrassed about liking the singing weeks, but this needed some time. (Höfer F. 2011)

265 German original: “Unsere Eltern haben es uns nicht nahe gelegt zur Singwoche mitzukommen, wir wurden einfach mitgenommen” (Höfer F. 2011).


267 Members of the Iglauer singing week live today all over Germany and travel to the event. This is the reason why Wilfried Stolle titled his history of the Iglauer Singkreis I travel to the Iglauer Singkreis (Stolle 2006).

Felix Höfer based his feelings of embarrassment mainly on the fact that, as a teenager, he was practicing folk music, a genre in contemporary Germany often aligned with Schlager and popular folk-like music.\textsuperscript{269}

A form of political embarrassment described study participant Peter Schmidt, father of Veronika and Mathias, with whom he constitutes the \textit{Egerländer Familienmusik Schmidt} (Egerland family music Schmidt). The family members regularly perform music from the Egerland (Western part of Bohemia) in the traditional instrumentation voice, double bass or guitar, diatonic bandoneon, and hurdy-gurdy or clarinet. Their aim is not primarily to preserve folk music, but to inspire singing and dancing. Veronika and Mathias won in 2010 a cash price for their engagement with Sudeten-German tradition and heritage from the Sudeten-German Cultural Association. When the organizers communicated the news to Mr. Schmidt, he mentioned that he needed to first ask his children, because he was not sure if they would accept a prize from this political organization (Schmidt 2011). His reaction was triggered by earlier discussed contested political implications of the Sudeten-German expellee organization.\textsuperscript{270}

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{269} Interestingly, I felt a similar kind of embarrassment when my teenaged nephews laughed about me getting a “doctor in folk music.”

\textsuperscript{270} I described similar experiences during fieldwork in more detail in Chapter 2. Veronika and Mathias did accept the cash prize.
Continued Heimat: The Sudeten-German Youth and Musical Ensembles

Figure 44: “The Youth is the Future.” Bottom of the picture, “We walk abreast.” (Youth from the Egerland at a homeland-festival in Upper Bavaria 1951. Johannes-Künzig-Institute, Freiburg, Karasek Collection)

In this 1951 photograph, children and young adults from the Bohemian Egerland gathered in a Heimatfest (homeland-festival) in Bavaria to celebrate their homeland and to introduce themselves and their cultural practices to the West German host society. Since the inception of Heimat-meetings in the late 1940s, homeland-icons, such as traditional clothing, food, music, and dance, played a significant role in such celebrations. Music-making, for example, provided these children and young adults with a temporary new sense of belonging, one, as they realized, they could habitually

271 As discussed throughout this project, these Heimat icons were not always “authentic,” sometimes even invented.
recreate. They also quickly realized that sharing musical practices with the host society, fostered not only their own integration, but also their parents’ and grandparents’ integration (Krauss 2008:73). Study participants from the 1.5 generation remember that they tended to not show as much fear of contact with the host society, as their parents and grandparents and thus generally socialized and built a new support system more quickly. State authorities noticed the children’s general energy and positivity and spent much effort on their upbringing and education in order to raise responsible future German citizens as part of the nation’s post-war backbone (Janfelt 2004:878).

Today, some of the children and grandchildren of the Sudeten-Germans in the picture above are the ones who contribute to the recreation of Heimat for their parents and grandparents.


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272 This generally applies also to policies in former East Germany and Czechoslovakia.
They do so not only by performing at Sudeten-German meetings and events, but also through the practice of music and dance in groups such as the *Böhmerwald Sing-und Volkstanzgruppe* (Bohemian Forest Singing and Dance Group) founded in 1954 in Munich.\textsuperscript{273} Study participant Martin Januschko (b.1965) leads the ensemble’s singing rehearsals in the weekly meetings. The members’ ages range from teenagers to people in their 70s, as many of the youth group’s founding members are still part of the ensemble. According to Mr. Januschko, the main participation motive for most members concerns the communal pleasure of singing and dancing. “People find kind of a home in practicing

