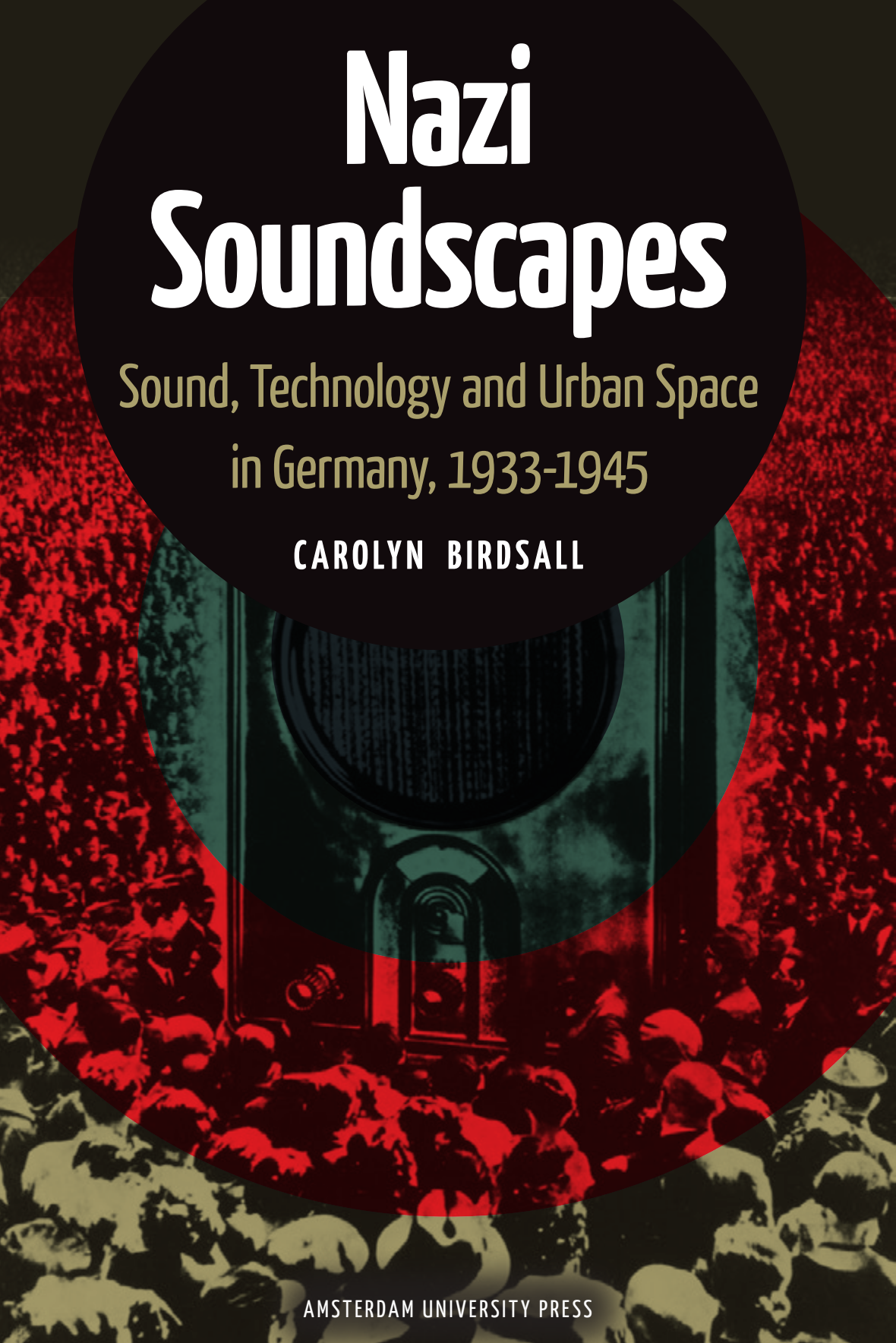
Nazi Soundscapes

Sound, Technology and Urban Space in Germany, 1933-1945

CAROLYN BIRDSALL



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Content

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Germany Listens to the *Führer*': Radio's Acoustic Space and 'Imagined Listening Community' in Nazi Germany," in *Hearing Places: Sound, Place, Time and Culture*, edited by Ros Bandt, Michelle Duffy and Dolly MacKinnon (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007, 192-201). I'm grateful to each of the publishers for permission to draw on relevant portions of these chapters, and for the comments from the readers and editors of these publications, which were very helpful in the subsequent development of the book.

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Abbreviations

BA	Bundesarchiv
DRA	Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (Frankfurt)
DTMB Archiv	Deutsches Technikmuseum Berlin, Archive
FLAK	*Flugabwehrkanone* (Anti-aircraft artillery)
HStaD	Hauptstaatsarchiv NRW (Düsseldorf)
KdF	*Kraft durch Freude* (Strength through Joy)
KPD	*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands* (German Communist Party)
NSDAP	*Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
NSV	*Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt* (National Socialist People's Welfare)
RFB	*Roter Frontkämpferbund* (Red Front Fighters' League)
RLB	*Reichsluftschutzbund* (National Air Protection Corps)
SA	*Sturmabteilung* (Stormtroopers)
SPD	*Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SS	*Schutzstaffel* (Shield Squadron)
StaD	Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf
ULB Düsseldorf	Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Düsseldorf (Universitätsarchiv)

Introduction

> "The state-subsidised radio sets (*Volksempfänger*) had the purpose of keeping the people acoustically under control."

> "[The songs] were mainly about *Heimat*, about struggle and loyalty, and 'we are strong.' Everything was about Germany being the best and we had to know it. The classroom windows would be opened and we would belt out these songs."

> "When you weren't expecting guests or visitors and the doorbell rang – or someone knocked – you had a nervous feeling: What will happen? Where was I yesterday? What did I say or do?"

> "There were air raid wardens, who were each in charge of several buildings. They would go through the streets and call out 'lights out!' to the residents."[1]

During 2004, I conducted a small-scale survey comprised of oral history interviews with Germans who were children and young adults during National Socialism. Among other themes, what emerged in the interviews was their heightened awareness of sound in everyday urban life, particularly during World War II, and the sense of being *earwitnesses* to that period.[2] These interviews provided a departure point for the current study, inviting further investigation into the implications of sound within Nazi-era control, discipline and terror, and the need to specify the role of radio and mediated sound within fascist aesthetics and cultural practices.

The figure of the earwitness has been introduced in several post-war accounts. Firstly, in the early 1970s, German-language critic and novelist Elias Canetti produced a collection of twenty-six caricatures of personality types, titled *Der Ohrenzeuge (1974)/The Earwitness: Fifty Characters* (1979). In Canetti's ironic rendering, the earwitness figure has more confidence in heard sounds and the spoken voice, than in images or vision. Canetti's earwitness emerges as an exaggerated stereotype of a passive listener who "forgets nothing," sneaks around and stores information for the purpose of incriminating others (1979: 43). Canetti's listener could be read as providing an auditory equivalent of the witness as *voyeur*. This portrayal presents the listening, speaking body in terms of sound recording and transmission technologies, as a "metaphor of memory" (Draaisma 1990; Peters and Rothenbuhler 1997). In this case, Canetti uses his ironic caricature to mock the notion that the recollection of the earwitness involves immediate access to the past.[3]

Writing in around the same period as Canetti, R. Murray Schafer's influential study *The Tuning of the World* (1977/1994) also emphasised acts of earwitnessing within site-specific contexts. Here the Canadian composer announces *sound* as a field of inquiry, based on the broader concept of the *soundscape*, defined as a "sonic environment."[4] This concept was based on the premise that the sounds heard in a given place are as distinctive and as important as the things to be seen there. In other words, the soundscape can be studied to gain insights into social organisation, power relations and interactions with urban space. Schafer described his own efforts to systematically catalogue "earwitness" testimony in published works, which would offer insights into historical soundscapes and contemporary attitudes. Correspondingly, Schafer defined the ideal earwitness as an author who lived in the past and who can be trusted "when writing about sounds directly experienced and intimately known" (6). Schafer's understanding of the earwitness endorses the authority of historical literature (including fictional novels) for conveying an authentic experience of past sounds.[5] While Schafer's conception of the earwitness seems to sustain a fantasy of unmediated access to past sounds, the soundscape movement offered the first major academic discourse about sound and listening (in modernity) from an interdisciplinary perspective. It represents a systematic attempt to establish sound as a legitimate object of study, with specific focus on the cultural manifestations of sound and listening.[6]

What these accounts remind us is how eventness, liveness and witnessing have emerged as major categories, both in everyday experience and in academic discourse of the twentieth century. Witnessing, in particular, has been conceived in terms of the *eye*witness, with the two words often almost used interchangeably. The result is that witnessing, mediated or otherwise, is often considered in terms of an observer who later remembers in visual and semantic terms.[7] The abovementioned accounts thus suggest an alternative concept of the *ear*witness, emerging in the wake of Marshall McLuhan's claims about the predominance of the oral and aural with the rise of radio and television. Commenting on this "secondary" orality, McLuhan commented that as "our age translates itself back into the oral and auditory modes, we become sharply aware of the uncritical acceptance of visual metaphors and models" (1962: 72). Despite this important recognition of the significance of the auditory, McLuhan's observation reinforces a visual-auditory opposition. In McLuhan's technological determinist account, radio was the perfect abstract medium for "retribalising" individuals in the interests of nationalism. He claimed that Adolf Hitler's appeal was heightened due to radio's creation of "fountains of auditory space or *lebensraum* [*sic*]," which satisfied the contemporary preoccupation with encirclement following Germany's defeat in World War I (1964/1994: 298).[8] This discourse mystifies radio as an oral medium and perpetuates a post-war tradition that explained National Socialism in terms of the irrational or a return to ancient barbarism.

McLuhan's comments about radio point to common stereotypes about sound, noise and silence during National Socialism. Noise is sometimes taken as the idea that the official discourses of the Nazi regime overruled all others, acting as a disruption in the signal, as a cancelling out of oppositional voices through censorship and coercion. The noise of the Nazi era, too, is sometimes represented

in what Brian Currid has dubbed the "sonic icon" of Hitler's shouting voice and the deafening crowds at party rallies (2006: 102). Noise might also be understood in terms of technological disturbance, with gramophone scratches or radio interferences as standing in for the difficulties encountered in sustaining an idea of a monolithic state with complete control over all institutions and aspects of daily life.[9] As for silence, this term has often been employed as a metaphor for the lack of resistance amongst most Germans, described as holding their tongues and "turning a blind eye" or "deaf ear." This theme also figures in the silencing (if not radical absence) of marginalised groups during National Socialism due to political affiliations, or on the basis of race, sexual preference and religion.[10]

Such clichés highlight the necessity to critically interrogate the use of categories like earwitnessing, and to problematise the academic task of studying the sounds and soundscapes of the past. Two of the main obstacles presented to the researcher concern the ephemerality of sound in the historical archive and the difficulties in accessing earwitness testimony. Indeed, the vagueness or transposability of memories about past sounds has been noted by Shaun Moores in his 1988 essay "The Box on the Dresser."[11] When conducting a study of memories of early radio use, Moores noticed how easily listeners misremembered details about radio programmes. Not only do most people have a poor long-term memory for voice, but it has been found that rhythm and melody are central to the memorability of lyrics (Sacks 2007: 236-9). For these reasons, I draw on the work of radio scholar Josephine Dolan (2003), who refutes the discourse that, one the one hand, mourns the sound archive due to a lack or loss of recordings, and, on the other, treats the written archive as inferior (even though this is where the majority of material is sourced). Instead, Dolan suggests that the researcher's act of listening necessarily involves textual sources, since "the listening subject is constituted in relation to a range of cultural competencies that are produced at the interface of written, photographic and aural texts" (70). Similarly, historian Mark M. Smith insists that even if the "real soundscape" or "original recorded sound" would be recovered, it still would not explain how these sounds were given significance or struggled over in cultural contexts. To gain this understanding, as Smith suggests, written records provide the large majority of important insights (2004: 394-405).

The present study takes its cue from such critical approaches to sound and soundscape research, and focuses on Düsseldorf, a medium-sized metropolis close to the western borders of (post-1871) Germany. By contrast, much of the scholarship about modern, urban culture takes the city of Berlin as the epitome of metropolitan life in early twentieth-century Germany, often positioning the city as a text that can be "seen" and "read."[12] This is not surprising, given the symbolic, political and cultural significance attributed to Germany's capital city up until the present day. Indeed, for commentators past and present, Berlin is often an abstraction, an idea or a surface as much as a lived, material city. The iconic status of Berlin is, without a doubt, an interesting case, but often given an overdetermined position within scholarship. While Düsseldorf is perhaps a less obvious choice, the city is relevant to my study for a number of reasons. The city was both an industrial centre and cultural hub for the Rhineland region, with

its architecture varying from an old city centre to newer buildings and housing developments. In the 1920s and 1930s, industrial development and subsequent migrations (from other parts of Germany and Europe) had led to an increasingly mixed demographic, with roughly half of its population having been born elsewhere.[13] Although at first glance, Düsseldorf might seem to be on the periphery of Weimar and Nazi cultural politics, its longer reputation as a site for exhibitions and cultural events may have, in part, influenced decisions by the Reich Music Chamber to hold several key events there, such as the 1938 *Entartete Musik* (degenerate music) exhibition and the inaugural *Reichsmusiktage* (National Music Festival) in 1938 and 1939. While these and other events provided Düsseldorf with the opportunity to increase its profile (as a "*Gauhauptstadt*" or regional capital city), the city remained in competition with Cologne and nearby cities that were equally eager to gain recognition during National Socialism. The potentially marginal status of Düsseldorf will prove important to my study of sound, not least due to efforts to establish the city's ideological significance under National Socialism, which, as I will show, had varying degrees of success. In what follows, the specific context of modern urban sound, listening attention and sound technologies will be introduced, along with methodological issues concerned with source materials, conceptual tools and the task of periodisation.

Modern Sound and the Metropolis

In Germany, modern sound was associated with the intensification of urban life between the late 1800s and the 1920s, as a result of industrialisation, population growth and density, as well as modern transport, communications and entertainment technologies. Urban sounds were louder and there were more of them: motorised traffic, clocks and church bells, whistles, horns, carpet beating, horses and carts, food sellers, tradesmen, mechanical music, newspaper sellers, postal horns, buskers and beggars featured in most German soundscapes, often well into the 1930s and 1940s.[14] Interview testimony reveals the ongoing prevalence of horses in urban streetscapes during the 1930s, while car traffic was the exception rather than the rule in smaller towns. Inner-city residents were accustomed to the regular arrival of deliveries, signalled by bells or street cries, such as fishmongers, who promoted their wares by calling out "Fresh herrings! Buy your fresh herrings!"[15] Salesmen often went from door to door and sold small repair items, such as shoelaces, rubber bands and buttons. There was more self-repair of items, but also goods were often recycled; scrap collectors signalled their presence by ringing a bell and crying out "Iron and paper goods, we collect everything!"[16] The onset of the Depression was described in terms of an increase in street performers and beggars. Sometimes buskers would perform in the courtyards of apartment buildings, and residents would throw coins down for them. Organ grinders would operate musical organs in the street, while one interviewee recalled a distinctive busker who formed a one-man band, with an accordion, a drum on his back, and two pans.[17]

Not only was there an increased intensity and volume of urban sounds, but

they changed the way people listened, developed competencies and made sense of their surroundings. These changes in listening are directly related to the rise of modern forms of technology. Along with the visible impact of industrialisation and new transport networks, technological change was also associated with popular (and often noisy) sensations like the moving image, hot air balloons, car racing, Zeppelin airships and aeroplanes. Mechanical music from the 1800s included a range of sonic attractions, such as barrel organs, piano accordions, pianolas and the gramophone. The outbreak of World War I in 1914, too, has been described in terms of a technologised "brutalising" of the soundscape (Tournes 2004). The overpowering sounds of modern warfare – with shells, guns and artillery – were produced at an intensity unlike anything experienced or imagined before. This soundscape, dominated by the "technologized sonority" of warfare, was the basis for distress, and often lasting trauma, for those subjected to its relentless noise and overwhelming of the self.[18]

The conditions of World War I, and Germany's surrender in 1918, provide the sonic precedent to the historical period examined in this study: from the 1920s through to the end of World War II in 1945. While I do not go into further detail about World War I itself, its aftermath in Germany provides the initial context for Chapter One. This first case study concerns the mythology and commemorative practices for a former German soldier, Albert Leo Schlageter, who was sentenced to death in 1923 during the French military occupation of the Rhineland. The following chapter extends the consideration of Nazi agitation and commemoration to a broader context of a "festivalisation" of the everyday, by examining the case of the traditional carnival festival, its sonic ritual elements and the impact of radio broadcasts in the 1920s and 1930s. While the first two chapters both span the Weimar and Nazi periods, the third chapter focuses specifically on the wartime soundscapes of German cities between 1939 and 1945. The fourth chapter has an extended sense of periodisation, of *longue durée*, which traces notions of sound-image relations from Richard Wagner in the nineteenth century to the Weimar and Nazi periods, before turning to audiovisual representations of National Socialism in the present.[19]

The importance attributed to sound technologies in the twentieth century is also a reason for my choices in periodisation. My emphasis on mediated sound involves, on the one hand, a recognition of the increased sounds of daily life, which I have noted above in relation to modern industrialisation and urbanisation. On the other hand, there is the technologised mediation achieved by sound technologies.[20] Indeed, modern sound media such as sound telegraphy, phonography and telephony already emerged as significant cultural factors in the late nineteenth century. In the period following World War I, which I examine in this study, there was an increased preponderance of mediated sound, due to advancements in microphone and loudspeaker systems, radio broadcasting, film sound devices and recording systems, which facilitated "preserved music, acoustic lecturing, and staged worlds of sound" (Zielinski 1999: 151). However, mediated sound does not only involve such recording and transmission devices. Sound is a temporal-spatial phenomenon that – in all cases – relies on air pressure and reflective surfaces to make itself heard. Always involving some kind of mediation,

sound is bound up with both human and non-human actors, and is variously influenced by atmospheric conditions and its spatial situation.

Mediated sounds were undoubtedly part of the broader conditions of modernity that redefined temporal and spatial relations in society and individual perception. In Marshall Berman's account, the changed experience of time and orientation in the period around 1900 marked a "maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal" (1983: 15).[21] Sociologist Anthony Giddens, too, observes a phenomenological concept of modernity, as it pertains to the modern self:

> Modern social life is characterised by profound processes of the reorganisation of time and space, coupled to the expansion of disembedding mechanisms – mechanisms which prise social relations free from the hold of specific locales, recombining them across wide time-space distances. (1991: 2)

Based on this premise, I will now briefly sketch out several key arguments about the general conditions of modernity for the case of Germany. This is called for, since this term not only entails a changed experience of social life, but also a category of periodisation. Historian Adelheid von Saldern distinguishes two main trajectories within historiographic debates: firstly, the recognition of modernity as an intellectual discourse dating back to Enlightenment thinking, which sometimes stresses the positive associations with its philosophical ideals; and secondly, as a series of social and cultural changes in the period around 1880-1930 (2002: 2-3). In the case of Germany, von Saldern highlights the conflicting responses to cultural modernity, particularly in the 1920s, and the subsequent attempts under National Socialism to provide its own (often contradictory) "synthesis" (3). The relationship of National Socialism to modernity has been a contentious point of debate in post-war historiography. An instructive approach can be found in the work of sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2000a), who has sought to highlight National Socialism as within the definition and general conditions of modernity, albeit as the reflection of a radical development within this category.[22] I also take my cue from historian Michael Prinz, who has challenged the primary emphasis on Nazi "intentions" in historical explanation, urging instead to draw out longer-term patterns in modernity and modernisation across the political caesuras of 1914-18 and 1939-45 (1997: 21-31).[23] These scholars posit the social processes underpinning Nazi violence and genocide as bound up with, rather than opposed to, the history of German modernity.

As for the understanding of modernity within the cultural realm, the changes wrought on daily life have not only been defined in terms of a perceived newness, but also in terms of the predominance of visual culture, described by Guy Debord as the "immense accumulation of spectacles" (1970: 2). Nonetheless, the pace of modernity, and its effects on selfhood in the decades around 1900, was also intertwined with the auditory realm, if not a technologically-informed "auditory self" (Connor 1997a, Ronell 1991, Kittler 1992, 1999). Indeed, the status of modern sound, as Nora Alter and Lutz Koepnick emphasise, is

> bound up with the organs, instruments, and machines that produce it, and it cannot be isolated from the media that record, disseminate, and transform it. Sound links human subjects to each other. It contaminates power or utopian fantasy, passion or critique. But it always does so with the help of historically contingent tools of articulation and mediation. (2004: 4-5)

This remark indicates some of the ways that sound is implicated in broader questions of mediality, intersubjectivity, identity, perception and power relations, which are among the themes that I will highlight in *Nazi Soundscapes*. The consideration of modern sound requires the scholar to not only pay regard to modernity's so-called crisis of experience, with concerns about distraction, social disintegration and alienation in the experience of social life, but also how modernity "emancipated sound from place, but it also produced many forces that hoped to reconnect the sonic to particular times and locations" (Alter and Koepnick 2004: 15). Indeed, the following analyses take note of precisely this tension between sound as disruption or interruption and the concurrent attempts to contain sound on the basis of community and the national. Such tensions, as I will show, often played out in urban space, and in attempts to define distinctions between the private and public spheres.