\textsuperscript{273} The group I observed is the Böhmerwald youth group. They also maintain a children singing and dance group.
with friends music and dance” (Januschko 2011). Moreover, the group’s main mission is to preserve and advance the music and dance repertoire originating from the Bohemian Forest. The Bohemian Forest Singing and Dance Group is one of the few organizations whose members still can sing and dance the specific repertoire using the original musical form and dialect. Mr. Januschko estimates that the group’s repertoire consists to about 60 percent of music and dance from the Bohemian Forest, 25 percent of repertoire from other expulsion regions, such as Transylvania, Banat, and Silesia, and of about 15 percent generally-known German folksongs. Being a member of the group also entails various duties, such as regular performances in local, regional, and national Sudeten-German events. In these occasions, the group performs music and dance for elderly Sudeten-Germans who, based on their age, are not able to sing and dance without the younger generation’s help. These regular performances, which constitute an endeavor between pleasure and duty for the ensemble’s members (Januschko 2011), are one contribution to the continuation of Heimat for first generation refugees and expellees from the Bohemian lands.

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274 German original: “Die Leute finden eine Art Heimat in Musik und Tanz mit Freunden” (Januschko 2011).
Mr. Januschko envisions that the group’s aims will be very different in 20 years, because the specific cultural and musical practices that represent and recreate pasts lived by the elderly Sudeten Germans will have very different meanings for younger generations. The future aims of music-making might not adhere to the preservation of original dialect and music-making, in that most members able to speak the dialect and recall musical practices from the homeland will have passed away.\footnote{275 Of course, these recollections might not be original in the first place.} Repertoire inevitably will change in accordance with the emerging generations’ abilities, needs, and
preferences. In fact, groups, such as the earlier introduced *Iglauer Singkreis*, do not exclusively focus on expulsion-repertoire, but practice a large variety of music and dance according to the ensemble’s musical abilities. To keep alive and continue the building and remembering of Heimat, they reason that the repertoire necessarily has to change. (Höfer F., 2011)

**Sudeten-German Heimat Today**

For the refugees and expellees themselves, Heimat, as discussed in Chapter 4, took on many forms—from the ideal to the idealized and romanticized to the forever lost and changed place of belonging. Heimat lost for many Sudeten German expellees its erstwhile territorially bound social significance and has changed into a multilocal concept. This multilocal Heimat unfolds somewhere between the Sudeten Germans’ origins in the Bohemian lands and their new or secondary Heimat in Germany, creating two *Heimaten*. Sociologists call this process of Heimat’s deterritorialisation the “disembedding of Heimat” (Giddens in Seifert 2010:21). As shown in this project, one way of grappling with Heimat’s deterritorialisation has been through musical practice.

The Sudeten-Germans’ post-expulsion music-making facilitated, in sonic terms, the overcoming of their grief caused by Heimat’s loss. In this process, musical repertoire took on various significances and meanings. Songs of mourning and nostalgia, for example, which were for some an expression of their homelessness, symbolized for others gain, recovery, and the building of a new home. Mr. Pfeiffer remembers exactly this process and re-establishes once more music’s possibilities to offer emotional solace.
and to facilitate the building of a new sense of belonging in the face of geographic displacement and material dispossession.

As soon as my mother was able to buy a record played, she brought home familiar Bohemian sounds on LPs. For example, the *Egerländer Musikanten* generously fulfilled a social function for the loss of our own music. My mother also participated in many musical events, although these focused more and more on popular folk-like music. But despite everything she went through in life, no one could banish her from this musical world. (Pfeiffer 2011)\textsuperscript{276}

Tsuda (2009) argues that despite various efforts to retain the refugees’ and expellees’ distinct ethnic identities, integration and assimilation accelerated the loss of much of the Sudeten-German cultural heritage, including music (4). As discussed above, my experiences confirm that Sudeten-German musical practices have changed and some repertoire even disappeared. Meanings and arrangements of musical repertoire were altered in the new environment, particularly when practiced by younger generations. Throughout all this change, I argue that private and official institutions in West Germany acted as catalysts for Sudeten-German musical practices. Although some of the practices might be invented and politically constructed, generally speaking, a (partly idealized) Sudeten-German heritage has been preserved and even prospered over the last 60 years.