In the specific case of radio, German commentators like composer Kurt Weill soon described broadcasting as "one of the most essential elements of public life" (1926). Yet, the state-administered license system that began in Germany in 1923 was also perceived as limiting the (utopian) potential of radio.[24] Critic Rudolf Arnheim, writing in 1933, suggested that radio had changed older concepts of community based on physical proximity, and could provide comfort to those experiencing "separateness and isolation" (1933/1972: 232).[25] As a result, his central concern was whether the radio listener could be persuaded into "a proper state of receptivity" (150). Arnheim uses the (classical) music concert as a benchmark for correct listening attitudes, with radio attracting only a "superficial," "passive" or "sporadic" listening attention, particularly given the general habit of leaving the radio on while performing other tasks (8). This distracted listening is passive and "kills all mental initiative" (263). In Arnheim's words, the listener

> never sits "idly" in front of the loudspeaker, but does all sorts of useful and useless things at the same time. Just as a man feels that he is left helpless in a void as soon as there is no demand made on his ear, so conversely, when he is listening his hands start twitching and his eyes begin looking for the newspaper. The concentration which is enhanced in church or concert-hall by the entire situation must be fought for by the listener against his surroundings, and he rarely succeeds in doing this. Wireless is a permanent guest, and such people are notoriously "made no fuss of": life goes on as if they were not there. (268)

This view shows striking parallels with the concern of cultural theorist Theodor Adorno that radio changes the experience and the nature of music, with the potential to change "the very essence of the music" and induce a "retrogression

of listening."[26] Arnheim's critique is formulated more explicitly in pedagogical terms, suggesting that listeners need to be encouraged in developing "the right attitude," characterised by a concentrated and disciplined listening stance.[27] This concern with listening attention and distraction, and their specific operations in the Weimar and Nazi eras will form an important part of my reflections. I will now situate this discourse within the broader frame of genealogies of modern sound and acoustics, with attention to theories and practices of listening. The question of historical specificity will motivate my subsequent evaluation of soundscape theory and its problematic understanding of modernity and technology.

Modern Modes of Listening

The emergence of modern modes of attention is by no means a straightforward narrative, but can be charted in a variety of social, cultural and technological frameworks, each with their own specific practices and discourses concerning the status of the auditory. I will now focus on several key accounts concerned with the emergence of modern modalities of listening attention, before addressing how soundscape theory configures the relationship between technology and listening attention.

Numerous scholars have pointed to the emergence of new cultural and scientific understandings of modern acoustics during the nineteenth century. In *The Audible Past* (2003), Jonathan Sterne outlines several fields where the foundations of modern listening can be delineated, in particular, modern medicine (1760s-1900s) and sound telegraphy (1840s-1900s). Sterne considers doctors and telegraphers as developing new "techniques of audition," such as auscultation, which revealed sound as a key source of professional knowledge (3). In the realm of scientific research, the work of German physiologist Hermann von Helmholtz, especially his *Sensations of Tone* (1863/1954), has been heralded as introducing "the era of sound" (Rieger 2003: 183). In this study, Helmholtz employed new technological devices like the tuning fork, glass resonators and the phonautograph, in order to establish the ear's functioning as a distinct sense. Helmholtz established a "physiological acoustics" based on the mechanical functionings of the ear. Helmholtz, it has been argued, treated sound as a

> determined *effect* that could be created irrespective of its cause, and he offered a theory of hearing as sympathetic vibration that would be borne out in later sound-reproduction technologies. (Sterne 2003: 66)

In other words, Helmholtz worked to define the functioning of the hearing sense, and this physiological study of the ear formed an important influence and a precursor to Edison and others who later modelled sound technologies on these principles. Moreover, this theory of how the ear responds to sonic impulses regardless of their sound source (or aesthetics) undermined a long-standing discursive distinction between musical sound and noise.[28]

In Sterne's account of modern listening, we are reminded to consider the rise of professional fields of expertise for "reading" sounds as signification (telegraphy) or symptoms (medicine).[29] However, in what follows, I will not only address the semiotic dimensions of modern listening, but also that of listening affect. To elaborate on this dynamic between the affective and semiotic, I will now turn to Sigmund Freud's technique of psychoanalysis as a modern theory and practice of listening around 1900. While most explanations of psychoanalysis indicate the role of spoken narrative for reintegrating a patient's split or disturbed subjectivity (with its "talking cure"), the psychoanalytic treatment situation has rarely been discussed in specifically sonic terms, as a theory of listening.[30] Roland Barthes and Jonathan Crary offer two significant responses to this issue. While both scholars' work has been characterised by a primary interest in visuality and modern techniques of the gaze (in photography and optical devices, respectively), they have each taken an interest in the emergence of modern listening modalities in Freudian psychoanalysis around 1900.

In Roland Barthes' 1976 essay "Listening," the author argues that an "entirely modern" form of listening emerged with the rise of twentieth-century psychoanalysis. Freud's recommendations for psychoanalytic practice describe a listening stance that seeks out both semantic and affective modalities. Such a listening, according to Barthes, attends as much to someone's voice as "the content of his discourse […] we catch ourselves listening to the modulations and harmonics of that voice without hearing what it is saying to us" (255). According to this conception, psychoanalytic listening is firstly a process requiring heightened sensitivity, which depends on what Freud called an active, mobile or "free-floating" (*gleichschwebend*) attention, which scans between the various verbal and nonverbal signals. This technique appears to be suited to the physiological basis of hearing, which as Michel Chion establishes, is not fundamentally continuous:

> We need to correct the formulation that hearing occurs in continuity. The ear in fact listens in brief slices and what it perceives and remembers already consists in short syntheses of two or three seconds of the sound as it evolves. We don't hear sounds, in the sense of recognizing them, until shortly after we have perceived them. (1994: 12-3)

Listening is thus granted a new agency for staging intersubjective encounters, and it is seen as providing a "back-and-forth movement" between the unconscious and language. Freudian psychoanalysis therefore not only has import for a specific understanding of modern listening, but also participates in the emergence of new notions of perception and attention during the late nineteenth century.[31]

In his 1999 study of the historical project of creating attentiveness, Jonathan Crary argues that Freud had conceptualised the distinction between critical attention and diffuse attention by around 1900. Critical attention involved the rejection or indeed repression of certain thoughts before they become fully conscious. Diffuse attention, necessary for the patient and analyst, was reliant on a psychic state Freud described as "mobile attention." To describe this diffuse attention necessary for psychoanalytic practice, Freud himself employed the telephone as a trope for the intersubjective encounter with the patient:

> [The analyst] must adjust himself to the patient as a telephone receiver is adjusted to the transmitting microphone. Just as the receiver converts back into sound waves the electric oscillations in the telephone lines which were set up by sound waves, so the doctor's unconscious is able, from the derivatives of the unconscious which are communicated to him, to reconstruct that unconscious, which has determined the patient's free associations.[32]

In other words, the intersubjective encounter with the patient required the analyst to modulate in response to the available auditory information, which was used for a subsequent narrative reconstruction.[33] In spite of this technological analogy, Crary notes that Freud himself did not attribute changes in perception to the historical emergence of new technologies. Instead, Freud's psychoanalysis positioned attention within a framework of unconscious drives inherent to man's biological instincts.[34] Nonetheless, the availability of sound technology like the telephone as a metaphor for listening attention offered Freud a form of two-way communication for conceptualising the analyst-patient encounter.[35]

Rather than constituting a fundamentally new development that completely undermined traditional forms of experience, modern distraction can be seen as on a continuum with attention. Crary thus realigns the readings of distraction by German critical theorists such as Georg Simmel, who conceived of modernity as unsettling the integrity of social interaction. For Simmel and fellow German scholar Theodor Lessing, the barrage of voices, sounds and machines in modern cities caused those in urban environments to tune out, and become indifferent to their surroundings.[36] Theorist Walter Benjamin once referred to distraction and concentration as "polar opposites," while Adorno's model of autonomous listening firmly situated distraction in terms of "regression." Likewise, in the realm of scientific psychology, scientists were unable to categorically dissociate attention from forms of distraction, which Crary reads as a ruling out of attention from the "modern dream of autonomy" (1999: 45). On this basis, Crary responds to influential commentaries about modern distraction as rupturing social cohesion, while Barthes points to a dynamic conception of listening that invokes both semiotic and affective modalities.

These genealogies of modern sound theories and related professional practices remind us of alternative conceptions of listening – at least in the case of Freudian psychoanalysis – where attention and distraction were not merely a cause for concern, but employed as techniques of analysis. This precedent gives me cause to critically revisit the early soundscape theory of Schafer (1977/1994) – whose notion of the earwitness I introduced above – and Truax (1982). The work of these scholars remains important, particularly since they remind us that listening patterns are culturally and socially formed, and that they are interlinked with historically specific physical spaces and urban contexts. However, since the inception of the soundscape movement, these key figures have rallied against modernity as the foremost cause of increased noise pollution and depleted listening awareness. In what follows, I will first engage with Schafer and Truax's work to specify their suspicion of modern technology and the problems with their attempt to historicise (radio) listening. In response, I will introduce recent critical

accounts of (early) broadcast radio and phenomenological theories, which respectively address the historical dynamic between attentive and distracted (radio) listening, and highlight a broader concept of listening as auditory experience.

Theorising Listening Attention and Sound Technology

R. Murray Schafer's foundational text *The Tuning of the World* poses the central question: what is the relationship between man and the sounds of his environment and what happens when these sounds change? (1977/1994: 3-4). The study itself is primarily concerned with tracing a history of aurality in view of the declining condition of the soundscape in Western society (76).[37] Schafer invests in an historical chronology that locates a loss of listening skills with the onset of modernity, which explains his investment in the "earwitness" as providing testimony about the past. According to Schafer, the average listener needs to be cured of "sound fatigue," due to the overstimulation and nervousness of modern society (253).[38] Schafer proposes solutions for the malaise of modern noise pollution by outlining two interdisciplines: *acoustic ecology* (diagnosing problems) and *acoustic design* (counteracting these "negative" effects).[39] He conceives of this interdisciplinary project as including multiple perceptual modes, and acknowledges the ear as "but one sense receptor among many" (12). However, due to his desire to reinstate the importance of listening, Schafer maintains a firm sensorial binary, perceiving a conflict between the visual and auditory realm, where only sound can offer an "antidote to the visual stress of modern times" (214, 237). Preoccupied with the conventional realm of the aesthetic, which he interprets as the "contrast between the beautiful and the ugly" (146), Schafer's discussion of the affective potential of sound thus remains limited to a few brief observations about culturally-specific "sound preferences."[40]

A more nuanced study of listening can be found in Barry Truax's *Acoustic Communication* (1984), which criticises the prevailing scientific approach to sound in acoustics that only addresses the physical qualities of sound. Instead, Truax endorses Schafer's call for an interdisciplinary approach to the cultural and social meanings produced by sound phenomena. He introduces a "communicational model" to shift from the concept of sender-receiver to a dynamic between individual, sound and the environment. Truax maintains that listening patterns are culturally and socially formed, since acoustic experience "creates, influences, and shapes the habitual relationship we have with any environment" (13). Thus, Truax is explicit in designating a soundscape as a listening environment, formed by people and their listening habits.[41] When supplementing acoustics with a semiotic approach to sound, Truax is concerned with scales of attention in various listening modalities. He emphasises attention, since listening involves "the *search* for meaningful information in the incoming stream of data provided by the audition system." Truax introduces three types of listening, ranging from active attention (*listening-in-search*) to an intermediate mode (*listening-in-readiness*) to an unconcentrated mode (*background listening*). He is careful to note that listening alternates between these three categories of listening attention, which

exist on a continuum. Behavioural patterns can also change, as can the sensitivity to sounds, with thresholds shifting as sound pressure changes on the ear (15). Nonetheless, it should not be forgotten that, similar to Schafer's preference for natural sounds being more "meaningful," Truax's analysis maintains that distracted listening is a *lesser* form of attention. Background listening is situated on the bottom rung in the hierarchy of listening categories provided by Truax, as merely the "most basic function of listening-detecting information about the environment through acoustic cues" (1984/2001: 21). Although Truax tries to nuance this implication by noting that background listening can nonetheless be seen as a cognitive process, this type of listening is still conceived as a basic mode from which other modalities of attention emerge, and as lacking the complexity of analytical listening (listening-in-search).[42]

In the end, both Schafer and Truax construct a somewhat pessimistic narrative about historical change. Within this early soundscape theory, the modern soundscape since industrialisation has been low-fidelity, noisy, undefined, disruptive and isolating, and therefore needs to be changed.[43] In expressing his dissatisfaction with the present-day soundscape, Schafer specifies the main problem as the existence of the "interrupted acoustic spaces" created by electric and electroacoustic technologies (8). More specifically, Schafer coins a term for the negative effects of electroacoustic production: *schizophonia*. According to Schafer, schizophonia is the split effect that occurs between the original context of the sound and its reproduction in multiple forms.[44] With the establishment of transmission and storage media, Schafer argues, there is a fundamental transformation:

> We have split the sound from the maker of the sound. Sounds have been torn from their natural sockets and given an amplified and independent existence. Vocal sound, for instance, is no longer tied to a hole in the head but is free to issue from anywhere in the landscape. (90)

In this extract, it becomes clearer why electroacoustic sounds pose such a threat to Schafer's conception of the natural soundscape. Voices are no longer tied to their source, denying both the labour and identity of the uttering body. The sounds themselves are given an agency away from their source, which causes a loss of referents and meaning. With this loss of control over contextual meaning, Schafer implies that the sounds can no longer be properly experienced or understood. While I agree that we can talk of changed sounds and power relations, it does not automatically suggest that there is "confusion" on the basis of mediated sound. This disparaging vision of electroacoustic communication is thus preoccupied with the "false" relationships created by sound reproduction. This interpretation has been significantly revised by scholars such as Michael Bull (2000), whose empirical and theoretical research vouches for the creative aesthetic and narrative experiences rendered by personal stereo usage in contemporary urban life.[45]

Turning to the specific case of radio, Schafer despairs that the interruptions created by broadcasts produced the first "sound wall" by isolating the individual and providing a kind of background wallpaper or ambient noise.[46] It is thus

not only recorded sounds in general, but specifically modern radio programming that introduced "contradictions into modern life and has perhaps contributed more than anything else to the breakup of unified cultural systems and values" (94). While the first broadcasts of the 1920s were intermittent presentations with breaks, Schafer argues that the 1930s and 1940s resulted in all-day programming and an "unsettled connectivity" (94). His reader should thus realise that the rhythms of radio are too fast-paced. It is therefore interesting to note that Schafer also attributes to radio the potential to teach people how to slow down to the "natural rhythms of life" (235). This is one of the greatest paradoxes in Schafer's thinking, since although he frequently blames technology for creating hearing loss, he also concedes the generative potential of audio technologies. In addition, the inconsistency of Schafer's argument is suggested by his stress on the necessity of recording technology for soundscape analysis and soundscape compositions (237-45).

Like Schafer, Barry Truax's discussion of electroacoustic technology is premised on the historical emergence of the mechanical reproduction of sound as displacing the temporal-spatial fixity of sound as an event. Truax's work establishes an historical arc for listening attention, spanning from radio's inception to the present day. According to this schema, radio was clearly demarcated as a communal event in the 1920s and 1930s. The audience gathered around the radio, centrally placed in the household, and listened in "rapt attention" to mediated sound (1984: 210). Radio's capability for inducing sustained listening attention, according to Truax, was an important factor enabling the abuse of sound technology by Hitler under the auspices of National Socialism. This straightforward rationale disavows the historical process of negotiating the conditions for radio listening, which assumes that "attention" was given to Hitler's voice regardless of ongoing technical problems or listener agency. By contrast, my chapters will indicate that concentrated listening attention was desired but not always achieved, let alone an inherent quality of the medium. In some cases, as I will show, events like carnival were predicated on creating noise and enjoyment of sonic overwhelming, which itself could also be amenable to the aims of having a nationalised festival under National Socialism. Unlike Schafer and Truax, then, in my own case studies, I try to precisely draw out the tension between sound as a distraction or interruption, and sound as a way to integrate individuals into community or national frameworks.

In the case of the early wireless, Steven Connor has observed that poor signal quality did involve an "intensification and thickening of the transactions between foreground and background, signal and noise, hearing and listening" (2006: 11). In other words, the various interferences required both the activity of the listener and a distracted scanning of the available signal.[47] Likewise, the introduction of government-regulated broadcasting in Germany in 1923 did not automatically produce "rapt attention," but resulted in the active participation of the radio listener for negotiating the limitations of the new medium. To some degree, then, we might say that the first years of radio seemed to require and encourage an attentive listening, since listeners strained to hear the broadcast sounds. For instance, as music historian Christopher Hailey observes of early German radio:

> The poor quality of early broadcasts demanded the listener's commitment and aural involvement to compensate for shortcoming of transmission, and performers, composers, and programmers had to adjust their aims to the limitations of the microphone. Radio was a "hot" medium that demanded significant technological and imaginative interaction. (1994: 35-6)

Drawing on McLuhan's notion of "hot media" as those requiring more user involvement, Hailey describes how German radio broadcasting in the 1920s often had problems with microphone recording, limited broadcasting range and signal interference, as a form of the "mobile attention" described above.[48] Radio's aural presence and visual absence demanded that radio announcers had to learn new forms of address and keep discussion concise and coherent (Hailey 1994: 34). Listeners also initially used headphones and the instability of frequencies meant that most radio owners needed to continually readjust tuning while listening.[49] However, as early as 1927, radio commentators noted that their listening sensibilities and expectations of mediated sound quality had changed in the few short years since 1923, leading to more diversified modes of listening attention (see Schrage 2005: 226-7). Instead of categorically designating the first decades of radio as inducing passivity or a concentrated listening, it is also important to remember that the activity of readjusting signal tuning has continued to the present, although mainly discontinued since the introduction of digital tuning devices.

In view of these historical examples, the development of radio as a medium was not inevitable or inherent, but rather a product of multiple technological, industrial and social factors. The abovementioned studies by Connor and Hailey are not dismissive of distracted listening, but rather suggest the role of radio in an ongoing renegotiation of listening attention during the twentieth century. As demonstrated here, both Schafer and Truax's analyses give an unsatisfactory reading of the past, mistakenly characterising the modern listening condition almost exclusively in terms of loss and desensitisation. On the one hand, Schafer's concept of modernity develops a pathology of modern listening as schizophonic and nervous. On the other hand, the implicit hierarchy of Truax's model infers that distracted listening is a recent and overwhelmingly negative phenomenon, exacerbated by modern audio technology.

There have been a number of critiques of Schafer and Truax's tendency to restrict their definition of sound in accordance with concentrated listening and musicological principles of harmony. Eric Clarke has warned against such a privileging of a model of concentrated or autonomous listening, since it "only represents a fraction of listening modes" (2005: 144).[50] While soundscape theory attempts to explain various perceptual modes of listening, the reliance on limited semiotic explanations for the significance of sound in social and cultural contexts remains insufficient. Indeed, as sound scholar Paul Carter argues, soundscape theorists

> routinely discount the performative character of sound production, transmission and reception: speakers, hearers and listeners participate in an immersive act of making sense at that place, a process which depends minimally on the sound's semiotic load. (12)

In other words, acoustic ecology fails to conceptualise listeners as engaged in a dynamic relation of both listening and speaking. By contrast, I will introduce a phenomenological understanding of listening experience that appears better equipped to address both the corporeal basis of listening and sound's affective charge in various social and cultural contexts.

"Listening" may thus be too restrictive a term to do justice to the corporeal basis of the listening experience. Indeed, I find the notion of the *auditory* more useful, since it includes both listening and hearing. Paul Rodaway's *Sensuous Geographies* (1994) offers several key perspectives for establishing listening in terms of its corporeal and affective qualities. Firstly, he clarifies that the strict division between hearing as passive and listening as active is inadequate. Auditory perception, in Rodaway's terms, necessarily involves the entire sensing body, rather than a merely isolated reception through the ears (83). According to this understanding, auditory experience is not only embodied but also multidirectional, since the auditory system is "extroceptive (picks up direction of sound event) and proprioceptive (registers the sounds made by the individual)" (91-2). Following Rodaway, the auditory experience of sound phenomena can be better understood as a corporeal process configured by various modes of listening, hearing and speaking (in combination with other perceptual processes).