Despite the manifestation of the expellees’ music through public preservation and individual and collective reconstruction and performance, for many of the expelled, their individual perception of music that they associate with a specific time and place in their

\textsuperscript{276} German original: “Als sich meine Mutter dann einen Plattenspieler leisten konnte, holte sie die vertrauten Musikklänge des Böhmerwaldes mit Schallplatten wieder ins Haus. Die Egerländer Musikanten z.B.—so sehe ich das heute—erfüllten dankenswerter Weise eine soziale Funktion für den Verlust der eigenen Musik. Sie besuchte auch gerne einschlägige Musikveranstaltungen, auch wenn diese mehr und mehr der aktuellen Schlagermusik Raum gaben. Aus dieser Welt ließ sie sich trotz all der Unbill die das Leben ihr zugefügt hatte, nicht vertreiben” (Pfeiffer 2011).
Heimat in the Bohemian lands, only exists in their memories. And while their old Heimat faintly sounds as they build a new one, younger generations reflect on their role in retrieving, re-presenting, and preserving the musical practices and individual stories the elders created, thereby also shaping new ones.
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National music, music and memory, affect and emotion, nostalgia, diaspora studies, narrative inquiry and oral history, experimental processes and creativity in music and dance, vocal pedagogy ‘non-singing’/‘imperfect pitch singing’, 17th- and 18th-century vocal pedagogy in Italy and Germany.
Publications:


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Invited Publication under review:

Publications in preparation:


Invited Presentations
April, 2014  North Eastern Chapter of the Society of Ethnomusicology, speaker at President’s Roundtable, “Professional Trajectories in Ethnomusicology,” Norton, MA, USA


November, 2011  Universities Prague and Regensburg, Departments of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Sudeten-German Music Institute, International Conference Zwischen Brücken und Gräben - deutsch-tschechische Musikbeziehungen in der Zwischenkriegszeit, paper presentation, “Erinnerungen an die (sudeten-) deutsch-tschechischen Musikbeziehungen in den Randgebieten der böhmischen Länder (Distant memories of (Sudeten-) German-Czech musical relations in the interwar period),” Prague, Czech Republic

**Conference Presentations**

**Upcoming:**


April, 2014 European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) 2014, Network Oral History, paper presentation, “Memory Revisited: Forced Migration through the Lens of Musical Recollections” Vienna, Austria

**Given**

November, 2013 Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, paper presentation, “When Loss Sounds: Forced Migration and the New German Sonic Homeland” Indianapolis, IN, USA

October, 2013 37th Annual Conference of the German Studies Association, paper presentation, “Refugee Music in Post-War West Germany: ‘Sacred’ Anthem or Commercial Folk Pop Tune” Denver, CO, USA (this paper also given at SEM 2012)


December, 2012 Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for European History and Public Spheres and German Historical Institute Warsaw, War Children in Post-War, paper presentation, “‘Musicking’ Sudeten-German Children: Hidden and Nurtured Musical Practices on Both Sides of the Iron Curtain,” Vienna, Austria

October, 2012  36th Annual Conference of the German Studies Association, paper presentation, “Germany Divided within: Music and Belonging in the ‘Sudeten-German’ Assimilated Diaspora,” Milwaukee, WI, USA


April, 2012  13th Annual Czech Studies Workshop at the University of Texas, paper presentation, “Musical Relations between Czechs and Germans in the Sudetenland: Deciphering ‘Czech-German Biculturalism’,” Austin, TX, USA

April, 2012  North East Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology, paper presentation, “Hybrid Musical Relations in the Bohemian Lands: Deciphering Transculturalism,” Boston, MA, USA

October, 2011  European University Institute, International Conference Music and Imagined Communities. Articulations of the self and other in the musical realm, paper presentation, “Blüh nur, blüh mein Sommernorn”: The Creation of Lived Communities through Musical Recollections,” Florence, Italy


April, 2011  North East Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology, paper presentation, “Music in ‘Sudeten-German’ Expulsion,” Boston, MA, USA, James T. Koetting Award for outstanding graduate paper
February, 2011
Harvard University, “Music in ‘Sudeten-German’ Displacement,” Harvard Musicology Graduate Student Conference, Cambridge, MA, USA

March, 2009
Massachusetts Music Education Association, “A Philosophical Examination of the Orff-Schulwerk and the Discussion of its Recent Interpretations and Curriculum Implications in the United States,” State Conference, Boston, MA, USA

Nov, 2008
American Orff-Schulwerk Association (AOSA), “‘I can’t sing’!: An Inductive Study on Adults’ Explanations for Self-Labeling as ‘Non-Singers’ and its Implications for Music Education,” National Conference, Charlotte, NC, USA

Honors and Fellowships
2013
The Alice M. Brennan Humanities Award and The Angela J. and James J. Rallis Memorial Award, Center of the Humanities at Boston University (BUCH), Boston, MA, USA