Rodaway's views demonstrate an affinity with Maurice Merleau-Ponty's contention in *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1945/2002) that we perceive the world through our body and senses, in his attempt to critique a Cartesian split between the mind and body. Merleau-Ponty argued that corporeal perception is immersive and three-dimensional, and thus produces an experience where "the world is around me, not in front of me" (1964). Here the body is approached as an integrated whole, rather than divided into separate components, thus creating an intersensorial conception of embodied perception, allowing for correspondences between the senses.[51] As Merleau-Ponty elaborates, the senses

> interact in perception as the two eyes collaborate in vision. The sight of sounds or the hearing of colours come about in the same way as the unity of the gaze through the two eyes: in so far as my body is not a collection of adjacent organs, but a *synergetic system*, all the functions of which are exercised and linked together in the general action of being in the world. (1945/2002: 271-2. My emphasis)[52]

Drawing on such insights from Merleau-Ponty, Rodaway's recasting of listening and hearing as auditory perception establishes a phenomenological approach that attends to the global dimensions of sensory experience. As such, we might note the ways that hearing is often disconnected from what we see, and is often telling us where to look or thus narrow our visual attention. While the senses are posited as distinct fields, they operate and interact within a general structural frame of the body. This perspective posits an important break from treating the listening act as merely decoding or categorising, but rather conceives of a whole-body experience that creates a "resonant" subject (Nancy 2007).[53]

Phenomenologist Don Ihde stresses that the process of listening may take

place against a global bodily framework, but he also conceptualises auditory experience in terms of attentional focus (1976: 15). According to this perspective, sound is continually present, even when the subject is not aware of it. The sounds in a given situation can be interpreted as offering an invitation to perception, since attention is the frame within which listening takes place. While the whole body can (potentially) engage in the registering of auditory perception, the ear is the "focal organ of hearing" (45).[54] When Ihde investigates the specific phenomenological qualities of sound, he highlights the themes of temporality and spatiality. The temporal quality of sound as event can be seen as an "envelope" defined by having a beginning and an end (102). The spatial dimensions to sound are usually recognised according to its direction or intensity, or if it is the sound *of* something. As Ihde points out, when the precise location of sound can be determined, sound is spatially poor. Yet, when sound is spatially rich, it can "flood and intrude upon my consciousness" (232). This range of spatial qualities is dependant on the subject's sense of agency over available sensory stimuli.

The emphasis from phenomenologists like Merleau-Ponty and Ihde on the global nature of perception (and the interaction of various sensory fields) might pose a challenge to my call to dwell on the construction of auditory experience within a particular historical setting. It should be noted that Merleau-Ponty demonstrates a sensitivity to the historical and cultural dimensions of sensory registers, underscoring the way that individuals are embedded in a "perceptual tradition," which they negotiate in the present moment (1945/2000: 277). However, there is a problematic tendency in Merleau-Ponty's theorising insofar as it still constructs a universal subject. For this reason, soundscape theory remains an important methodological intervention for insisting on the cultural and historical specificity of sound, its embeddedness in material landscapes, and involvement in power relations. Nonetheless, in my case studies phenomenological perspectives are employed to reflect on auditory experience and affect, as well as to supplement soundscape theory's insistence on the semiotic meaning of sounds. Moreover, my analyses avoid simple oppositions between the auditory and visual, given that all media are mixed media, and draw on mixed sensory modes (Mitchell 2005). This critical response to both soundscape and phenomenological accounts of listening – in terms of the historicity of modern listening and its basis in auditory and corporeal perception respectively – provides a rationale to outline the specific academic context and choice of case studies for this examination of historical sound and soundscapes.

Researching Historical Soundscapes

The field of historical sound and soundscape studies has had a remarkable upswing from the 1990s onwards. Writing about Victorian-era music hall performance in 1996, Peter Bailey called for further research into non-visual culture, not least since historians "habitually invoke the 'sights and sounds' of an era as necessary objects of their enquiry, but the latter rarely receive more than lip service" (1998: 211). Bailey's appeal to scholars to fully thematise sound in their

reconstruction of past cultural contexts also draws attention to the limits posed by the historical archive. Archives primarily consist of written and visual documentation, with some limited sound recordings that originate from the late nineteenth century onwards.[55]

In the ensuing period, a number of key works have appeared that are explicitly concerned with the historical study of soundscapes. One of the first major studies, by historian Alain Corbin (1994/1998), analysed the debates about church bells in the French countryside and their structuring of time, power, meaning and identity in the early nineteenth century. James H. Johnson (1995), working on roughly the same period, writes about the process by which Parisian audiences became silent when attending musical performance, tracing changes and continuities in social expectations and manners, along with understandings of music performance and listening behaviour. Literature scholar Bruce R. Smith (1999) has studied the soundscape of early modern England, concentrating on the experiences of a people whose acoustic environment required listening competencies and modes of interpretation that differed vastly from the present. Historian Mark M. Smith's social history of nineteenth-century America traces the soundscape of slavery, the modes of listening and meanings attributed to certain sounds, as well as how sound was bound up in power, race and identity in the lead up to the Civil War (2001). Questions of power and control are also intrinsic to two additional historical studies of relevance for my work. Karin Bijsterveld (2001; 2008) has delineated the symbolism of sound and technology within early twentieth-century campaigns against noise in American and European cities, which charts out both contemporary debates and a longer historiography of Western attitudes towards noise and silence. Emily Thompson (2004), writing on the same period in North America, attends closely to themes of control and power in relation to changes in urban sound, modern technology, acoustics and architectural design, and with it, evolving attitudes and professional practices based on prevailing cultural understandings of noise.[56]

These pre-existing soundscape studies provide useful reminders to situate specific cases as part of broader cultural patterns and political realities in the historical period in question. In the present study, I use sound-related concepts as heuristic tools, but also adopt a cultural history approach to my sources. I also revisit other historiographic interpretations of National Socialism, particularly those that assume the primary importance of visual culture and symbolism within its cultural politics. Not only do I try to respond to a visualist historiography, but my interest in aural culture necessarily requires me to expand the range of the many pre-existing studies of music and radio in the Nazi period.[57] Moreover, I endeavour to situate these cultural phenomena (radio, music, voice) in terms of the acoustic environment of their performance and reception, and thus reflect on how (mediated) sound can interact with urban space and engage listening attention. This emphasis on the relationship between the listener(s), sounds and their spatial environment is also informed by recent work in cultural geography, much of which starts from the premise that "meaning is produced in the encounter between human subject and place, and other human subjects and a range of material artefacts" (Anderson and Tolia-Kelly 2004: 676). Against this broader

background, two central concerns of this study pertain to, firstly, the contribution of radio and mediated sound to fascist aesthetics and cultural practices, and secondly, how sound was implicated in control, discipline and terror.

For the case studies, I engage with audio-visual sources like archival radio recordings and film footage, yet I also draw on radio station magazines, newspaper articles, archival files, diaries, published documentation, theoretical writings and the oral history interviews mentioned earlier. In doing so, I draw attention to the contexts, gaps and silences in the sources used in my analyses. This is particularly necessary with sources derived from the Nazi era, due to censorship and the predominance of ideological positions in public discourses and media channels. While the available sound materials are quite limited (much of them were lost, or were not recorded or preserved in the first place), I do not conceive of my reliance on textual and secondary sources only in terms of lack or absence. Indeed, soundscape studies of present-day contexts accept that their empirical field work does not recover the soundscape in its entirety.[58] The material nature of the sources, furthermore, gives cause to reflect on the mixed medial status of the media technologies examined as well as the sensory modalities involved in the case studies.

In the first chapter, the specific events created around the martyr Albert Leo Schlageter will be explored, with respect to the ways in which music and sound were utilised by the National Socialists in public spaces to control urban space and rework identity formations. My argument is that, although the party subdued the urban soundscape with terror and coercion in the first months of 1933, the staging of mediated sounds within public rituals involved a great deal of trial and error (despite the claims of propagandists otherwise). I frame my examination of Schlageter commemorations in Düsseldorf by calling upon Don Ihde's phenomenological concept of the "auditory imagination" to theorise acts of listening and the voice within auditory perception. As part of this inquiry into the contribution of sound to Nazi spectacles, I will reflect on the uses of "resonance" for organising the people, popularising mythology and disciplining the senses. While the analysis refers in particular to (popular) song lyrics, the emphasis remains on the resonant and rhythmic qualities of these cultural products in performance. Accordingly, the concept of "affirmative resonance" is introduced as a tool for analysing the role of sound in the creation of resonant spaces within urban environments, whether through collective singing and cheering, loudspeaker technology, or in the call and response interactions between a speaker and a crowd. This analysis, moreover, will draw out the tensions between the party's investment in organic experience and architectural monumentalism, and their uses of mediated propaganda, publicity strategies and modern design.

In the second chapter, I expand on my interest in change and (dis)continuities in the production of space, ritual and listening attention during the first Nazi years. However, in this case, I examine the broader process of what I term a "festivalisation" of the everyday, which I explore through a somewhat unlikely case for Nazi appropriation: the boisterous annual carnival festival in Düsseldorf. In analysing the sonic components, rituals and uses of public space in interwar Germany, I explore how and why local carnival sounds (and their associations with *Heimat* and *Volk* culture) were appropriated for nationalistic purposes. Here, I

not only engage with theories of the festival and its sounds (Mikhail Bakhtin, Jacques Attali), but also challenge the notion of carnival as an all-inclusive, temporally and spatially confined ritual. I further specify the contribution of radio broadcasts to the nature and experience of the "festival," by dispersing its sounds and music to new sites of reception. By examining how the sounds of otherness were staged in carnival, I will argue that carnival's noise began to resemble and overlap with anti-Semitic rites of violence, as part of a broader marking out of exclusion within the festivalised, urban soundscape.

These first two chapters focus on the cultural dynamics in the interwar period, taking note of the "sonic brawling" and political agitation in the Weimar years and the subsequent discourses of nation-building (such as "the call" or "Germany awake!"). In contrast, the third chapter deals with changes within the Düsseldorf soundscape following the outbreak of war in September 1939. Here, I examine a case study of "special announcements" (*Sondermeldungen*) in order to reflect on how radio was used to manipulate listening attention and stage a mediated experience of national celebration, with radio listeners as earwitnesses. I not only reflect on the ideal of the "imagined listening community" (with reference to Benedict Anderson), but also on the temporal-spatial organisation of the urban home front through sound. I investigate how alarm systems and acoustic forms of control and surveillance (such as eavesdropping) comprised key structuring elements in the changed wartime soundscape. Drawing on Michel Foucault's visualist account of modern techniques of control, I analyse the tensions between sound as a disciplinary practice (official measures) and sound as an unpredictable disruption to everyday life (air attacks and their aftermath). The analysis emphasises the feedback and eventual contradiction between the claims of radio and the soundscape at large, as well as the adjustments made by listening subjects when negotiating the space of the darkened and threatened city.

In the fourth chapter, I remain with the theme of Nazi-era attempts to control urban space. My case, too, deals with a darkened space of listening; yet in this context, I begin with the legacy of Richard Wagner's music-theatre in Bayreuth and his "*Gesamtkunstwerk*" concept. I critically revisit the legacy of Wagner for the sound cinema and for notions of national community under National Socialism, as revealed by Düsseldorf's film and cinema exhibition history. The analysis identifies a set of key sonic metaphors, and focuses in particular on the concepts of "symphony" and "rhythm" in Walther Ruttmann's work across the Weimar and Nazi eras. Furthermore, a specific concept of "rhythmic harmony," as I argue, attributed to sound an important role in attempts to condition the cinema and spectator attention, and with it, investments in the cinema space as a site of festive gatherings (and exclusions) of the Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft* (national-racial community). Nonetheless, my approach emphasises the ongoing risks and problems with cinema sound, particularly given the sonic interruptions of the World War II soundscape in Düsseldorf. Finally, the persistence of synthesis or "synchronisation" as a metaphor for totalitarian control in the present day motivates my analysis of a contemporary film (*Hitler's Hit Parade*, 2003), which asks how film sound might challenge established audiovisual stereotypes about National Socialism and its historical development as a foregone conclusion.

In *Nazi Soundscapes*, I present and examine various types of sound, or even the tensions between certain categories of sound, and how they figured and were reconfigured within the urban soundscape. It is difficult to entirely dispense with certain clichés about National Socialism and its related sonic icons. However, this study attends to the intersection of (mediated) sound, listening experience and urban space as a means of unpacking the significance of sound in German social and cultural life in the early twentieth century. Of primary concern here is the role played by modern technologies of sound in shaping listening experience and conditioning urban spaces. In other words, my focus on urban space reflects an endeavour to acknowledge the conditions in which listening and sound-making take place, and the spatial characteristics influencing sounds as such. While I offer the reader a broader context of sounds in space, along with their cultural-historical specificity, this study also places emphasis on the affective and semiotic dimensions to these sound events within auditory experience. Listening attention will not only be discussed here in terms of a crisis of experience, associated with modernity and urban distraction, but considered as a way to critically evaluate Nazi-era appropriations of sound and sound technology across a range of urban spaces, and the designation of Germans as "earwitness" participants in the experience of national community.

1. Affirmative Resonances in Urban Space

Albert Leo Schlageter, a former soldier and right-wing activist, was arrested for his role in a sabotage attack on a goods train passing through Düsseldorf in 1923. After being sent to trial, Schlageter was sentenced to death by the French military occupiers of the German Rhine-Ruhr area. Following his death in the early morning hours of 26 May 1923, various political parties tried to seize on Schlageter's memory, with Communists attempting to downplay his right-wing allegiances in a bid to make a claim on this "service to the German people."[1] In the following decade, the National Socialist Party effectively capitalised on Schlageter, producing a range of images, slogans and commemorative events. Almost all aspects of Schlageter's biography and status as a heroic freedom fighter were fully exploited in the attempt to create a national symbol of anti-French resistance. In fact, the success in promoting Schlageter as a Nazi patriot enabled a popularised appropriation of the anti-French resistance, which magnified his minor part out of all proportion.[2]

The importance of Schlageter for Nazi propaganda took on new proportions after the Nazi Party seized power in January 1933. Schlageter's role as a Nazi martyr offered an indispensable prototype of the "New Man" needed for the party's anticipated *Volksgemeinschaft*: youthful, impulsive, masculine and soldier-like.[3] As a symbol of male sacrifice for the nation, Schlageter thus provided a model for new social relations based on the subordination of individual needs to those of the community. Schlageter's function within early Nazi propaganda is best illustrated by the massive three-day commemorative festival held in late May 1933, which took place in Düsseldorf on the ten-year anniversary of his death. With over three hundred thousand extra visitors in Düsseldorf, the Nazi newspaper *Volksparole* described the large scale and intensity of the event in glowing terms:

> The dignity of the festival, its size and importance, made its impression on the cityscape. No house without flags, no streets without rows of facades decorated in greenery. […] Never before had Düsseldorf, indeed, one could say, never before had a city in Germany seen a richly coloured spectacle as this. Words no longer suffice, the eyes cannot grasp everything. Incalculable masses of spectators and marching columns.[4]

In this excerpt, Schlageter's national significance and transformation into a Nazi martyr is emphasised by the magnitude of the visual spectacle. Its mention of flags and colours emphasises a visual overstimulation of the eyes. Yet this de-

scription of sensory overwhelming also implies an auditory experience, with the loud cheers of thousands and the sounds of marching feet producing intense resonances and reverberations in order to "sound out" the entire city landscape (Bull 2000).

Taking this newspaper excerpt as a starting point, in this chapter I seek to elaborate on the sonic components to the Schlageter commemorations in Düsseldorf, and within National Socialism more generally. While significant academic attention has been devoted to the function of visual-textual elements in Nazi propaganda techniques, in what follows, I will specify the role of sound for the popularising and normalising of mythology in public events, which invites a broader consideration of the attempts by National Socialists to spatially organise and occupy urban space in the 1920s and 1930s.[5] In most cases, this battle over public and social space involved violence, but also various corporeal and acoustic strategies for achieving sensory appeal, for demanding the attention and participation of civilians. Political attempts to sound out urban space, as I will suggest, operated on a principle of creating *resonance* within the city.

Resonant urban spaces usually involve a high acoustic level achieved by an amplitude increase of sound as it reflects off walls and other surfaces in the streets.[6] Acoustics researchers Jean-François Augoyard and Henry Torgue also note that the concept of resonance can span from the resonant systems of specific body parts (such as ear vibration or the vocal canal) to a broader theory of power. Reverberant sounds have been historically considered to be illustrative of sound as a source of potential power and for mediating presence across distances: "resonance is a myth of strength, symbolised by the power of sound" (2005: 108). Even when a particular sound occurs on a regular basis, they note, the exact nature of its resonance is time- and place-specific, mediated by atmospheric conditions and the surfaces the sounds reflect off. This notion of resonance offers a useful framework for my analysis of the Schlageter myth, since, in what follows, my interest is in political strategies for acoustic presence; as part of an aesthetic occupation of the city and an appeal on the basis of the "*auditory imagination*" (Ihde 1976).

The second component to resonance that I will explore comprises the various forms of listening, vocal and corporeal participation of crowds attending Nazi public events and, with it, the collective creation of "*affirmative resonance*" (Epping-Jäger 2004a). By establishing the phenomenological dimensions to such auditory experiences, I stress the individual and intersubjective components of large-scale crowds engaged in the specific commemoration of Schlageter. After introducing the abovementioned concepts and their relevance to my case study, I focus on the political attempts for an acoustic occupation of public life and urban space, particularly the noisy clashes between the Nazi *Sturmabteilung* (SA) and left-aligned groups, and the utilisation of sound technologies and distribution channels in the late 1920s. I will then concentrate specifically on the Nazi Party's standardisation of songs and ritual practices concerning Schlageter, and the twin principles of sonic omnipresence and spatial monumentality underpinning emergent Nazi commemorative practices. Finally, I will focus on the significance of gunshots as a persistent acoustic symbol for the "call" to national awaken-

ing, and reflect on the way the 1933 Schlageter commemoration attempts to use sound to perform reconfigured identity patterns within a reverberant urban site.

Auditory Perception and Affirmative Resonance

A variety of crowds attended large-scale rituals like the 1933 Schlageter festival for a range of reasons: political affiliation, social obligation, suspicion, curiosity or for free entertainment as a weekend outing. In this context, the silence of a crowd member might suggest refusal. Remaining silent could imply defiant opposition, but also silent agreement or being forcibly silenced by intimidation or violence. A similar difficulty arises if we try to determine vocal-corporeal participation as always necessarily constituting affirmation of the Nazi regime. The sounds of the crowd might not have been an expression of support for the regime as such, but rather reflected a common knowledge of traditional songs and melodies, or even oppositional voices and responses that were drowned out amidst the intense sounds of marchers, brass bands, the cheering and singing crowds. While there may have been varying degrees of participation and motivations for attending a large-scale Nazi festival, the phenomenological basis to the sonic rituals in Nazi events requires further consideration.

In *Listening and Voice* (1976), Don Ihde develops the notion of the "auditory imagination" as part of his general analysis of the dynamics between listening and voice, corporeal experience and cognition. In Ihde's phenomenological approach, he sets out two important modes for the auditory imagination. The first mode occurs in the "dual polyphony" between hearing external sounds and one's own inner speech.[7] In Ihde's view, the act of speaking prompts a second category, with a kind of dual polyphony or feedback between speaking and hearing oneself speak:

> When I speak, if I attend to the entire bodily sense of speaking, I feel my voice resonate throughout at least the upper part of my body. I feel my whole head "sounding" in what I take to be sonic resonance. (138)

It is precisely in this resonance that Ihde detects a polyphony between the perceptual and imaginative, a co-presence of these two modalities that facilitates the individual's auditory imagination. When it comes to musical sounds, Ihde argues that intense sounds may in fact preclude the possibility of thinking. As he explains, "bodily-auditory motion" in the presence of music can engage both one's subject body and experiencing body, thus leading to "a temporary sense of the 'dissolution' of self-presence" (134). This temporary suspension of inner speech, Ihde says, results in "auditory interruptions of thinking" (158). According to Ihde, therefore, overwhelming sounds have the potential to disrupt thought patterns and one's sense of self.

Ihde's theoretical distinctions offer an important foundation for understanding individual listening processes and their engagement of the body and senses. The dynamic between voice and listening makes a strong case for the affirmative

qualities of speaking for subject formation.[8] In turn, sounds can be generalised as provoking affects and physical reactions in listeners. In the case of Nazi rituals, there is clearly a relationship between sensory stimulation and manipulation. Yet it would be too easy to generalise the vocal-corporeal involvement of participants and crowds as automatically subjecting listeners to an entranced "musical ecstasy," through the intense sounds and resonances of the 1933 Schlageter festival (Ihde: 158). Overwhelming sounds do not automatically eradicate all possibilities for thinking and self-awareness. Ihde's too-easy classification might lead to conclusions about listening as a passive and irrational sense, an assertion made by media theorist Marshall McLuhan.[9]

To fully untangle the complex orchestrations of propaganda during the Schlageter memorial festival – creating mass resonances and forms of sensory overstimulation in urban space – the concept of auditory imagination outlined by Ihde remains too limited in scope. There are two vital aspects that remain underexamined in his analysis. The first is that of *space*. If the success of Nazi propaganda tactics and their establishment of new rites of national loyalty are to be closely examined, it is essential to focus on the party's utilisation of urban space. Not only is space essential to establishing resonance, but it is only against the various Nazi attempts to occupy, dominate and reconfigure social space, in the spatial arrangements of large-scale rituals, that the significance of sound can be properly understood.

The significance of spatial practices immediately raises the second, interrelated issue of *intersubjectivity*. My concern is with the group dynamics and power relations involved in large-scale rituals, with their sonic enactment of body politics and disciplining of the senses.[10] While Ihde's interest in the polyphony of sound refers primarily to individual auditory experiences, I will try to pay attention to state uses and representations of space as well as some of the rhythms, interactions and configurations of multiple bodies in urban space (Lefebvre 1991, 2004). According to this taxonomy, bodily practices with sound and rhythm are viewed as integral to establishing selfhood, patterns of identity and belonging, and actively participating in the production of urban space. This is consistent with Étienne Balibar's argument that national community and the imagination are configured through a network of apparatuses and practices that form the individual as "homo nationalis" (2004: 12).

To expand Ihde's concept of auditory imagination to include the significance of body politics and collective spatial practices, I propose the notion of "affirmative resonance."[11] Standard uses of resonance usually refer to the frequency of vibrations within a particular system or area, to the richness, variety or intensification of a sound, or the reactions it provokes among people.[12] When combined with the word *affirmative* – which suggests a certain optimism, making an agreement, or being in favour of a particular cause or person – the phrase is situated more concretely within social and political contexts. In my basic definition, affirmative resonance refers to a practice or event when a group of people communally create sounds that resonate in a space, thus reinforcing the legitimacy of their group and its identity patterns. This phenomenon is given different qualities when manifested through the sounds of multiple human voices, the

singing of songs, the playing of instrumental music, or with amplification by sound recording and transmission technologies. Affirmative resonances can be provoked by heard or imagined sounds, ranging from forms of acoustic presence to the acoustic symbols reproduced in public discourse and popular culture. They variously involve the voices, ears and bodies of listeners, and although they are predominantly experienced in the public spaces of the city, they can also occur within the domestic sphere, particularly through media use.

While early Nazi political strategies sought to achieve acoustic presence in urban space and the social imagination, I will contend that affirmative resonance was contingent on the possibility after 1933 to gather mass crowds and utilise media channels such as radio broadcasting. The loud cheers of massive crowds at official events not only comprised the affirmations of individual speaking-hearing feedback loops, but also the intensification of the sounds recorded by the microphone, projected through the loudspeaker system, and fed back again into the microphone. This feedback process is an evocative illustration of how affirmative resonance was attempted during the Nazi era. I will, however, necessarily take note of the challenges to fully achieving this goal in events like the Schlageter festival, often on the basis of logistical difficulties and technological malfunctioning.

But first the concept of affirmative resonance is central for identifying the increased intensity and effectiveness of Nazi propaganda strategies from the mid-1920s until 1933. From 1925 onwards, the desire to create mass events went hand in hand with the Nazi aim to transform themselves into a mass political movement. I will trace a general shift from examples of sparking the individual auditory imagination (as presence) to more comprehensive attempts at sensory overwhelming, with large-scale techniques of affirmative resonance sought out as strategies for creating an impression of omnipresence and inescapability.

Sonic Brawling and Aesthetic Occupations of Public Space

> In my opinion, sound is more suggestive than the image. – Adolf Hitler[13]

During the mid to late 1920s, both left and right-wing political groups aimed for *visual* presence in their strategies and battles for dominance of urban spaces, particularly during election periods. Billboard posters, leaflets, newspapers, flags, symbols, party uniforms and swastika badges constituted the main modes with which the National Socialist Party established itself visually throughout city streets and cultural contexts. These strategies are often attributed to the influence of French psychologist Gustave Le Bon on Hitler's thinking about techniques of mass persuasion.[14] In one of the frequently-cited quotes from Le Bon's 1895 publication *The Crowd*, he made the claim that crowds can only think and be influenced through images, since "it is only images that terrify them or attract them or become motives of action" (2002: 35). This insistence on the suggestiveness of visual images has constituted a powerful legacy for contemporary accounts of Nazi propaganda and leadership principles, with visual forms frequently being the preferred cultural objects for analyses of National Socialism.[15]

Turning to the role of sound in Nazi endeavours to figure in the popular imagination, it is also important to note Hitler's stress on the "magic force of the spoken word."[16] We might say that sound is suited to the task of establishing presence since it does not respect borders between public and private life, and travels beyond the field of vision. Sounds can appear in the auditory imagination, even if their source cannot be seen. The instances of acoustic presence and acoustic conflict I will now examine are precursors to the large-scale and multiple forms of affirmative resonance that emerged in 1933. Such sounds, as I will show, may have sparked the auditory imagination of non-members or reinforced the identity of party members. Yet these examples do not completely succeed in producing paradigmatic shifts of community values and social allegiances due to the ongoing legal restrictions and voices of opposition to Nazism in the public sphere. I will examine the various tactics pursued by the Nazis and Communist parties for attracting support and engagement through sensory-corporeal activities and spatial occupations of the urban environment. Despite theorist Walter Benjamin's distinction between Communism (as aestheticising politics) and Fascism (as politicising aesthetics), there is certainly significant overlap in both of the parties' struggle for urban dominance, which each drew on both visual and aural strategies.[17]

The urban street is the quintessential site for the interactions of individuals and groups within the modern city. The street is "the location and medium for social encounters, the confrontation of classes, sexes, industry, generations […]" (Lindenberger 1995: 34). As media theorist Siegfried Zielinski notes, during the 1920s the street had wider repercussions, since not only political disputes, but also the most important cultural discourses were located

> outside of the private and intimate sphere – on the streets, in public places, in halls, and in pubs. This applied not only to the cultural expressions of political and social revolt but also to the various forms of commercial entertainment and diversion; whether cinema, variety, or the department stores for ordinary folk. (1999: 150)

Indeed, as one of the most vivid symbols of modernity in Germany, the street was invested with revolutionary potential in the wake of World War I. This sparked new forms of urban crowd behaviour and political participation, characterised by contemporary observers as a mania for speaking out (*Redewut*).[18]

Drawing attention to the presence of sounds in 1920s public life is crucial given that "part of the clamour of modernity is a public *sonic brawling*, as urban space becomes a site of *acoustic conflict*" (Cloonan and Johnson 2002: 31, emphasis added). Sonic brawling, or battles over acoustic presence, figured in a number of ways in the early years of the Weimar Republic, which were marked by political revolt and attempted revolution. The 1919 left-wing Spartakist uprising was suppressed by the government and soldier groups (*Freikorps*). One year later, the attempted Kapp Putsch by right-wing groups led to a general strike by workers, with several months of open revolt eventually crushed by Freikorps and paramilitary police. These first years of the Republic were marked by high-profile political assassinations and various sabotage activities by extremist groups, par-

ticularly in the occupied Rhineland where Schlageter was operating with the Freikorps paramilitary group "Operation Heinz" (Glombowski 1934).

It was also in this period that militant groups at opposite sides of the political spectrum developed the "clash" (*Zusammenstoss*) as a noisy, urban political strategy, ranging from spontaneous fights to organised attacks (Rosenhaft 1983: 3).[19] The German word stresses not only the "blow" (*Stoss*) itself, but also the intersubjective qualities of the clash as a coming "together" (*Zusammen*). Historian Eve Rosenhaft emphasises the spatial dimension to this violent political strategy:

> The threat and use of physical force, combined with the intransigent rhetoric used by the combatants, made it possible for the contest for party-political influence to develop into a struggle for direct physical control of space and institutions. (1983: 9)

Indeed, the control over space, particularly in working-class neighbourhoods and Communist strongholds, was one of the key points of contention. As Anthony McElligott notes, the violent activity of SA groups was a spatial process and they sought to establish their dominance over neighbourhoods, if not entire cities. Their aim, he says, was "to demoralize and conquer the working class in the very streets which made up their territory" (1983: 83). Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels affirmed this central tenet of the Nazis' so-called *Kampfzeit* (period of struggle) during the 1920s, with their shared conviction that "whoever conquers the streets, conquers the state" (1931/1938: 18).

Members of the German Communist Party (KPD) often professed that their violence was out of self-defence, due to the sense of an invasion of their neighbourhoods, with local taverns taken over by SA members.[20] Young men, in particular, often saw their position towards Nazi groups as one of self-defence with slogans encouraging violence, such as "Hit the Nazis when you see them!" or "Hit the fascists."[21] Particularly on weekends, raucous clashes took place in urban streets and marketplaces, which were tense locations for heated political debates, street battles and noisy group processions. These events, engaged in by both sides of the political spectrum, represented both an opportunity to increase support and provoke political opponents, often involving brass bands, marching and the singing of party songs in attempts to "sound out" urban locations, albeit on a fairly localised scale.

The localised nature of urban street fighting meant that it was not only the actual fighting that created the conditions for sonic brawling, but also the calls and slogans of bystanders and residents. Many of the noisy clashes occurred when one party or group tried to hold an event or procession that was subsequently interrupted by their opponents. Once a fight was underway, police on the scene could also be attacked and verbally abused for trying to intervene. Police officers could be called "bloodhounds" and "thugs," and the vitriol usually reserved for SA groups might be redirected, with calls to "beat them to death!"[22] The localised character of such violence can also be illustrated by the death of Horst Wessel, whose song lyrics were employed as the second national anthem after 1933.[23]

Wessel, a violent SA-*Sturmführer* in Berlin, was murdered in his own home in 1930. It was due to a dispute with his landlady (the widow of a former KPD member) and his own involvement in prostitution (which also upset local prostitution rings) that communists and a pimp from his local neighbourhood collaborated in his murder (Rosenhaft 1983: 22-3). In his repeated commemoration through song and remembrance during the 1930s, Wessel was secured a sacred place in the canon of male "Nazi martyrs," alongside Schlageter (Baird 1990).

Communist members also developed a number of strategies to counter the SA groups. Self-defence strategies were conceived as short-term reactions to enemy activity. While communists often saw violent activity as a necessary form of self-protection against fascism, it was not unusual that acts of "defence" provoked violence in more harmless situations (Rosenhaft 1983: 140). Two other forms of street activity concerned *terror* and *policing*. Terror towards right-wing members usually manifested itself in the form of raids and individual attacks, often in the private home or workplace, as in the case of Horst Wessel. Policing was a practice of monitoring the local neighbourhood for enemy activity, both visually and aurally.[24]

As early as 1925, Agit-Prop ("Agitation Propaganda") theatre groups were also proposed by the Communist Party as noisy public propaganda tools and political weapons against fascism. In Düsseldorf there were two such groups: "*Truppe im Westen*" and the more programmatic "*Nordwest ran*."[25] They were mainly present at closed communist and worker events, but also became involved in election campaigning on the street, calling out party slogans, holding placards and singing worker and marching songs.[26] By the last years of the Weimar era, however, communist activity was often prevented through local ordinances, and Agit-Prop groups were subjected to extensive police observation (Seelbach 1989: 87-9). By 1932, it had become too difficult for the groups to participate in any election campaign tours and almost all of their rehearsal and performance activities were prevented by new regulations, censorship and police surveillance. When performances did go ahead, they were often noisily disrupted by Nazi groups.[27]

Indeed, following bans on the "Red Front" (RFB) organisation around 1929, many communist groups were forced to operate in a limited and localised underground capacity. As Rosenhaft points out:

> Although the Communist fighter might succeed in beating the Nazis locally, in the middle and longer terms the fight against the SA almost invariably brought them into confrontation with the police and the judiciary system – a fight which they could not hope to win. (213)

The immobilisation of Communist organisations and their supporters is indicated by the last months of the Weimar Republic, when the SA (and sometimes SS) were employed in some places as ancillary police and allowed to set up checkpoints in working-class areas (McElligott 1983: 89).[28] By this time, the growing ranks of SA militaristic units had amplified the Nazis' acoustic presence. The SA groups, with their rows of marching columns in uniform, attracted public fascination and created the impression of a stable rhythm and order. Their role as a

symbol of "the *Volk* on the march" assigned them a similar position to Schlageter as heroic freedom fighters and embodiments of a New Man.[29] Indeed, a number of propaganda slogans and campaigns emphasised the role of the SA marching columns in the Nazis' desire for a new national spirit and a national identity based on male heroism.

With the electoral success following 1930, the Nazi Party strove for further public attention through bold propaganda and campaigns characterised by strategies for a spatial occupation and even a "shrinkage" of public space (Strohmayer 1995: 150). In the lead up to the March 1932 elections, Hitler flew around Germany in a private plane for lecture events marketed with the slogan "Hitler over Germany." Along with the posters and slogans for this media event, a book and propaganda film titled *Hitler über Deutschland* (Hitler over Germany, 1932) posited Hitler as a statesman looking down over the nation from an omnipresent position and achieving spatial dominance.[30] During election campaigns, the Nazis also tried to heighten their acoustic presence by exploiting the new opportunities made available for record album releases. After 1928, the party began to distribute songs as commodities for consumption, with record releases of militaristic and party songs, along with Hitler's "*Appell an die Nation*" (Call to the Nation), which was released and sold prior to the 1932 elections.[31] This pattern demonstrates a growing presence of the Nazi Party in the public's auditory imagination, made possible through mass-produced recordings of songs and speeches and the newly emerging late Weimar period publicity system, based on new configurations of popularity and publicity.[32]

In 1932, the Nazis' use of media distribution channels took another turn, with the decision to use *Lautsprecherwagen*, which were purpose-built vans with loudspeakers attached to the outside.[33] These Siemens & Halske vans were rented out during election campaigns, as a means for attracting the attention of citizens with Nazi speeches, songs and party slogans (Paul 1992: 198). This represents an expansion of the principle of acoustic presence and resonance, since it enabled a significant intensification of sounds in support of the party. These loudspeaker vans opened up the possibility for penetrating public and private spaces with amplified sounds. Loudspeaker vans also intensified urban forms of "acoustic conflict," since the vans provided the party with the opportunity to achieve a mediated acoustic dominance in the city, with the potential to drown out the sounds of political opponents.

The Nazi Party was also particularly effective in developing distinctive acoustic symbols as strategies for heightening their urban presence. Party members began to use their own form of greeting from the early 1920s, which consisted of the mutual exchange of the greeting "*Heil Hitler!*" with a straight, raised right arm. The Nazi greeting was a mobilisation of the body and the senses, which gave the party a striking acoustic marker of their group identity in public life (Paul: 177). As a major mechanism for mass suggestion and appearing in the auditory imagination, the Hitler greeting operated as an indicator for the growing social presence of party supporters prior to 1933. In historian William McNeill's words, the Hitler salute and greeting involved an "overt muscular expression of loyalty to the regime" (1995: 148). In response to the success of this acous-

tic symbol, left-wing parties unsuccessfully tried to establish their own symbolic greetings in the early 1930s. Some social democrats opted for "Freedom!" (*Freiheit!*), while other communists tried their luck with "*Heil Moskow!*" (Paul 1992: 176).[34] These belated reactions to the Nazi greeting do not appear to have had a gestural dimension, and did not catch on with either the general public nor left-wing party members.

In sum, there are thus two general patterns in the creation of auditory presence. The first comprises the visual and acoustic markers of the Nazi Party, with their distinct greeting and marching through city streets. The synchronised footsteps of SA troops, in particular, provided a palpable symbol for soldierly discipline and rhythmic order, posited as an antidote to the chaos of the Weimar Republic. Secondly, these troops also maintained an ethos of warfare and fighting for the Nazi worldview, using sounds to mark out territories and delineate exclusionary identity patterns across urban spaces. The latter forms of acoustic conflict can be defined as contributing to the "landscapes of fear," since the Nazis' political programme was based on aggressive attacks on Communists and spectacles of public humiliation and violence against Jews (Tuan 1979). Indeed, SA units relied on "acoustic conflict" in noisy forms of intimidation and violence. Large groups would descend on communist areas or Jewish businesses to sing out aggressive songs and hate slogans such as "*Jude verrecke!*" (Jews, rot to death!)[35] As historian Rob K. Baum notes, modes of intimidation in local neighbourhoods occurred before 1933:

> Gentile boys stationed at openings of "Jewish" alleys ensured that children entering were beaten. After making that decisive turn from the main street, it was clear that my mother was headed for the Jewish school, and from there she was stoned (and not necessarily only by children). My aunt remembers "fresh little boys yelling *Juden-Stinker* [stinking Jew] in the small street leading to the Jewish school." (2006: 96)

In other words, the late Weimar years were marked by an increasing number of attacks and intimidation of Jews on city streets, which only escalated following January 1933.[36] Such anti-Semitic activity drew on sound and spatial control as techniques of coercion, and reflected the creation of "racialised geographies" (McCann 1999).

The examples of acoustic presence and acoustic conflict I have presented here attest to the variety of ways that the Communist and Nazi parties respectively used sound to attract attention and penetrate the auditory imagination of supporters and non-members during the 1920s. Although there were many attempts at visual and acoustic occupations in public life – involving corporeal and spatial practices – the Nazi propaganda strategies discussed here do not represent the full spectrum of acoustic intensities, mass participation or organisational capacities attempted from 1933 onwards.

Indeed, until 1933, there were still various organised forces of opposition to Nazi groups. Yet within the Communist Party itself there remained much ambivalence about streetfighting as a political strategy. On the whole, as Rosenhaft

has noted, by 1933 the communist movement in Germany was "exhausted and confused" (213). The previous few years had involved hundreds of deaths and injuries, and the KPD had not been able to mobilise a general strike against the ailing republican system or the Nazis' legal takeover. Communist Party supporter Georg Glaser commented that after 1933 there was an absence of revolt or violent responses to the crushing of the labour movement:

> Dead men were found in the surrounding forests, and no one dared to know anything about them. People disappeared without a sound, and their best friends did not have the courage to ask where they had gone. Only rarely did a scream, a gruesome rumour [...] make itself heard; they were paid less notice than everyday traffic accidents. The New Age came silently and invisibly. The only thing one could feel was the emptiness that each of its footsteps left behind, like the emptiness of a bookshelf, from which all the books have suddenly disappeared. In 1933 we saw the machine against which all our weapons were useless roll towards us and roar past a whole summer long, and we thought the attack would never end. (quoted in Rosenhaft 1983: 214)

This observation highlights both the visual and sonic outcomes of Nazi violence, which effectively subdued the left-wing through the use of violence, interrogation and concentration camps. Silence is used as a metaphor for the absence of left-wing resistance, with former party members appearing to vanish without a sound or loud objections. The new regime, too, is positioned in terms of its sonic power, with the earlier "sonic brawling" eradicated with the crushing (and thus silencing) of the left and the organised workers movement.[37]

In what follows, I will analyse more closely how the Nazi Party tried to activate the public's imagination with their use of songs, publicity channels and commemorative structures, with Schlageter as a case study for the early 1930s.

Publicising Songs, Institutionalising Schlageter

> Fascism was not an alternative to commodity culture, but appropriated its most sophisticated techniques.
>
> – Susan Buck-Morss (1989: 309)

I now turn to the Nazi Party's standardisation of ritual events with organised sound, with a particular focus on the specific commemorative songs and events created in memory of Schlageter. This concerns the manner in which sensory overwhelming and spatial omnipresence provided the basis for attempts to create mass affirmative resonances in public spaces. Each of these elements was essential to the party's appeals to the senses for promoting *Volksgemeinschaft* as an experience, and for realising the mass nature of their political movement. Indeed, with the increased profile of the Nazi Party as a major political force, attempts at acoustic presence and occupations of public life grew in intensity. One of the key methods with which the Nazi Party harnessed their growing ranks of supporters

in the late Weimar period was through fortnightly local gatherings, known as "*Sprechabende*" (speech evenings). In large cities these evening gatherings began to attract between one and five thousand people on a daily basis (Paul 1992: 126). The focus on speeches during these events reflected Joseph Goebbels' assertion that the spoken voice was more effective than the written word, given that word-of-mouth would enable National Socialist propaganda to be "passed on and recited hundreds and thousands of times" (1931/1938: 18). This observation from Goebbels, as the key strategist for Nazi propaganda, attests to the emphasis placed on listening experiences of spoken voice and musical sounds as a means for generating enthusiasm for the party.

Sound, in other words, was an intrinsic part of the desire to orchestrate sensory experiences and facilitate the consumption of national mythology, such as that of nationalist martyrs like Schlageter. By the early 1930s, the Nazi Party had standardised their use of songs and Christian-liturgical style rituals during gatherings or large events, such as the "National Socialist Days of Celebration."[38] The party used such events to form impressive commemorative traditions, appealing to participants with group experiences of singing, solemn ritual and emotional climaxes.

The standardisation of song and incorporation of Christian-liturgical elements in party rituals is illustrated by the 1932 publication of an instruction book by F.H. Woweries. In the book, Woweries offers the following prototype for the necessary procedures of a Nazi event programme: opening choral piece, poem recital or chant, choral song "*Kein schön'rer Tod der Welt*," a short speech, orchestra piece, a ceremony for new *Hitler-Jugend* members, an orchestra piece, a closing chant and a rendition of the Horst Wessel song.[39] The structure of the programme alternates between song, music and spoken texts, between chorus, recitations and chants. Revolving around these various sonic rituals and forms of participation, such events also included the ceremonial induction of new youth members into the *Volksgemeinschaft*. At least two songs included in Woweries' programme mourned the death of "fallen comrades" and idealised male heroism for the nation. These commemorative rituals, already established before 1933, provide a precedent for the sensory stimuli employed in Nazi events, reflecting the aim of performing group participation in the nation's rebirth by means of organised sound.