2013
Conference Travel award, Graduate Student Organization, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

2012
Dissertation Completion Award, Boston University, Department of Musicology/Ethnomusicology, Boston, MA, USA

2012
Honors Award for Ethnomusicology, School of Music, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

Graduate Writing Fellowship, Writing Program, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

2011
Fellowship to the Trans-Atlantic Summer Institute in European Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, USA - invitation declined

2010, 2011
Travel Grant for Research in Germany and the Czech Republic, Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Graduate College of Arts and Sciences, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

2011
James T. Koetting Award for outstanding graduate paper. New England Chapter Meeting for the Society of Ethnomusicology, MA, USA

2010
Grant for Undergraduate Teaching and Scholarship (GUTS), Graduate College of Arts and Sciences, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

2009-2010
Dean’s Award, Graduate College of Arts and Sciences, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA
2006-2009
Dean’s Award, Center of Fine Arts, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

2009
Honors Award for Music Education, School of Music, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

2002-2004
Socrates Study Grant: Voice study with Anne Haenen, Paula de Wit Conservatories Amsterdam and Enschede, The Netherlands

Teaching Experience

2014/2015
Salem State University, Salem, MA, USA, Lecturer
MUS 112: Introduction to World Music, MUS 320 History of Rock

2014
Salem State University, Salem, MA, USA, Lecturer
MUS 112: Introduction to World Music,

2013
University of Massachusetts Boston, MA, USA, Lecturer
MU 111: Introduction to Music

2013
Boston University, Boston, MA, USA, Lecturer
MU 327/337: Music and Revolution

2011-present
Boston University, Boston, MA, USA, Teaching Fellow/Lecturer
Course development and instructor for “Music and Culture”

This Graduate Writing Fellowship is one of 10-12 annual fellowships awarded from the Boston University Writing Program across all BU doctoral students. The writing seminar is a required undergraduate class.

2009-2010
Boston University, Graduate College of Arts and Sciences, Boston University, MA, USA, Teaching Assistant for:
MU 344 Musical Cultures of the World
MU 343 World Pop Beat

2007-present
Boston University, Distance Education, Boston, MA, USA,
Online Facilitator (Online Teaching Assistance) in Music Education:

MU 755 American Music
MU 777 Foundations of Music Education I (History and Philosophy)
MU 778 Foundations of Music Education II (Psychology and Sociology)
MU 765 Introduction to Research in Music Education
MU 768 Curriculum Project
MU 747 Research and Bibliography

My role as a facilitator requires overseeing fifteen graduate students (international) over a period of seven weeks per course. My duties in this class include teaching regular live sessions in the virtual classroom, providing feedback on paper drafts, grading of the weekly papers,
answering students’ questions, and monitoring their discussions on the virtual discussion boards.

2008-2009 Westminster Choir College of the Arts/Princeton, USA.
Master’s Thesis Advisor in Music Education

2007-2009 Boston University, School of Music, Boston University, MA, USA.
Teaching Assistant in Music Education
MU 775 Introduction to Music Education Research

2007, 2008 Boston University, School of Theatre, Boston University, MA, USA.
Co-Choreographer for Aurora Borealis–Festival of Light and Dance

I co-choreographed with Judith Chaffee (Professor for dance/movement, BU Theatre Program) Modern Dance pieces with undergraduate theatre students for the annual Boston Aurora Festival.

2006-2010 University of Münster, Germany, Adjunct Faculty

Teacher of music and drama, acting and movement, and vocal training for singers and music educators (undergraduate and graduate studies, block seminars).

2000-02, 2004-06 Akademie für Sozialpädagogik (Teacher’s College, Undergraduate and Graduate Studies), Munich, Germany, Teacher for Music and Dance Education, Head of music studies. Tenured in March 2005

All my classes at the Academy incorporated theoretical and practical content. I taught music and dance education (focus on World Cultures), community music, music history and music theory, choir and vocal pedagogy, percussion-ensemble, Orff-ensemble, chamber choir, and advised student field placements and internships.

1999-2001 Salzburg Experimental Academy of Dance, Austria.
Voice and body percussion for professional dancers.