In general, nationalistic songs and anthems, with their strong lyrics and bombastic melodies, are particularly useful for propaganda, given their ability to harness feelings of optimism and belonging.[40] Indeed, popular music during World War I, too, had proven to be an effective source of political mobilisation in Germany (Watkins 2003: 213-26). One of the most popular tunes during the war was the song "*Wacht am Rhein*" (Watch on the Rhine), which locates the Rhine as historically German (rather than French) and personifies it as a brave soldier standing in defence of the national border. Due to the rich symbolism in the song lyrics appropriated in the post-war period, I will pay particular regard to songs written about Schlageter as forms of historical narration.[41] Indeed, one of the most striking features of Schlageter myth is the way it was embedded into national significance through song and ritual practices leading up to 1933. Nazi

song practice was primarily based on the coupling of simple, emotive music with strong, unambiguous lyrics, often from well-known poems (Meyer 1977: 569). The decade following the end of World War I in 1918 was marked by the cultural influence of soldier poetry and prose, a trend I will now examine more closely with regard to the Schlageter myth and its institutionalisation through both commemorative forms and popular culture.

In the late Weimar period, former comrades and members of the nation-wide *Schlageter-Gedächtnis-Bund* (Schlageter memorial association) set about to rework well-known songs in Schlageter's memory.[42] Several of these melodies were World War I or soldier songs, including "*Wacht am Rhein*," which were given new verses (Broderick and Klein 1999: 74). Among the numerous songs in circulation about Schlageter during the Weimar period was a new song written by Nazi propagandist Otto Paust, an editor for Joseph Goebbels' Berlin party newspaper *Der Angriff*. While it is, of course, problematic to analyse the song lyrics translated into English and without the sounds of the melody, this "Song of the Lost Troops" provides insight into the mythologising of Schlageter's death and its rendering as a significant national event:

> Rhine, Ruhr and Palatinate (*Pfalz*). And – dungeon's darkness,
> Sentence and prison! Trouble, unable to rest –
> Golzheimer Heath.[43] Schlageter's death.
> Flaming blaze. Dawn! Do you remember?
>
> The Third Reich's first soldier!
> The faith is directed at you! You were the living deed.
> You are the Reich. You are the nation,
> You are Germany's faith, the son of the *Volk*.[44]

The song performs a noticeable shift, moving from the despair about the prison sentence for Schlageter to his death at dawn as the scene of rebirth for the nation. The first stanza gives a short and stylised account of Schlageter's death and addresses Germans with the question "do you remember?" to prompt remembrance in the listener. The posing of this remembrance as a question suggests a rhetorical test of the listener's patriotism, asking if they too, like Schlageter, are prepared to make sacrifice for the nation. The second stanza addresses Schlageter as the "Third Reich's first soldier," and a symbol for Germany's struggle in the face of defeat and occupation after World War I. The song, then, situates Schlageter both as a myth of origin and "the son of the *Volk*." In this way, it becomes easier to discern how such songs were drawn on for rituals and rhetorics about unconditional loyalty to the nation, a discourse that National Socialists simultaneously used to reposition Communists and Social Democrats as unpatriotic traitors (Fischer 2003: 2).

Two other significant Nazi appropriations of traditional melodies included the seventeenth-century folksong "*Kein schön'rer Tod der Welt*" and the popular song "*Zu Mantua in Banden,*" written in 1831. The historical references in "*Zu Mantua in Banden*" represent a striking parallel with the Schlageter myth.

The lyrics to this melody were written about Andreas Hofer, who fought against Napoleon's French armies in the early 1800s. Hofer was arrested and killed by a French firing squad, and this resemblance to the Schlageter story is emphasised in the lyrics of the "*Schlageter Song*" (Track 1):

With a hollow drum roll
To Benrath on the Rhine,
A thriving life went
To an abrupt end.
Albert Schlageter, German hero
French anger cut you down
You died for Germany's honour.

They forced you to your knees
Out of baseness and malice,
The wish to die standing,
Was dismissed with a sneer.
Twelve shots cracked at once,
Comrades, let it be known in the German Reich
Here fell an officer, a German officer.

With aching hearts
And suppressed anger
We saw your life end
And the pouring of precious blood
With your unbroken male pride
Staying as stable as German oak-
wood, in a mighty heroism.

German Andreas Hofer,
You pearl of German loyalty
Your lustre will never fade,
Will always be renewed.
All of Germany swears, despite its woes,
To show their gratitude for your martyrdom:
Revenge will be mine! [45]

These lyrics, written during the 1920s, represent a similar attempt to the previous example of Paust's mythologising of Schlageter as a patriot and hero. The song begins by describing solemn drum rolls (described as "hollow," and thus empty and pointless) and the twelve shots of the French firing squad. These are two important illustrations of the acoustic symbols used frequently in the poems, songs and rhetorics about Schlageter's death. These symbols were accorded further significance in the lead up to 1933, as the gunshots of the French military were commonly portrayed as a call to arms prompting Germany's so-called national awakening. The second stanza positions Schlageter's heroic behaviour against

the depravity of the French military. His example as a manly ideal and German soldier is then compared to the longevity and dependability of an oak tree in the third stanza – as upright, unyielding and principled. In the final stanza, the protagonist (addressed as "you" in the previous stanzas) is overlaid with the persona of Andreas Hofer. This doubling up of these two figures integrates Schlageter as heir to a long, historical lineage of male German patriots, thus reconfirming his role both as the source of a "myth of origin" and a projected future for the model of a New Man under National Socialism.

The final part of the song functions as a pledge of loyalty, ending with the theme of revenge, and stressing the necessity for action. In this manner, nationalistic songs represented an important mobilising force for the notion of an ethnic-based *Volksgemeinschaft*. The lyrics place semantic emphasis on action as central to the Nazis' own objectives as a political *Bewegung* (literally, "movement"). They also repeatedly appeal to the auditory imagination when citing military gunshots as the acoustic symbols and triggers for Germany's national rebirth, a theme I will explore in further detail later in this chapter.

This "*Schlageter Song*" was part of a further consolidation and institutionalisation of Schlageter's memory. Its lyrics were submitted by a former comrade of Schlageter to the Düsseldorf Historical Museum (*Stadtmuseum*), as part of a compilation begun in 1931 to create a "Schlageter Corner" in their permanent collection.[46] From 1932 onwards, a Nazi-dominated team also began preparations for a "*Schlageter-Gedächtnis-Ausstellung*" (Schlageter memorial exhibition), which was opened during the 1933 festival in Düsseldorf.[47] The calls to memorialise Schlageter's memory had already intensified after 1927, when a prominent circle of Düsseldorf citizens, including Catholics and conservatives, called for donations to their "*Ausschuss für die Errichtung eines Schlageter-Nationaldenkmals*" (Committee for the Erection of a National Schlageter Memorial).[48] The committee also lobbied the German Chancellery throughout 1927 and 1928 to give financial assistance for building a memorial at the location of Schlageter's death at the Golzheimer Heath. However, German Chancellor Wilhelm Marx (Catholic Centre Party) expressed concerns at the nationalist and anti-French motivations of the committee, given the fragile diplomatic ties with France.[49]

The monument was finally built in 1931, some fifty metres from the site of Schlageter's death, according to the plans of Vienna-based architect Clemens Holzmeister, a professor at the Düsseldorf Art Academy. The monument was unveiled at the annual commemoration event marking the eighth anniversary of Schlageter's death in May 1931. The design was overwhelmingly dominated by a towering iron cross, at a height of thirty metres, with a below-ground crypt including a memorial tablet listing over one hundred dead men from the Ruhr resistance to the French occupation (Figure 1).

By examining this event and its ritual organisation in some detail, I will consider how sound and space were drawn on to produce a sense of order and regularity. The 1931 memorial event, co-organised by the Düsseldorf city council and the Schlageter memorial committee, was held on Sunday, 23 May.[50] The event began with a call for discipline and quiet in the area surrounding the memorial site (von Burgsdorff 1931). The various national-conservative groups participating

FIG. 1: The Schlageter memorial at the Golzheim Heath, Düsseldorf [ca. 1933]. Fotosammlung, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf.

were given designated meeting points around the northern edges of the city centre, along with instructions for the various marching routes along main roads.[51] In the official programme booklet, a diagram indicated how each group would enter the memorial area (Figure 2).[52]

The regional radio station Westdeutscher Rundfunk (Werag) perceived the main events to be important enough for live broadcasts from Düsseldorf. The station broadcast the commemoration ceremony from 4pm, when all of the official groups and an estimated crowd of around 50,000 spectators gathered at the memorial site and the Düsseldorf Stahlhelm orchestra played the Ludwig van Beethoven hymn "*Herr mein Gott ich bau' auf Dich.*"[53] At this point, speeches were given by Dr Max Schlenker (Schlageter committee), Düsseldorf Lord Mayor Dr Robert Lehr and Duisburg-Hamborn Mayor Dr Karl Jarres.[54] A choir and orchestra performed the "*Altniederländischen Dankgebet*" (Old Dutch Prayer of Thanks), before a speech was made addressing the German youth. Next, the orchestra played "*Ich hatt' einen Kameraden*" (I once had a comrade), while wreaths were laid at the foot of the cross. Finally the former German chancellor Dr Wilhelm Cuno stressed that the resistance to the Ruhr occupation had comprised people from all classes, religions and party affiliations. After this final speech, all participants joined in to sing the German national anthem.[55]

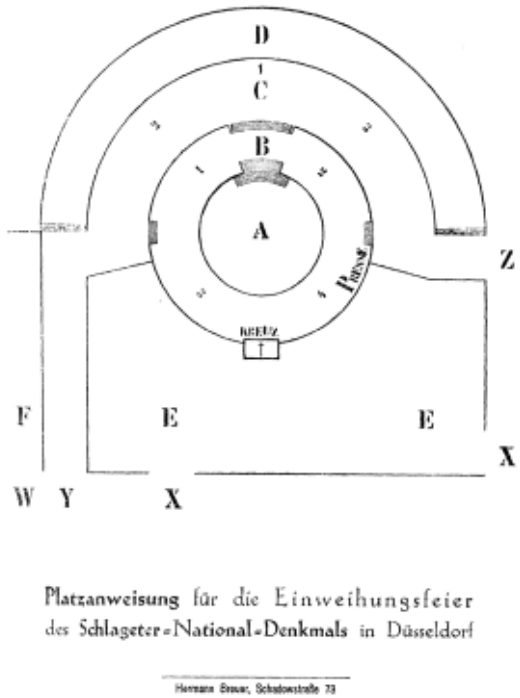

FIG. 2: Floor plan indicating the organisation of various groups at the unveiling of the monument [May 1931].
StaD XXIII/739, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf.

While the memorial culture of the Weimar period was nationalist in orientation, speakers such as Lehr and Cuno tried to stress Schlageter's relevance above party political divisions. This was an attempt to prevent an appropriation of the memorial for political manipulation by right-wing groups, who also claimed the Ruhr resistance as their own achievement. The Nazi Party was not directly involved in the organisation of the 1931 event, yet archival photos do suggest that SA and *Hitler-Jugend* (Hitler Youth) groups held ceremonies at the original gravestone site in the period around 1928.[56] In any case, the commemorative elements utilised by the broader nationalist-conservative milieu during the Weimar era could be easily appropriated and refashioned by the Nazi regime after 1933.[57]

The Schlageter memorial site was discursively positioned as an ideal location for ritual gatherings, and described in 1937 as further consolidating "the feeling of predestined solidarity of the new *Volksgemeinschaft*."[58] Two aspects of the memorial's visual appearance have been described as suited to the Nazis' later mythologising of Schlageter. Firstly, the Christian overtones of the cross fitted the Nazi use of Schlageter as a Christ-like symbol of heroic sacrifice. Secondly, the site had a concrete construction in front of the cross that was partially below-ground and circular in shape. This, according to historian Robert R. Taylor, had

the desired effect of suggesting an inclusive congregation of the people, spatially reconfigured as "a community, the people gathered within" (1974: 191-2).

While these assertions might lead to the conclusion that sound and space worked seamlessly with each other, the site was not typically "Nazi" in its spatial configuration nor did it offer an ideal acoustics. To begin with the acoustics of the site, the memorial site was on the far northern outskirts of Düsseldorf. Unlike the marching through the resonant spaces of (often-narrow) city streets or events in enclosed halls, the sounds at the Schlageter site could more easily dissipate due to the low-lying surrounding fields and run-down garden plots.[59] The need to upgrade the acoustic possibilities offered by the site is indicated by the organisers' decision to hire out a *Lautsprecherwagen* from Siemens & Halske for the 1931 event. While the archival correspondence does not comment specifically on sound quality, the Schlageter committee assured the Siemens & Halske company that the various political groups and associations involved in the ceremony also planned to have large events at the site in future, for which they would require Siemens & Halske equipment.[60] The Schlageter committee, moreover, was not able to pay the full fee of 750 marks, since they claimed to be 12,000 marks in debt. This suggests the relative inexperience of the organisers in hosting a large-scale, outdoor memorial event.

Despite the appeal of the claim that the spatial qualities and visual design of the Schlageter monument were inherently suited for Nazi purposes, there is significant evidence to suggest otherwise. Art historian Christian Fuhrmeister (1998) has detected an ambivalence towards the monument design (particularly the cross shape after 1933), which was often superimposed with the swastika or text in visual representations, such as postcards and book covers. Architect Holzmeister's circular design, too, was in keeping with his 1920s modernist style, which can be seen in his numerous commissions for churches in this period.[61] Due to his involvement with Catholic political groups, however, Holzmeister lost his position at the Düsseldorf Art Academy in 1933 and was later placed under Gestapo surveillance. After 1933, as Fuhrmeister notes, Holzmeister's name was rarely associated with the memorial site (1998: 66-7). The ambivalence towards the monument was not only based on its physical appearance and architectural design, but also its awkward geographical location. A hand-drawn ground plan for the 1933 commemoration indicates that the memorial location was not necessarily suited for the geometric organisation of crowds, and parts of the crowd and the memorial were separated by a tramline (Figure 3). The angle of the monument, moreover, was not aligned to either north-south or east-west axes, or in a direct relation to the Rhine River. The perception that the memorial site needed to be properly established as a national landmark and integrated into a more monumental environment led to an architectural design competition in 1934. The competition, hosted by the Düsseldorf City Council, also called for a large-scale exhibition site to be built along the northern banks of the Rhine River.[62] This exhibition, *Schaffendes Volk* (literally, "Productive People"), would foreground the economic achievements of Hitler's "Four Year Plan," overseen by Hermann Göring.[63]

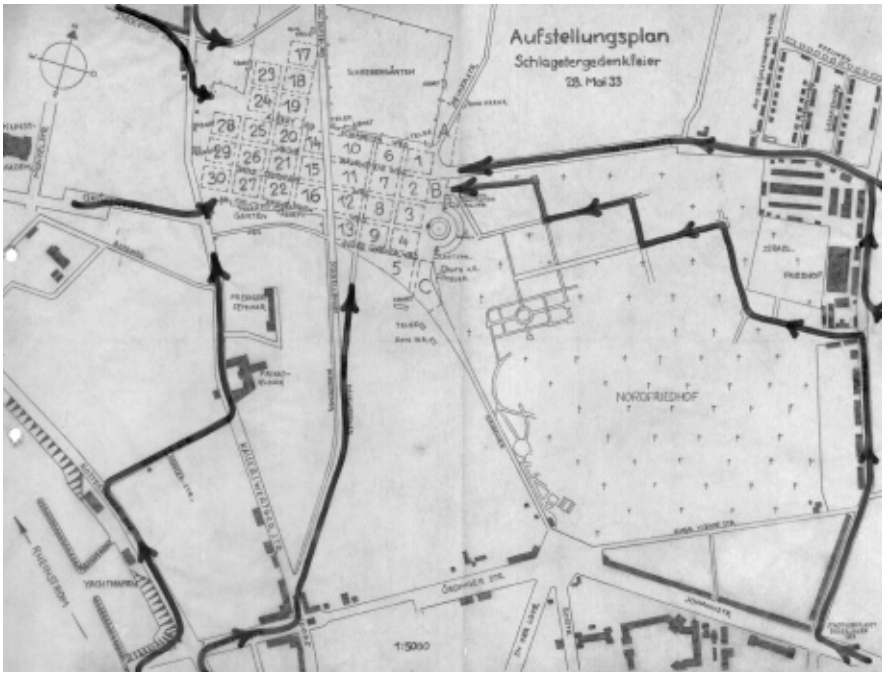

FIG. 3: Hand-drawn plan for the 1933 commemoration, with information about loudspeaker placement and how groups would march towards the Schlageter monument. StaD VII/1582, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf.

During the competition process, there was some discussion in the local press about the existing and potential problems of the site. For instance, an article in the *Düsseldorfer-Nachrichten* in May 1934 notes how the various building plans foresaw the expansion of the area to include a marching ground for 300,000 people, a sports arena, and an open-air amphitheatre for 100,000 people.[64] Nonetheless, the author says, the creation of a marching ground would require the re-routing of tramlines and through-roads. The *Düsseldorfer-Stadtanzeiger*, too, noted some planning problems, due to certain areas overlapping with arterial roads intended as connections to the national Autobahn route. This aside, the author praises the monumental potential of the plans with the inclusion of open areas, broad streets, greenery, a model township (*Schlageter-Siedlung*) and the large exhibition area. [65]

The anxieties about the monumental appearance of the memorial were also expressed in an article by Düsseldorf engineer E. L. Wehner in December 1934. Wehner acknowledges that the Schlageter site was difficult due to the size and openness of the surrounding area, and asserts that such large-scale projects need to be managed by town-planning experts. Wehner argued that the statue's cross was quite thin and not high enough to create a monumental impression over the entire area, since the 1931 design was meant to be a "purely local affair" (*rein örtliche Angelegenheit*). In the author's view, the planning of a "*Schlageter*

Forum" around the site should not have a long, 1.5 kilometre walkway, as this might cause the monument to disappear from sight altogether (Wehner 1934: 795).[66] Indeed, the risk of reduced visibility had already led to a 1933 commission for electrics company AEG to install several strong spotlights for the monument and its crypt, which were considered too dark for evening events ("Das Schlageter-Kreuz" 1933: n. pag.).

The 1937 *Schaffendes Volk* exhibition eventually incorporated the monument into a planned and large-scale construction project. Despite ongoing concerns, the new plans maintained the circular theme of Holzmeister's original design, framing the space with grass and greenery, some of which also formed a large circular pattern. At the same time, the "Schlageter Forum" design sought to geometrically organise those within the space, with a columned entranceway of tall flagposts leading in a straight line from the monument to the centre of the exhibition grounds (Figure 4). This monumental principle did not resolve the original acoustics problems entirely, but the exhibition structures did mean that the site was more enclosed in a built-up area with potentially more reverberant acoustics.

The exhibition itself attracted seven million visitors over a period of five months, and its hundred-odd constructions were conceived according to the official English-language brochure in terms of live events and entertainment:

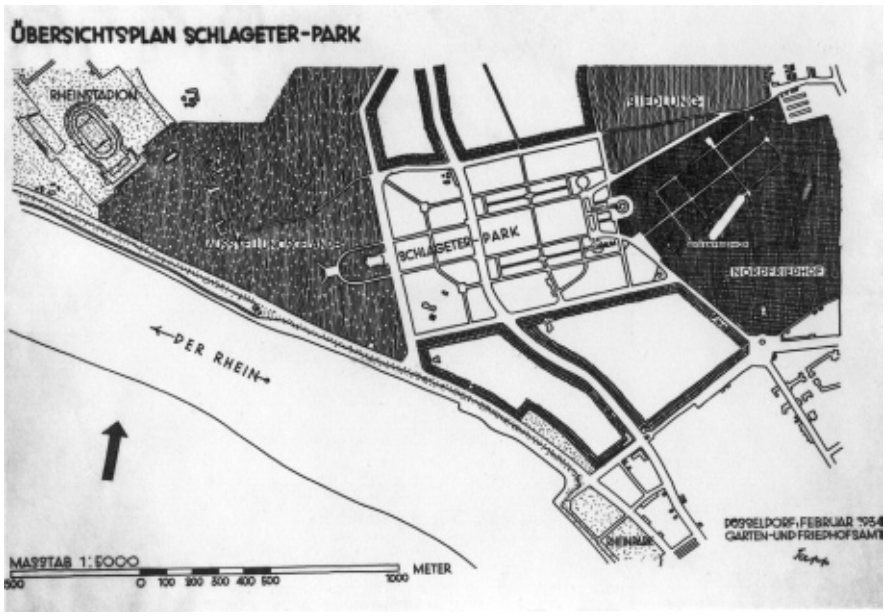

FIG. 4: Overview of the planned walkway construction in front of the Schlageter monument, commissioned by the Düsseldorf city council, 1934. The memorial was in the northwestern side of the Nordfriedhof cemetery and the Rheinstadion is in the top-left corner. Fotosammlung, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf.