1997-2000 School of Music, Laufen, Germany.
Voice Teacher and Choir Director

Teacher for voice, music and movement education, voice training, ensemble singing, musical elementary education, music theory, ear training, piano lessons

1996 University Mozarteum, Salzburg, Austria. Lecturer at Seminar for Music and Dance Education in Hohebuch, Germany
Invited Music and Dance Seminars
Since 2004, I have taught almost two dozen one to three-day teacher training seminars/workshops titled, for example, “Voice and Movement” or “Music and Movement: Body and Voice Synthesized.” I offer in these seminars a platform for music teachers (elementary, high school, undergraduate, and graduate level) to experience and work with methods for teaching music and dance, improvisation, and body percussion. I invent, design, prepare, and instruct these methods. The seminars also include discussions where we develop and reframe current theoretical frameworks for music and dance education for various student ages. I have given these music and dance/voice presentation-workshops in cooperation with conferences on music education organized by the Music Councils of the German federal states, the State-Music Academies in Rheinland-Pfalz, Bavaria, Nordrhein-Westfalen, Baden-Württemberg, and Berlin, the national conference of the association for music at schools (AfS, Arbeitskreis für Schulmusik und allgemeine Musikpädagogik), the American Orff - Schulwerk Association, and as weekend seminars organized by the Forum “Music in Schools” in Rheinland-Pfalz, the Academy for Teacher Education in Dillingen, the Association for Music Schools (VdM, Verband deutscher Musikschulen), and the German Association for Music Schools (AfS).

Special Qualifications
1996 Certification in Carl Orff Education, University Mozarteum Salzburg, Carl Orff Institute, Austria
1995 Breathing and Voice Therapy Internship, Sabine Jückstock, Munich
1994-1995 Certification in Music Therapy (and internship) at the Psychiatry of Haar, Germany

Professional Affiliations and Service
2012-present Member, German Studies Association
2010-present Board Member and Co-Founder, Cambridge Concentus, Cambridge, MA, USA
2010-2011 Secretary, Boston University Music Society
2009-present Member, American Musicological Society
2009-present Member, The Society for Ethnomusicology

Further Research Experience
2006-2010 Research Assistant for Prof. de Quadros, Music Education and Musicology/ Ethnomusicology, Boston, Boston University, School of Music, Boston, MA, USA
**Faculty Search Committees**

2011  
Boston University, Graduate College of Arts and Sciences, Boston, MA, USA, Ethnomusicology Faculty Search Committee, Graduate Student Representative

2009  
Boston University, School of Music, Boston, MA, USA, School of Music Director Search Committee, Graduate Student Representative

2008  
Boston University, School of Music, Boston, MA, USA, Music Education Faculty Search Committee (search for six assistant professors), Graduate Student Representative

2007  
Boston University, School of Music, Boston, MA, USA, Music Education Faculty Search Committee, Graduate Student Representative

**Vocal Performance:**
As a soprano I regularly sing with the early-music ensemble Cambridge Concentus, the Churches of the Redeemer, and Trinity Church Boston, and Ensemble Lorelei. I have worked as a soloist and chorister with ensembles such as Cappella Amsterdam with RIAS Kammerchor, Nederlandse Bachvereniging (The Netherlands), Rheinische Kantorei (Germany), Arnold Schönberg Choir (Austria), and Salzburger Bachchor (Austria). I have worked with conductors such as Nikolaus Harnoncourt, Claudio Abbado, Sir Simon Rattle, Kent Nagano, Sir Charles Mackerass, Daniel Reuss, Frans Bruggen, Joshua Rifkin, Ton Koopman, Roger Norrington, and Steven Stubbs at festivals, such as Salzburger Festspiele, Mozartwoche Salzburg, Festspiele Baden-Baden, Styriate Graz, La Folle Journee, Utrecht Early Music Festival, and the Edinburgh Festival. I sang on recordings of J. Eybler’s *Die vier letzten Dinge* with Herrman Max and the Rheinische Kantorei under the CPO Label, Richard Wagner’s *Parsifal* with Kent Nagano and the Festspielchor Baden-Baden under Opus Arte, J.S. Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* with Joshua Rifkin and Cambridge Concentus under Classic-Bravissimo, J. Strauss’s *Die Fledermaus* with Mark Minkowski and the Arnold Schoenberg Choir, and J.S. Bach’s Cantatas BWV 82, 158, 56 with Howard Arman and the Salzburger Bachchor under Decca.

**Languages**
- German – Native speaker
- English – fluent
- Dutch – proficient
- French Reading – proficient
- Czech – beginner