> There will not only be pictures and statistics, not only models and exhibitions, but something that approaches living reality will be on view in the 74 halls and pavillons [*sic*] of the Düsseldorf Exhibition. All the machines will be working: in each hall there will be all the activity of life in a factory or workshop. A giant lathe, a 50-ton crane, a smelting works, a foundry, a wire-drawing shop will be seen in action and many other industrial processes will be practically demonstrated […] and a great many attractions to show the Nation at Work.[67]

The exhibition not only sought to foreground economic and industrial achievements, but also to display new technological attractions, not unlike the showcases at the annual German radio and television exhibitions in Berlin (Bressler 2009). Live television feeds were set up in several locations, along with live wireless correspondence with German sea captains, the latest developments in audio tape recording (AEG Magnetophone) and advancements in electrical light displays and water fountains.[68] Despite the significant expenses budgeted for the acoustic requirements of a state-of-the-art sound-film cinema, the acoustics of the entire exhibition space were described in 1937 as problematic, particularly in the music pavilion, which needed rebuilding on this basis ("Düsseldorfer Brief" 1937: n. pag.).

Indeed, although it can be said that Schlageter's memory and significance were consolidated in Düsseldorf's urban landscape during the 1930s, certain problems remained with the memorial and its northern location, while the *Schaffendes Volk* exhibition also led to some further disappointments for both organisers and visitors (Schäfers 2001). For some members of the Nazi Party, the exhibition was too commercial and criticised internally for its advertising costs and encouragement of consumption, rather than creating fundamental experiences akin to the annual Nuremberg party rallies or the annual "honouring of the dead" (*Totenehrung*) in Munich.[69] This perceived tension between an ideology of organic experience and the party's mediated propaganda forms and modern publicity strategies is a theme I will return to in subsequent chapters.

While the Nazi Party was not directly involved in the 1931 Schlageter event, its members had already recognised a principle of spatial occupation and omnipresence as intrinsic to achieving a sensory overwhelming in party events and public space.[70] During the late Weimar years, the party's standardisation of ritual elements drew on a pre-existing Christian symbolic framework, elevating party gatherings to the status of an "event." In the case of Schlageter, official memorial groups, museum collections and the memorial site itself were integral to the overall institutionalisation and canonisation of Schlageter as a Nazi martyr. Musical song and singing practices not only played a key role in the narration of the Schlageter myth, but also in the circulation and popularisation of the Nazis' nationalist cause. After 1933, the acoustics and spatial location of the Schlageter site was identified as needing an upgrade if it was truly going to be a site of national pilgrimage (*Wallfahrtsort*). This bears out the necessity for sound and space to work together in order to produce a sense of order and monumentality, let alone reverberant mass rites of national loyalty.

In what follows, the 1933 memorial events will be positioned in terms of the exchange between nationalistic eulogising, body politics and spatial practices. In particular, I focus on how Schlageter's death was emphasised as the awakening for the nation, facilitated by the acoustic symbol of military gunshots. This requires a consideration of how the Nazi Party, once in power, drew on sound and space within public events and cultural production. I will outline a number of Nazi ritual events held around the same period as the Schlageter festival, before reflecting on attempts to orchestrate large-scale techniques of affirmative resonance. The importance of scale in successfully producing affirmative resonance will be emphasised, since this phenomenon would seem to be dependant on the volume produced by the large crowds gathered and enabled by the amplification of sound systems.

The Call for National Awakening

Writing in his 2002 memoirs, historian Eric Hobsbawm conceded that he could no longer remember many details of his own participation in a large Communist political demonstration in Berlin during early 1933. But what he clearly remembered was the experience of collective singing with "intervals of heavy silence," his trance-like state and the exalted feeling that "we belonged together" (74). As Hobsbawm recalled:

> Participation in a mass demonstration at a time of great public exaltation [...] implies some physical action – marching, chanting, slogans, singing – through which the merger of the individual in the mass, which is the essence of the collective experience, finds expression. (73)

In his description, Hobsbawm picks out the physical movement of marching through the city, and the shifts between speech, song and silence as key factors for drawing individuals into inclusive mass rituals, characterised by spatial and bodily practices. While the experiences described by Hobsbawm were situated within a specific Communist Party context, this example illustrates how group rituals in urban space can contribute to the collective performance of a shared identity.[71]

Indeed, as William McNeill has suggested, there is a trans-historical dimension to the social phenomenon he terms as "muscular bonding" (1995: 1-11). The two key kinaesthetic practices he identifies within this broader field include festive village dance and the (military) drill. In the case of the former, McNeill argues that historically, community-wide celebration and dance were important for "maintaining everyday routines and all forms of cooperative behaviour needed for the effective conduct of community affairs" (38). The status of all-inclusive festivals as a means of venting frustration and encouraging social cohesion is a theme I will develop in the subsequent analysis of carnival and the festivalisation of everyday life in Chapter Two. McNeill's latter category concerns the collective experience of marching with co-ordinated rhythmic movement, often to the beat of (military) music, which has been practised across various historical

periods and cultures. What such experiences of keeping in time create, McNeill argues, are "muscular manifestations of group solidarity" on the basis of individual boundary loss (10).

Against this background, the example offered by Hobsbawm shows common characteristics with the collective experience of feeling united through vocal participation and shared physical activity. Those participating alongside Hobsbawm were most likely Communist Party members and supporters. While they were coming together in a period of anxiety following the Nazi seizure of power, it is likely that they already identified with the Communist Party or as members of the working class. The examples of "muscular bonding" I will now consider concern large public events staged by the Nazi Party in the first months of 1933. These mass events are not only revealing, I argue, as a reinforcing of the group identity of existing party members, but also for establishing a broader social legitimation and popular participation in the projected *Volksgemeinschaft*, proposed as a panacea to class divisions in German society. For example, on the day of the Nazi takeover, on 30 January 1933, one million supporters took to the streets of Berlin in a nighttime procession with torchlights, which proceeded past the German Chancellery and through the triumphal archway of the Brandenburg Gate. This supposedly spontaneous performance by uniformed party members, also broadcast on German radio, provided an important sonic assertion of the new status quo and encapsulated the contemporary slogan "Germany awakes!" (*Deutschland erwacht!*).[72]

A number of official rituals calling for "national awakening" were organised in the four months prior to the Schlageter festival – as public holidays and occasions for whole-day broadcasting programmes under the new Nazi radio administrations (Diller 1980; Bernard 1997). Following a disappointing result of 43.9 percent for the Nazi Party in the national elections on 5 March 1933, the radio medium was identified as an acoustic means for "drumming up" (*zusammentrommeln*) the remaining votes (or "voices") of the people (*Volksstimmen*) (Goebbels 1971: 93). One of the first official opportunities for such a large-scale public ritual was *Der Tag von Potsdam* (Day of Potsdam), held on 21 March 1933. This mass event was used to symbolically replace the annual German *Reichstag* celebrations and appropriate the key ceremonial site of the former Prussian monarchy (the Garnison Church). On 1 May 1933, the international workers' day or May Day was similarly appropriated and transformed into *Der Tag der Arbeit* (National Day of Labour), an occasion described as performing the symbolic destruction of the German labour movement (Elfferding 1987).

Organising such events and ensuring their affirmative resonance was not straightforward. In the case of May Day in Berlin, the complexity of acoustically staging large-scale mass events was emphasised in an article published by Nazi radio ideologue Eugen Hadamovsky (1933: n. pag.). Not surprisingly, Hadamovsky idealises the achievements of those involved in the planning of this event, which involved an estimated one million participants in the open fields at Berlin-Tempelhof. Nonetheless, he also notes the difficulties in setting up grandstands, flagposts, lighting and one hundred water-proof loudspeaker towers, as well as electrical lines for radio and telephone operations. Using what were supposedly

the largest loudspeakers available at this time, the sound needed to reach listeners up to two kilometres away from the party speakers. Due to the unprotected nature of the site, Hadamovsky notes that precautions would be taken to ensure audibility in the case of an easterly or westerly wind, along with multiple cable groups in case of power failure (1933: n. pag.). Clearly, the symbolic importance of these large-scale events meant that no expense was spared for the organisation, which extended to dress rehearsals for the police and coordinators, for the loudspeaker and telephone systems, and for pre-arranged radio scripts.[73]

Another major event calling for "national awakening" in this short period was the national public holiday created for Adolf Hitler's birthday on 20 April 1933. After a whole day of national celebrations for Hitler's forty-fourth birthday in Berlin, the highlight of the evening was the theatre premiere and radio broadcast of the new play, "*Schlageter*," with high-ranking party officials in attendance.[74] The play, which was written and staged by Hanns Johst, used every opportunity to portray Schlageter as a Nazi hero and "first soldier of the Third Reich."[75] Even in the final death scene at dawn, Johst put the propaganda slogan "Germany Awake!" into Schlageter's mouth. Positioned upstage with his back to the audience, Schlageter faced the guns of the firing squad (which were also pointed at the audience) (Figure 5). In this climactic scene, with sound effects of French car engines and military horns, and headlights shining towards the audience, the Schlageter character's last words were (Track 2):

> Germany!
> One last word! One wish! Command!
> Germany!!!
> Awake! Catch flame!!
> Burn! Burn beyond imagining!!
> And you… give fire!![76]

At this moment the French military gunshot sounds rang out, and the bright spotlight shining in the theatregoers' eyes went out, before leaving the audience in the dark silence.

The gunshots represented an important acoustic moment for the audience members, with the question of patriotism ringing in their ears. In the silence that ensued, German audiences were left with the image of Schlageter's sacrifice, and to think about the necessity of taking action and fighting for the nation. After this pause, the applauding audience joined in song for the two national anthems (Strobl 2005: 308). Not only the acoustic symbol of the gunshots reconfirmed Schlageter's importance, but also the resonance created by the collective singing of both national anthems. This was undoubtedly the case in the vocal-gestural participation of theatregoers, but also for the radio audience, for whom the dramatic visual staging was communicated through the verbal imagery of flames and the sound effects of gunshots and silence.

The notion of gunshots as a "call" for national awakening had been popularised ever since Schlageter's death in 1923.[77] Johst's play went on to tour almost every major German city, with its portrayal of national rebirth after the Weimar

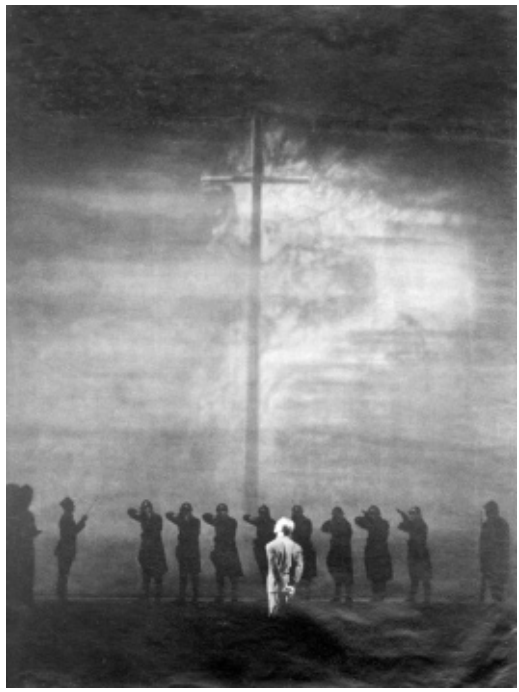

FIG. 5: The final scene in Hanns Johst's "Schlageter" [ca. 1933]. StAD XXIII/665, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf.

era apparently striking a chord with audiences. Even though several reviewers were critical of Johst's patchwork of dramatic styles or the clichéd portrayal of Social Democrats as traitors, most press reports stressed Schlageter's relevance for the present as a model for German patriotism based on taking action (whether in the form of physical movement or explicit violence).[78]

Hitler's birthday celebrations in 1933 demonstrate how, once in power, the Nazi regime expanded on their propaganda strategies, using specific forms of acoustic symbols and spatial presence to appeal to the auditory imagination. On the one hand, lengthy radio broadcasts replicated the acoustic symbols and sensory stimulation of the songs, sounds and heightened anticipation of the public events for radio listeners at home (and their status as earwitnesses). These broadcasts are illustrative of the importance placed on bridging private and public spaces through radio and other media, insofar as "networking private and public experience within an expanded frontier of national space became an important political point of legitimation and control" (Bathrick 1997: 4). On the other hand, by appropriating familiar public events and pre-existing knowledge of songs for collective singing, the Nazis could facilitate the crowd's participation in singing, chants and sound-making more generally. Even if crowd members felt like autonomous subjects engaged in acts of self-expression, the elements of these speaker and crowd encounters marked the merging of "expression and repression [within] the same mechanism" (Koepnick 2002: 46).

Ultimately, through the realisation of sensory overwhelming and spatial omnipresence, these party rituals provided a template for the creation of affirmative resonances that could sound out the entire public space of the city, saturating the ears and bodies of the people. Moreover, these ritual practices supported new visualisations of urban space, with its "*Endlose Straßen*" (endless streets) and "*Ewige Straßen*" (eternal streets), replacing an earlier characterisation of "*die freudlose Gasse*" (the joyless alley or street) in the economic crises of the 1920s and early 1930s.[79] Such positive notions of streetscapes were boosted by plans for a national *Autobahn* network, which performed the additional function of promising to network the nation in the form of transport routes (Strommer 1982; Vahrenkamp 2010).

The expanded significance of acoustic presence, acoustic symbols and corporeal-spatial practices can be identified in the three-day Schlageter festival held in Düsseldorf from Friday to Sunday, 26-28 May 1933. Like the other national festivals in early 1933, the attendance of crowd members was in part obligatory, such as for the eighty thousand local *Hitler-Jugend* members. For most of the other crowd members, however, participation was voluntary, since the festival was popularised and normalised as a tourist event, with souvenirs and commodities for consumption.[80] In the lead up to the festival, German radio stations broadcast numerous radio plays and biographical accounts about Schlageter. In Düsseldorf, visitors could attend the opening of Johst's "*Schlageter*" play, which was also adapted as radio play or "martyr play," alongside "*Horst Wessel*" by Hanns Heinz Ewers and Paul Beyers (Cuomo 1989: 49-50).[81] The focus on both of these martyrs was reinforced in screenings of the film *Blutendes Deutschland* (1932), which restaged the story of Schlageter and the rise of National Socialism through newsreel footage. The censorship card for the film indicates that Schlageter's death was framed here too as "an enflamed sign for the re-awakening of the German people."[82]

Blutendes Deutschland created a familiar conspiracy narrative with its first act presenting Germany's World War I loss as due to the lies of the press, unreliable politicians and a weak home front, and resulting in "Red Terror" and street battles. The second act cites Schlageter's death as the mechanism enabling the nation's rebirth, symbolised by trumpet sounds and represented onscreen with warships, planes, and marching National Socialists and *Hitler-Jugend*. The third act maintains the marching theme but also connects Horst Wessel's 1930 death to the risk posed by the communist "Red Front" (RFB). The question posed to the viewer is "Do you hear the admonitions of the dead?"[83] This rhetorical device poses the "calls" of the World War I dead as coextensive with those Nazis who died during the Weimar era. Another depiction of National Socialists playing trumpets then provided an acoustic cue for the increasing successes of the NSDAP, visualised onscreen by marching columns, leader speeches, flags, crowd applause and Hitler's appointment as chancellor. In other words, these newsreel scenes created the dramatic closure of the fourth act by presenting the symbolic repertoire most commonly employed in large events during the first months of 1933.

In the case of the Schlageter festival in Düsseldorf, the first day (26 May) marked the official opening of the Schlageter memorial museum and exhibition, which went on to tour other major cities competing to participate in the popular enthusiasm for Schlageter-related events.[84] In addition to the postcards and pins available for sale, a significant number of biographies and commemorative books further encouraged the consumption of this national myth. One example of the insistence on Schlageter's national significance can be found in the afterword to a 1934 collection of his personal letters, edited by Friedrich Bubenden. Bubenden emphasises the simplicity of Schlageter's prose, before situating his story in *acoustic* terms. Schlageter is positioned as a true patriot who listened to "the call" of the unknown soldier in post-war Berlin and who could hear "the subterranean rumbling […] of the Ruhr" during the anti-French resistance. Towards the end of his text, Bubenden stresses that Schlageter was an example to the German people in his devotion to the nation, as "a man of action and not of words," who continued struggling, rather than "sinking into non-militant contemplation."[85]

The motifs of the call for national awakening and the creation of a *Volksgemeinschaft* were performed through a number of acoustic means during the Schlageter festival itself. On each of the three festival days, different uniformed groups with thousands of members marched through the streets of the city. By the first day, the *Ehrenfeuer* (memorial flame) had already been burning at the memorial site for five days. A national memorial broadcast for all school children took place between 10 and 11am, with a radio play about Schlageter written for the occasion.[86] That evening, at 7pm, the Westdeutscher Rundfunk in Cologne broadcast a special edition of the daily "*Stunde der Nation*" (Hour of the Nation), in honour of Schlageter. Immediately following this classical concert programme, the "*Schlageter*" radio play (based on Johst's production) was broadcast from Berlin until 9.30pm. Meanwhile, in Düsseldorf, one hundred noisy aeroplanes circled over the city at 5pm, followed by the unveiling of a bronze bust and plaque in the district court, where Schlageter had been sentenced in 1923 (Knauff 1995: 174). Later that evening, the Schlageter memorial group arranged a concert event for long-time party members in the Düsseldorf *Tonhalle* (concert hall), with a chorus singing a range of songs from Richard Wagner, World War I and folk repertoires (Baird 1990: 37). This programme bears out the prominent role played by both radio and the memorial events in staging a crossover between solemn rites and lighter entertainment forms in order to enhance the desired effect of affirmative resonance.

The second day of the festival (27 May), titled the "*Schlagetertag der Hitler-Jugend*" (Schlageter Day for the Hitler Youth), involved eighty thousand local school children in a march to the memorial site in Golzheim (Baird 1990: 37). After assembling with torchlights and flags at 9pm, the youth groups marched through the city to the Schlageter memorial, where they engaged in a ceremony involving hymns, brass bands and speeches. The boys and girls were positioned as the new members and future of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*, and Schlageter was projected as the embodiment of the role that youth could play in the rebirth of the nation. Furthermore, the enthusiasm for marching as part of the *Volksgemeinschaft* generated in many of its young members has been described in one

memoir as something that "pulled us along – namely, the compact columns of marching youths and waving flags, eyes looking straight ahead, and the beat of drums and singing. Was it not overwhelming, this fellowship?"[87] For some younger members, the intensity of these mass experiences and the ubiquity of Schlageter's persona earned him a status similar to that of contemporary pop idols.[88]

The last day of the festival, on Sunday (28 May), involved the most impressive performances of affirmative resonance. The day began at 6am with a "*Großes Wecken*," a large reveille through the city, designed to wake up all civilians in the early hours of the morning.[89] While such sounds might be seen as in keeping with a general military music tradition, I would suggest that these dawn sounds offered a re-enactment of the gunshots at Schlageter's death, literally performing the acoustic "wake-up call" that would prompt both remembrance and the awakening of the nation. During the course of this morning, one hundred and eighty-five thousand uniformed participants marched through the streets, reordering them and sounding them out, amidst the cheers and participation of the crowds.

Following the arrival of all the marchers at the Schlageter memorial and the positioning of party leaders and special guests within the hierarchically divided space, a choir began to sing Franz Schubert's hymn "*Heilig ist der Herr*" accompanied by one hundred Stahlhelm musicians. Amidst this religious sentiment, two priests (Catholic and Protestant) mounted a risen platform covered in swastika flags, from which they each gave a speech about Schlageter to the assembled masses, before the "*Altniederländischen Dankgebet*" (Old Dutch Prayer of Thanks) was played (Knauff 1995: 184). Shortly after 11am, Prussian Interior Minister Hermann Göring gave a forty-five minute speech, broadcast across the whole country, in which he cited the same acoustic symbol of the gun shots that had made such an impact at the premiere of Johst's "*Schlageter*" play a few weeks previously:

> When the shots rang out ten years ago at dawn at this spot, they were heard through the German night and awakened the nation in her weakness and humiliation. In those days the memory of Schlageter inspired us and gave us hope. We refused to believe that his sacrifice had been in vain. Schlageter demonstrated in the way he died that the German spirit could not be destroyed. Schlageter, you can rest in peace. We have seen to it that you were honoured here and not betrayed like your two million comrades. As long as there are Schlageters in Germany, the national will live.[90]

In this speech, the acoustic symbol and imagined sound of Schlageter's death were positioned as the spark reigniting the nation and prompting its awakening, as the precondition for a new *Volksgemeinschaft*. Amidst multiple sounds and activations of affirmative resonance, Göring's strategic use of the acoustic symbol of gunshots was consistent with the broader attempt to transform a deeply divided society, previously characterised as a "people of music," into an "acoustic *völkisch* community" (Trommler 2004: 68).

A German-language newsreel (*Deulig-Tonwoche*) from 1933 provides one of the few sonic impressions of this speech. Following a montage sequence of the commemorative events, the final section of Göring's speech provides insight into the sonic and spatial qualities of the event (Track 3):

> Comrades [echo, pause]. German men and women [pause]. [...] There are some from back then who are missing from this location today and this location was forgotten, buried, just like the remembrance and the sacrifice of Schlageter, which was forgotten and appeared run-down [pause]. And these few men, old fighters, tired out by the battle, SA men, who back then had to dig with their hands, with their nails, to create this location here anew, and then they had to dig anew amongst the German people, for the remembrance and the memory of this man, to these dead. Comrades, to live is difficult, to die is tremendous! [echo].[91]

This newsreel preserves the vocal tone and delivery of Göring's speech. The echoes produced by the sound system and its feedback retain the spatial vastness of the outdoor broadcast. Once Göring's speech ended, it was followed by a full two minutes of silence, which was observed across the whole country. Amidst the sounds of "*Ich hatt' einen Kameraden,*" Göring and other party leaders then descended to the empty lower area of the memorial to lay wreathes adorned with swastika flags. At the end of the ceremony, the Düsseldorf *Gauleiter* (regional party leader) Florian gave an impassioned speech about Schlageter, before participants were invited to join in singing both national anthems.

After these ninety minutes of memorial rituals in Golzheim, one hundred aeroplanes circled over the memorial site in formation. By filling the sky with noisy aircraft, the new regime could assert their visual and sonic presence and Germany's renewed political strength, particularly given the ongoing disputes about the demilitarised status of the Rhineland in the 1930s. Subsequently, Hitler Youth groups marched through the city streets, carrying flags and singing, before gathering for a lunch by the Rhine riverbank. From 1pm onwards, the uniformed SA and SS groups reassembled and marched southwards for a gathering in the city with rituals and song.[92] The seventy thousand uniformed SA and SS members returned to the northern banks of the Rhine, where they could buy food and alcohol outside the Düsseldorf sports stadium (*Rheinstadion*) (see Figure 4).[93] For those listening at home, a "*Hörbericht*" (listener report) was broadcast nationally at the same time, with an hour-long commentary by a Siemens factory worker, which provided the voice of the everyman as an "earwitness" account of the day's events.[94]

In the evening, the SA and SS squadrons returned through the city for a number of concert events and smaller music performances scattered around various inner-city locations and taverns. The conclusion to the festivities came in the late evening, with a concert of Prussian marches by one thousand musicians beginning at 9pm from the opposite banks of the Rhine (Oberkassel). At 10pm, cannon shots were fired to announce a light display, consisting of a giant reconstruction of the memorial cross with the text "*Schlageter lebt*" (Schlageter lives), and

finally, with aerial fireworks exploding over the heads of the spectators ("Die Schlageterfeiern" 1933) (Figure 6). The attempt at monumental design and spatial (omni)presence reveals an appeal to cross-sensorial experience, through a combination of loud sounds (brass bands, explosions) and visual spectacle (light display, fireworks).

These events performed a ritual and sensory re-education of the people, achieving an almost inescapable affirmative resonance in the singing as well as the rhythms of marching and staking a symbolic territorial claim on the city by performatively rejecting the earlier presence of foreign occupiers (the French military). Moreover, the festival represented an expansion on the events planned for the 1931 commemoration. The centralised coordination of the 1933 event was enabled by an intricate sound system, as postal authorities installed a telephone system with two hundred and fifty extensions around the city. Although on a smaller scale than the Berlin May Day events, the logistics of the event also relied on providing loudspeakers for crowd addresses and telephone lines for reporters.[95] The 1933 ground plan I discussed earlier (Figure 3) suggests that the Schlageter committee provided for amenities, first aid and food stalls. However, the hand-drawn diagram and some of the correspondence does suggest that the organisation remained somewhat amateurish, which was one of the reasons given for why Adolf Hitler did not attend the event.[96] Nonetheless, Minister of Interior

FIG. 6: Fireworks display on the final evening of the 1933 Schlageter commemoration, situated on the western banks of the Rhine River (Oberkassel) [May 1933].
Fotosammlung, Stadtarchiv Düsseldorf.

Wilhelm Frick directed all public buildings across Germany to hoist flags in commemoration of Schlageter on 26 May 1933 (Frick 1933b). Within the Rhineland, at least, Schlageter was a figure with fairly widespread appeal. The use of his memory in 1933 helped to facilitate a broader interest in the Nazi Party, which set it apart from the party's other activities in this early period, such as book burnings, political violence and torchlight parades. Since the National Socialists had been considered a radical party, Schlageter was an integral, pre-existing figure for establishing social legitimacy, giving the appearance of continuity and performing order in the public realm. The waning popularity of the Schlageter myth during the late 1930s – after radical elements in the party had been brutally crushed in 1934 – might suggest that its function as a mechanism of legitimacy had outlived its use.[97]

Conclusion

During the course of the 1930s, the occupation of the cityscape and integration of mediated sounds into public settings – and the corresponding impact on the soundscape at large – took on new proportions. To give an illustration of how an event was embedded into the soundscape and protracted across a long period, it is instructive to mention the preparations leading up to the national election in 1936. In March that year, retired Düsseldorf artist Albert Herzfeld observed in his diary that local newspapers unexpectedly announced a Hitler speech (1982: 54-5). In this radio speech, Hitler emphasised the unfairness of Germany's situation due to Versailles Treaty stipulations and its willingness to have a non-aggression pact. Several hours later, "resounding tones" on the radio heralded the news that German troops were crossing the Hohenzollern Bridge in Cologne, as part of the decision to reoccupy the Rhineland. This news was followed by the order to hang flags on all public buildings and private houses for two days, and the announcement of elections being scheduled for a date three weeks later. The celebration of the German military re-occupation was thus coupled with several weeks of festive election propaganda, literally "covering the city" with leaflets, billboard posters, radio speeches and loudspeaker installations with announcements (55).

As Herzfeld describes it, the election weekend involved a symbolic staging on radio, not unlike that of the 1933 Schlageter memorial ceremony. According to the announcements in the newspaper, and paraphrased by Albert Herzfeld, on Friday, 20 April 1936, Hitler would give a speech in the Krupp factory in Essen for all German workers and soldiers. At 3.45pm the announcement would be made on radio to "raise the flags." Upon this order, all flags on public buildings, business and houses across the country would be raised. Fifteen minutes later, the sirens of the Krupp factory would be rung to announce the *Führer*'s speech:

> Along with the shrill sounds [*gellender Ton*] from the Krupp buildings in Essen, all the factories, ships and trains across the whole of Germany will let off all their sirens. Thereafter, the entire nation will observe one minute of silence and the halting of traffic. (Herzfeld 1982: 55)

This minute of silence would mark a demonstration of the people's unity and support of Hitler's so-called "policy of peace." The following day, Saturday, 28 April, would mark a celebration of the "German people's day of honour, freedom and peace." From 6.30pm, the urban streets would be filled with the masses heading to communal listening points, in order to hear Hitler speak for the last time before the election. At 7.45pm the columns of party members would be assembled and ready to march in fomation, upon which the bells of the Cologne cathedral would ring as a prelude to Hitler's "appeal for peace" (*Friedensappell*) from the exhibition halls in Cologne. At the end of this appeal, the entire audience in the exhibition halls would intone (*anstimmen*) the "*Altniederländische Dankgebet*" (Old Dutch Prayer of Thanks). According to the reports, all German comrades in the entire country would join in (*einstimmen*) this singing. The final sounds (*Schlussakkord*) would be heralded by the song "*Herr, mach uns frei*," which would be sung across Germany. From the beginning of this song the church bells could be heard and would continue for fifteen minutes for the "honour, peace and freedom of the German people" (Herzfeld 1982: 55).

There are several interesting aspects to this description of the pre-election rituals. The sirens were rung in the location of the broadcast in Cologne and were reinforced all over in sites of industry and transport. This listening experience would have involved mediated radio sounds finding congruence with outside sounds that echoed across the country, and its collective nature emphasised by public listening points distributed around cities. The broadcast reinforced the Cologne cathedral bells as an acoustic symbol of the Rhineland, employed here to mark the military reoccupation of the Saar region. Meanwhile, the appropriation of religious symbolism of the "*Dankgebet*" and "*Herr mach uns frei*" granted additional justification for this military action.[98] Moreover, there are clear parallels between use of words like *anstimmen* and *einstimmen*, which refer to sounds, and *zustimmen,* to agree to something. This example demonstrates the occupation of urban space, both with Hitler's presence in the Rhineland and with troops in the streets, which performed a connection between the national election and the German people gaining freedom from foreign military occupation. The day after the election was marked by celebrations for Hitler's supposed win of 99 per cent of the votes, with torch-lit processions, musical performances and speeches given in all major cities (Herzfeld 1982: 57).[99] In other words, during the large-scale party rituals of the 1930s, there is a notable expansion of the regime's reliance on forms of acoustic presence and symbolism. Indeed, these orchestrated forms of suspense, sensory stimulation and vocal-corporeal participation can be best understood as large-scale practices of affirmative resonance. The role of both sensory involvement and discipline in mass events offers a reminder of how rituals drawing on techniques of "sonic dominance" can involve both power and pleasure.[100]

In the case of Schlageter, the commemorative events in May 1933 undoubtedly marked a high point in his status as a symbol of national heroism, with appeals to the auditory imagination through the symbol of French gunshots, which were reproduced in national radio broadcasts, theatre performances and published material. The significance of these imagined sounds for the nation's

reawakening was literally re-enacted during the Schlageter memorial festival with the noisy reveille and was cited in Hermann Göring's speech to the mass crowds at the memorial site. Another expansion of the auditory imagination, in the form of the hearing-speaking feedback loop, was evident in the popularisation of the "*Heil Hitler*" greeting. During the 1920s, its use reinforced the group identity of party members, and successfully heightened the party's appeal within the popular imagination. By 1933, the mass incantations of the greeting, as affirmative call and response interactions, invoked an overwhelming sense of group belonging, mobilising a politics of the body through codified vocal-corporeal activity during large events.

Although Schlageter's memorial site was incorporated into more comprehensive attempts to transform Düsseldorf's topography, his mythology never regained the momentum evident in the decade between 1923 and 1933. In the decade following his death, Schlageter was an indispensable model for the New Man – young, strong, militant and ideological – as deemed necessary by the Nazis for their anticipated *Volksgemeinschaft*. Indeed, with Schlageter the Nazi Party was able to manipulate the recent humiliation of the French occupation as a means for inciting pledges of national loyalty. As I have demonstrated, in order to achieve this goal the Nazis kept the public in what George Mosse has described as "a permanent state of excitement" during the early months of 1933 (1966: 366). Popular participation was invited in spectacles of national loyalty, which appropriated familiar elements from Christian rituals, traditional songs and music practice, and through strategies of tourism, commodity consumption and memorialisation.

Affirmative resonance thus reflects a specific technique of mass persuasion, which in this case helped to simultaneously facilitate a mourning of Schlageter and a celebration of national community. It marked a move from techniques of local presence and imaginative appeal in the 1920s to a combination of spatial occupation, acoustic omnipresence and community building. This concept has provided a way to account for the expanded geographical dimensions to large-scale rituals, from the geometrical organisation of bodies to the use of sound to permeate and rhythmically order urban spaces. It reminds us how sounds can be used to assert distinct political agendas, given their ability to reverberate through urban spaces and reach beyond the field of vision. Nonetheless, my study of the Schlageter memorial site has also emphasised the labour and difficulties involved in achieving an ideal exchange between sound and space during National Socialism. Where here I considered William McNeill's emphasis on marching and military coordination in terms of Nazi street politics and festivals, in the following chapter I will pick up on his other category of community celebration and dance, which forms an impetus for my interest in how the 1930s might be considered in terms of a festivalisation of the everyday.

2. The Festivalisation of the Everyday

The previous chapter referred to historian William McNeill's transhistorical concept of coordinated movement and sound making – as a "muscular bonding" – with the military drill, on the one hand, and community or village celebrations with dance, on the other (1995). In analysing the Schlageter myth and its commemorative festivals, I concentrated on the former category (military drill) for considering Nazi occupations of urban space in the 1920s and early 1930s. Following the Nazi takeover, as I pointed out, the national calendar was filled with a series of new events and appropriated public holidays. Such festivals, which took on increasingly elaborate forms after 1933, were specifically used to garner support and legitimisation for the National Socialist Party. Having considered examples of military-influenced events, I will now reflect on McNeill's latter category of community festivals with folk dance, which I will link to the Rhineland carnival of the interwar period.

The trend towards a *festivalisation* of the everyday during the 1930s will be examined through a case study of carnival celebrations in Düsseldorf. Similar to the Schlageter memorial day, carnival involves a gathering of large crowds, ritual elements and event organisation. There are also comparable call-and-response elements, songs and singing, marching bands, processions and large crowds involved in the carnival parade. Moreover, the local orientation of the carnival festival and its characteristic sounds, as I will show, were also increasingly claimed for the Nazi Party's nationalist project. Yet unlike the retrospective creation of Albert Leo Schlageter as a Nazi martyr, carnival was a pre-existing tradition that marked the changing seasons, similar to May Day or Harvest Day.[1] Carnival also had its own historical repertoire of role-reversal, spectacle, excessive behaviour and rites of popular justice, with the election of a local prince used to stage an alternative representative of the people each year. The German carnival period suggests a different temporality, since it is commonly referred to as the "Fifth Season." Carnival might be seen as a seasonal event, yet the developments around German carnival in the interwar period in fact illustrate how aspects of its practices spilled over the temporal boundaries of this "Fifth Season" into the rest of the year and into everyday life. The status of the "festival" under National Socialism, I will argue, provided a basis for establishing a certain continuum between carnival and violence as popular rites involving both self-affirmation and exclusion.

The specific sonic elements within carnival have been elaborated, most notably, in Mikhail Bakhtin's account of carnival's symbolic repertoire. In his study of François Rabelais' early modern writings, Bakhtin (1968) places the role of

laughter as central to medieval folk culture and carnivalesque. For Bakhtin, folk culture was synonymous with "unofficial culture" and comprised ritual spectacle, oral expression and vernacular language.[2] Carnival offered a space outside the everyday, with an alternate temporality that constituted the "second life" of the people. Bakhtin argues that carnival not only inverted elite values, but represented an independent philosophy and offered a utopian space for the potential emancipation of the lower classes. By contrast, official ritual was serious, dogmatic and reaffirmed the existing order.[3]

Bakhtin criticises his predecessors for not being able to sufficiently hear the voices of the marketplace or the culture of laughter in Rabelais' work (1968: 58, 133-4). By contrast, his own study explicitly refers to sonic phenomena, from musical instruments, bells and shouts to forms of speech, curses and bodily sounds (145-95, 213-5, 270-1, 411-7). The medieval city, as Bakhtin asserts, "rang" with these multiple voices:

> Each food, wine, or other merchandise had its own words and melody and its special intonations, its distinct verbal and musical imagery. [...] Sound, the proclaimed word, played an immense role in everyday life as well as in the cultural field. It was even greater than in our days, in the time of the radio. [...] The culture of the common folk idiom was to a great extent a culture of the loud word spoken in the open, in the street and marketplace. (182)

Sound is acknowledged here as central to the medieval urban existence and its folk culture. Bakhtin asserts that the richness of the medieval soundscape exceeds the modern experience of mediated sound. Nonetheless, Bakhtin does not develop these observations on sound at length, and misses an opportunity to consider sound beyond its semantic registers.[4] Bakhtin's analysis of unofficial speech conventions opposes the "dual tone" of popular speech to the "official monotone" of the ruling elite (432-3). This dual vocal tone was also reflected in the ambivalence of carnival laughter, where praise and abuse were mingled on a continuum. Ambivalent abuse, in Bakhtin's terms, enabled a "free familiar communication" that was only possible in the temporary power vacuum provided by carnival (16). Indeed, for many scholars, carnival ultimately performed a so-called "safety valve" function, by giving the license of one week for venting frustration so that everyone would follow the established order for the rest of the year (Burke 1978: 201-2).

Similar to Bakhtin, Jacques Attali's *Noise* focuses on the struggle between official and unofficial culture. However, Attali theorises this tension in terms of historical contestation over sound, music and noise. Using Peter Breughel's 1559 painting *Carnival's Quarrel with Lent* as the frame for his analysis, Attali suggests that this painting offers an "archaeology of resonances" (1985: 22). He partially affirms Bakhtin's remarks about medieval sounds as a site of communication, since this cultural conflict takes place in a soundscape involving "natural noises, noises of work and play, music, laughs, complaints, murmurs. Noises that today have virtually disappeared from our everyday life" (22). However, Bakhtin's opposition is restated in sonic terms according to the tension between concepts

of the Festival (noise, dissonance, disorder) and the Norm (silence, harmony, order).[5] In sum, the aim of Attali's ambitious project is to investigate the role of noise in Western history and its relationship to religious and political power:

> More than colors and forms, it is sounds and their arrangements that fashion societies. [...] In noise can be read the codes of life, the relations among men. Clamor, Melody, Dissonance, Harmony. [...] Everywhere codes analyze, mark, restrain, train, repress, and channel the primitive sounds of language, of the body, of tools, of objects, of the relations to self and others. All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality. It is what links a power center to its subjects, and thus, more generally, it is an attribute of power in all of its forms. (1985: 6)

In other words, Attali urges scholars to investigate how music participates in social relations and reflects ideologies about the definition and organisation of noise. Music, too, involves the channelling of noise and violence. Unlike Bakhtin, moreover, Attali is careful not to treat sound as identical to language, but instead focuses on how music and sound take part in power and political struggles.

For Attali, power depends on the exclusion and repression of noise as a means of creating order and community. The use of music as the social organisation of noise can be found in many societies, including those of ancient China, Greece and Rome.[6] However, totalitarian regimes are cited as having the most obvious expressions of music as social control, which is theorised in ideological writings about music. As Attali suggests, theorists of totalitarianism have all vouched that

> it is necessary to ban subversive noise because it betokens demands for cultural autonomy, support for differences or marginality: a concern for maintaining tonalism, the primacy of melody, a distrust of new languages, codes, or instruments, a refusal of the abnormal. (1985: 7)

Citing examples of Stalinist Russia and Nazi Germany, Attali posits noise control and surveillance as central modes of cultural repression.[7] Indeed, National Socialism is frequently associated with its solemn Christian-influenced mass rituals and appropriations of the German high music canon. Nazi-era theorists also privileged musical metaphors of harmony in their understanding of the national community (Potter 1998: 200-34). However, carnival under National Socialism offers a surprising counter-example to Attali's theory of noise, since the noisy, disruptive sounds of carnival were, on the whole, affirmed in the public sphere. Granted, it was no longer a festival for everyone: the people at the brunt of carnival humour were those cast out from society under Nazi organisation. Yet, both the noise and music of carnival were appropriated in the staging of state power in the public sphere. The diverse carnival sounds in the street and on radio were co-opted in the Nazi festivalisation of everyday life, thereby encouraging the expansion of the "Festival" as part of the "Norm."

In this context, the noisy Rose Monday street parades and various forms of carnival sound provide an opportunity to consider the encounter between a pre-

existing festival tradition and new political imperatives. Crucial to the staging of carnival rites was the growing influence of the radio institution for broadcasting carnival events and with it, the circulation of mediated sounds of collective cheerfulness (Pater 1998; Merziger 2010: 332-50). My contention here is that the renegotiation and appropriation of the carnival festival provides an important case for considering the intersections between sound, identity and exclusion during National Socialism.

In what follows, I will first establish the main historical attitudes towards carnival noise, and outline the National Socialist repositioning of Rheinland carnival from 1934 onwards. This requires a consideration of how the sounds and music of the festival were dispersed to new sites of reception following the introduction of radio. This section concentrates on a 1939 broadcast as a case in point for how local carnival sounds were resignified within a racist-nationalist framework, with "German humour" used to police the borders between self and other in the lead up to World War II. The third section focuses on the associations of 1920s carnival with Weimar modernity and new musical styles such as American jazz. I argue that the status of jazz in carnival is ambiguous and simultaneously linked to "colonial fantasies" in the wake of World War I and opposition to the French military occupation of the Ruhr and Rhineland with African soldiers. This articulation of otherness will lead me to focus more specifically on how carnival radio broadcasts were used to affirm regional identity, *Heimat* preservation and carnival's status as a *Volk* festival during the 1920s and 1930s. This section is also concerned with the consequences of carnival being associated with local dialect, ethnicity and a restrictive notion of belonging. The main focus here is on how the sounds of otherness were staged in carnival events, marking Jews as physically and acoustically other. This will lead me, in the fourth and final section, to consider how carnival's noise begins to overlap with anti-Semitic violence and how such exclusionary behaviour manifested itself in the urban soundscape. The festivalisation of the everyday under Nazism, as I term it, provides a broader framework for understanding the status of noise in relation to both the carnival festival and acts of racially-motivated violence.

A Festival for Everyone?

In Bakhtin's historical chronology of carnival, he argued that laughter adapted to a private, individual rather than universal outlook during the 1700s. The resulting "reduced laughter" lives on in modern comedy, satire, popular novel, burlesque and theatre, which, as Bakhtin disapprovingly describes, is part of the "bourgeois line of development" (1968: 101-2, 120).[8] This narrative is corroborated, to some degree, by the case of modern Rhenish carnival, which from the 1820s onwards involved an increased level of centralised organisation by members of the bourgeois and urban elite. As historian Lynn Abrams points out, even though carnival makes an appeal to community unity, modern festivals in the nineteenth century were increasingly organised on the basis of class and party affiliations (1992: 49). Elaine Glovka Spencer, too, argues that modern German

carnival was an "adaptive practice," which was not inherently political, religious or national, and successfully linked "local identity, tourism, and an annual spurt of consumption" (2003: 652). Following the establishment of a modern carnival season in the 1820s, there were various periods of repression by French administrators, and later by local authorities and the Prussian government. While carnival organisation was placed under suspicion for associations with the March 1838 revolution, there were numerous efforts to use carnival as a platform for staging the nation and its military power during the course of the nineteenth century (Euler-Schmidt and Schäfke 1991; Frohn 1999). In addition to the staging of nation within carnival, modern festivals and public rituals have been marked by an exclusion-inclusion dynamic since at least the French Revolution (Hunt 1984; Lucas 1988).

During the last decades of the 1800s, increased measures were taken to control the license of the urban masses, who were castigated for their indulgent and noisy behaviour during the carnival days. Various religious organisations chimed in with their concerns about carnival bawdiness and excess, with moral purity groups expressing concern that the celebrations would corrupt the young and poorly educated. Meanwhile, city authorities cracked down on masquerading, shouting, singing and playing out-of-tune instruments. Some of the more typical sounds described in the 1890s included horse whips, trumpets, crashes and the thuds of the goings-on (*Strassentreiben*), and rhythmic marching music led by three men with a harmonica, a triangle and a large drum (Czwoydzinski 1937: 38-47). Among others, the ritual of the "Geese March Run" (*Gänsemarschlaufen*), which involved playing of discordant sounds in the street, was banned in 1880 in Düsseldorf (Abrams 1992: 49). Nonetheless, German carnival still retained its status as a forum for venting frustration and critiquing authorities. In particular, the centrality of the "washtub speeches" (*Büttenreden*) during carnival sittings remained a symbol of honesty, used by performers for criticising and transgressing social and political norms. In the Rhineland, the speeches and songs of the *Büttenreden* were characterised by rhyming couplets followed by a sound effect or fanfare after the (usually risqué) punchline of each verse.

While carnival supporters have long vouched for the importance of "*Narrenfreiheit*" (carnival freedom or jester's licence) and non-partisanship, its modern incarnation had ambiguous political allegiances. There is a clear tension between persistent rhetoric of "carnival for everyone" and the predominantly bourgeois-led organisation of Rhenish carnival in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, the whole concept of carnival as needing "organisation" is suggestive of how bourgeois ideals influenced the modern revival of carnival. Even though some resemblance to the carnival traditions described by Bakhtin could be found in progressive workers and artist carnival celebrations, the licence of carnival rituals was ultimately curbed by officials and described in terms of "noise" disturbances. In the decades prior to 1914, street parades were only held intermittently due to further police orders and anti-noise complaints from those who perceived carnival as a disruption to productivity, traffic and their right to quiet.[9]

For all of carnival's "noise" and lack of discipline, its ritual elements and appeal to tradition were identified as being useful or at least adaptable to the

National Socialist cultural programme, particularly for their efforts to build consensus between 1934 and 1939. To take a carnival song as a point of departure for these considerations, "*Alles onger ene Hot*" (All under one hat) was written especially for the 1934 carnival celebrations in Düsseldorf (Figure 7). The English translation of the lyrics read:

> Just how difficult it used to be,
> When everyone was here and there
> It has now finally all come to an end
> If someone doesn't want it, they'll have it coming
> Also from us here in carnival.
> So it went with a bang and a crash
> Now there is again new courage
> And everyone sings the song about the hat.
>
> Refrain:
> Everyone under one hat, such a nice hat
> It suits everyone just fine!
> Even when one's head is too big
> For such a large head it is especially chic.
> [Linked arms for repetition]
>
> And Griesche has been searching twenty years
> A young man with black hair
> He has to have some money on him
> So that one can live from it.
> Above all he has to be racially pure
> And proud of his ancestry
> Griet sings loudly in his need:
> Oh if only I could be under one hat [with everyone as the same].[10]

These lyrics address fellow carnival revellers and reflect on their shared struggle to establish a full carnival season, since street parades had only been possible on a handful of occasions in previous decades. The main reasons for the past difficulties in staging carnival events included an official ban during World War I, the subsequent French military occupation, funding problems and opposition from church figures and city administrators. By contrast, the "bang and crash" of this new era makes a connection between carnival's noisy annual renewal and the Nazi takeover with its ambition to establish a new époque. In defending carnival against its traditional detractors, the "grumblers and grouches" (*Muckertum und Griesgram*), carnival's fighting spirit is portrayed as somewhat analogous to that associated with the Nazi movement. Since it is a swaying song (*Schunkellied*), there is the expectation that the people will come together and link arms while singing the refrain, thus performing a "muscular bonding" as described by McNeill. It also implies that carnival involves a broad participation with the notion of "everyone under one hat." This plea might appear to be inclusive, with the

FIG. 7: 1934 carnival poster, "*Onger ene Hot*."
Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Düsseldorf (Universitätsarchiv).

call for different people to come together. Yet the conceptualisation of the Nazi policy of social reorganisation (*Gleichschaltung*) demands homogeneity and that everyone become the same (*gleich*). This policy of social organisation, moreover, involved the rejection of unwanted political and social groups from public life.

The song is thus not unlike other carnival songs of the early twentieth century, whose ditties usually referred to pretty girls, love, wine, local history and symbols, such as the Rhine River, and provided commentary on modern life, from telephone etiquette to new dance styles. The marked shift in carnival song-writing under National Socialism, however, is the explicit emphasis on the importance of racial purity, pride in one's "Aryan" ancestry and "*Heimat*" (homeland or hometown). The love of *Heimat* is a common theme in modern carnival songs, yet until the Nazi era these affiliations were not couched in such obvious racial terms. In sum, this theme song exposes the politicisation of carnival and a rhetoric of group belonging that was based on a restrictive racial concept according to Nazi social engineering.

Indeed, the "Under One Hat" parade theme was chosen by the new steering committee for the centralised control of Düsseldorf's forty guilds for the first carnival season under National Socialism (Czwoydzinski 1937: 46). Accordingly, the Rose Monday parade in February 1934 included parade floats with oversized models of bowler hats, which were also worn by parade marchers.[11] In Mainz,

too, the reorganisation of carnival in 1934 was represented by the parade motto "*Alles in einem Topf*" (All in one pot), with a number of parade floats making reference to the French military occupation in the 1920s. One float protesting the demilitarisation of the Saar region also racialised this portrayal by depicting colonial forces in the French army with men in khaki uniforms and blackened faces. Meanwhile, a float titled "Peace and Demilitarisation" (*Friede und Abrüstung*) contrasted a statue of Mother Mary with a black French soldier with a rifle, accompanied by men on foot wearing oversized black head masks with large lips and teeth. Also appearing under the rubric of carnival "humour" in the 1934 parades was a float in Cologne using crude stereotypes and costumes depicting the emigration of Jews (which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter).

The day after the 1934 street parades, the front page of the *Düsseldorfer Stadt-Nachrichten* praised the full-scale return of carnival events, following a period of local funding problems and economic depression, as "Düsseldorf's largest folk (*Volk*) festival" ("Karneval in Düsseldorf" 1934). The push to promote carnival as a "*Heimat* festival" was reinforced as the Düsseldorf City Museum began an archive to collect historical carnival artefacts in 1934 (Heister 1935: 48). While commentators in this period emphasise carnival in terms of tradition and *Heimat* preservation, the parade was also a platform for modernity and promotional culture, with references to current affairs, new technologies and commodity consumption. The tourist office also organised a photography competition and radio broadcasts from the parade were replayed outside the Düsseldorf train station, allowing the carnival crowds and passersby to acoustically relive the day's events. Tourism, in particular, was already a key concern for carnival organisers, with an emphasis on the economic boost provided by visitors and new features such as funfairs and ticketed viewing stands to observe the parade.

From 1934 onwards, carnival events were increasingly attached to the National Socialist cultural organisation, "*Kraft durch Freude*" (KdF) where carnival was additionally promoted as part of their organised tourist and cultural events programme. In the southern German town of Hechingen, the KdF organisation noted that they had done a good job in taking over carnival relatively early, since they believed the ritual would help the people regain their strength for everyday life and work (Korff 1972: 58). The involvement of the organisation in Düsseldorf is demonstrated by a photo in an official publication from 1934, which depicts a KdF carnival float decorated with the national eagle symbol, swastikas and "make a sacrifice" (*Opfert*) signs.[12] Men in historical costume on the parade float carried long sticks with collection plates, which were held out to carnival crowds to contribute their donations to the Winter Aid programmes (*Winterhilfswerk* or *WHW*) taken over by the Nazis after 1933.[13]

Despite the high praise given to the first carnival organised under National Socialism, the event still posed certain risks or uncertainty, for at least one *Düsseldorfer-Nachrichten* reporter. As a platform for raucous, drunk and illicit behaviour, carnival still included elements such as cross-dressing, role-reversal and a day where women asserted their control over the city.[14] Archival footage from 1934 also shows Düsseldorf police struggling to control the jostling crowds, who are seen standing in the way of floats, climbing into trees and standing on

shop awnings. Indeed, the newspaper article stresses the need for "even more discipline!" amongst crowd members, who were instructed to be more careful in following the instructions of the traffic police and parade organisers ("Karneval in Düsseldorf" 1934: 1). In other words, despite the assertion that carnival was a symbol of a community unity, with its "healthy laughter" and overriding of class differences, there is a clear desire for further discipline and a stress on the necessity for centralised control.

Indeed, there is a fundamental tension in the official position towards carnival from 1933. On the one hand, Adolf Hitler and other party leaders made special appearances at carnival parades and events, and Nazi organisations were keen to establish increasing centralised control over the carnival season and its promotion.[15] Likewise, carnival guild sittings often began with the national anthems and a collective "*Heil Hitler*" greeting. On the other hand, there were bans on hanging Hitler's photo on the walls of carnival venues and against wearing official party uniforms at carnival events and parades.[16] Furthermore, expressions of the grotesque were strictly outcast as "alien" or "un-German" (*volksfremd*), terms often now used to described the Weimar carnival celebrations of the 1920s (see Spickhoff 1938: 93). The appropriation of carnival for the Nazi festivalisation of the everyday, moreover, comprises part of a broader attempt to counter the demotivation of the Weimar years and the Depression. In an article by Hans Heister, for instance, the Düsseldorf revival under National Socialism took place after many years of "bitter poverty and gruelling folk alienation [*Volksentfremdung*]" (1935: 34). Indeed, following 1933, there were various other efforts to rid the event of associations with the grotesque. The cross-dressing men involved in carnival parades and "washtub speeches" were deemed threatening to normative sexual mores.[17] There were also attempts to monitor the scripts of washtub speeches after 1934 to ensure that the jokes and humorous ditties did not take too much political licence or contain grotesque illusions (Brog 2000: 221).[18]

Nazi ideology appropriated the concept of an ethnic German "folk" identity and culture as one of its central doctrines for its nationalist programme. While lip service was frequently paid to carnival's central premise – the world "turned upside down" – carnival under National Socialism employed a more restrictive notion of folk culture and the popular. Commentators also asserted that carnival had been re-established as a "folk festival" (*Volksfestival*) that involved the participation of all groups of society, including good-humoured police officers and SA troops. However, even though the police supposedly linked arms and swayed with the people, their function remained that of traffic and crowd control (see *Es rauscht* 1951; "Karneval in Düsseldorf" 1937). The stress on the necessity to ritually perform a sense of community among the German people (*Volk*) provided the impetus for the Nazi festivalisation of the everyday. Moreover, as my analyses of the Schlageter myth and the song "*Alles onder ene Hot*" have indicated, it was easier for the Nazi regime to adopt and adapt existing rituals than invent completely new rituals and customs. In what follows, I will examine how radio participated in the increasing festivalisation of everyday life by conveying the sounds of carnival as framed through the nation.

Radio and the Modern Festival

As mentioned above, Bakhtin's analysis of medieval carnival insists on its relationship to urban topoi, identified as "the city marketplace, to the town fair and the carnival square" (1968: 146).[19] In a predominantly oral culture, the street was the focus of the public sphere and it was employed by official powers to deliver announcements and orders. Street cries, in particular, are identified as a central site of sociability and oral communication. Part of this sociability was the temporal and spatial locatedness of the cry, which was heard only as far as the voice could carry over the din of sounds in the medieval city. According to Bakhtin, the world of the medieval carnival, moreover, involved all social groups as

> carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators. Footlights would destroy a carnival, as the absence of footlights would destroy a theatrical performance. (7)

In this rendering, the collective is formed in the public sphere through the crowd's face-to-face interaction and participation in carnival's egalitarian world of laughter. Individual participants, as Bakhtin suggests, gained a sensory awareness of their body's place within the collective.

To a certain degree, my analysis in Chapter One suggested the ongoing importance of the street as a site of political struggle and sociability in the period following World War I. Both the clash fighting and Schlageter festivals in the Weimar years involved a military-inspired "muscular bonding" for Nazi Party members in public space, whose acoustic and spatial occupation was amplified by the use of *Lautsprecherwagen*. In this case, a carnival-style "muscular bonding" can also be found in the collective dance, song and parade marching of crowds. Nonetheless, carnival in the late 1920s no longer took place solely in the marketplace, but was dispersed to other parts of the city and even beyond the bounds of the city. Broadcasting and sound reproduction technologies, in particular, enabled carnival sounds to be transported outside of the urban sites identifed by Bakhtin, stretching the boundaries of the festival. Carnival's public sphere, as such, came to include newspaper reports, gramophone records, radio broadcasts, newsreels and film. Radio, in particular, soon became the most influential medium in dispersing news and current affairs, as well as a forum for staging national events and festivals, thus bringing diverse sonic expressions of the nation together (Scannell 1996). Against this background, I will now consider how radio enabled the limited carnival season to be temporally prolonged and break through its localised boundaries to reach the entire nation and extend across the year.

In Germany, radio was given the task of spreading publicity for local events, songs and syndicating broadcasts from various carnival cities. The year 1927 marked the beginning of carnival broadcasts from the new west-German radio station, which had been forbidden to operate during the British, French and Belgian occupations between 1919 and 1925 (Schütte 1971: 37-8, 53-4; Bierbach

1986: 15-52). The Rhineland carnival revival, as such, coincided with the first broadcasts from the new West-German Radio (Westdeutscher Rundfunk AG or Werag) in Cologne. On 28 February 1927, West-German Radio broadcast the Rose Monday parade for the first time, with station announcers standing at a first-floor window while commenting on the floats. The weekly programme magazine *Die Werag* observed that these announcers would communicate the visual spectacle via their verbal descriptions and location sound recordings, and thus try to convey:

> how the incommunicable impressions of the parade floats are depicted and simultaneously the sounds, particularly the music, are recorded by the microphone. The result is a kind of *acoustic film*.[20]

This claim for radio, made shortly before the introduction of sound film in Germany, maintains the value of this acoustic medium for capturing a sense of liveness and the diversity of sounds involved. At the same time, the impression given is that it may be difficult to capture the many different and sometimes indistinguishable parade sounds, since outdoor broadcasting was still in its infancy. The radio speakers, too, are deemed in this description as necessary to guide the listeners through the radio experience of a noisy sonic event. Even though the Cologne transmitter Langenberg was praised as having the best technical set-up and programming within Germany, around half of the listeners in Rhineland and Westfalia were still listening with simple detector receivers in 1927 (Bierbach 1986: 199; Schütte 1971: 59). The carbon microphones used by German stations had sufficient capacity for speech but experienced difficulties with musical sound and outdoor settings, and had quite a high noise ratio (*Warum* 1997: 22).

The idea of radio allowing listeners to be imaginatively present elsewhere was a recurring trope, which encouraged a concept of carnival as extending to "earwitness" listeners across the entire country and even beyond Germany's own borders. The *Simplicissimus* magazine published a cartoon in 1927 that satirised this new way of celebrating carnival, by depicting "*Fasching im Radio*" with an elderly couple with headsets, supposedly supplanting the experience of carnival events from the safety of their upper-class living room (Heine 1927). The Cologne station encouraged this concept of radio eventness in their descriptions of carnival noise and hilarity as an "acoustic film" that would bring carnival events to radio listeners. Accordingly, in fan letters to the station, listeners also asserted that carnival broadcasts allowed them to be there in Cologne "with our eyes and ears." This comment was made by Austrian listeners who thanked the station for the syndicated broadcast of a Cologne carnival sitting in January 1928, noting that radio had facilitated their first proper encounter with Rhenish humour. Writing from what they described as a quiet and lonely village, they enthused: "We had heard of the Cologne carnival before, but had no idea that there would be so much humour, and we were […] there among you until the final applause."[21] While listeners in Germany and elsewhere may have heard of the Cologne carnival, they were now privy to the full range of its sounds for the first time, and could fancy themselves as participants in its rituals. This conception of partici-

pating in carnival at a distance in national events provided a key precedent for the trend towards a festivalisation of everyday life under Nazism.

In addition to defining the carnival festival in terms of experience and eventness, radio broadcasts also imaginatively extended the temporal length of the carnival season for up to four or five months. The official beginning of carnival on 11 November, which was only moderately observed in the late 1920s, was marked on radio with an "Entertaining Evening" (*Lustiger Abend*) in the Werag programme on 9 November 1929.[22] The experience of carnival via radio was emphasised by *Die Werag* magazine, which included reports and photo collages of its involvement in transmitting carnival events to its listeners. A caption asserted to its readership that "shared pleasure is double pleasure," while the photo from January 1929 depicts a large group of carnival revellers in fancy dress sitting around a table in a salon booth. Listening to a broadcast from a guild sitting, each individual is shown holding headphones to their ears. The listeners, moreover, were participating in a group experience of listening, where their individual headphones partially separated them from each other and their immediate acoustic environment in the salon (*Die Werag* 10 Feb. 1929: 19). The contemporary enthusiasm for radio, in turn, is reflected by the fancy-dress costumes chosen for carnival balls and parades, and the *Werag* station became involved in carnival organisation, with some guild sittings even relocated to the station's own broadcast studios.[23]

The potential of radio, as Jacques Attali argues, was that elitist music performances were taken out of the concert hall (or, in this case, from ticketed carnival guild sittings) and transmitted to other locations and audiences (84). Photos reprinted in *Die Werag* magazine also highlight the presence of radio (in the form of cylinder Naumann microphones) on stage at large guild sittings. Accompanied by the caption "The microphone in front of the washtub," a 1930 photo shows how a microphone is suspended from the ceiling. The washtub speaker (*Büttenredner*) leans forward to speak into it, marking his address to both the audience present and the radio listening public, which increasingly extended beyond *Werag*'s regional boundaries due to national programme syndication ("Bilder" 1930). Such programme magazines seem to aid the listeners' imagination of carnival, and function as a visual aid for those not able to see the appearance and gestures of performers. Nonetheless, the strong emphasis on wordplay, witty songs, *Büttenreden* and an all-round convivial atmosphere attests to the strong sonic appeal of carnival guild sittings for radio broadcasts.[24]

Radio was instrumental in publicising the carnival season and its songs for a geographically dispersed listening audience and linking the festival to modern culture more generally. However, with the onset of the severe economic crisis in Germany, there was significant pressure on the carnival committees to cancel Rose Monday parades in 1930 and 1931. The carnival festival in Düsseldorf and other cities had all but retreated indoors to guild sittings and radio broadcasts, which were rarely syndicated to other regional stations.[25] Carnival parades themselves were initially banned for the 1930 Rose Monday due to an ordinance against all public processions, in response to the prevalent culture of street clashes and sonic brawling.[26] An article in the *Düsseldorf Tageblatt* around the same time declared

the sorry state of the carnival festival with the title "The Dead Hoppeditz." The author cynically notes that Prince Carnival is not swinging his sceptre as in past years because he has too much competition from the "Nazi-idiotic Hoppeditz behaviour of His royal craziness [Joseph] Goebbels."[27] This comment implies that the political chaos and violent agitation of the late Weimar years had all but supplemented the celebratory noise of carnival celebrations. Moreover, this assertion specifically aligns National Socialist parades and street battles, which I discussed in the previous chapter about Schlageter, with the carnivalesque. A certain continuity is thus made between carnival and the political practices of the Nazi Party, a comparison that satirical magazines like *Simplicissimus* also made with sketches, such as Hitler depicted as a carnival clown as late as mid-February 1933.[28]

Rather than reinforce community unity, the *Düsseldorf Tageblatt* journalist suggests, only the wealthy could afford any real participation in carnival during a period of rife unemployment and hunger. He reports that some young men – who were still out after drunkenly celebrating on "Carnival Sunday" – were chased by the hordes of men waiting outside the employment office on Monday morning. In other words, at the end of the Weimar era, carnival's existence was almost entirely confined to radio broadcasts and indoor locations. The city street was no longer deemed an appropriate site for noisy expressions of laughter or the excess of the carnival festival. The traditional end to carnival with the Catholic rite of fasting was not really necessary, the journalist concluded, because most Germans hadn't had enough to eat in months, whether they were employed or unemployed. Carnival, in this context, was interpreted as exposing class differences – as an indulgence of the middle class and an insult to those suffering ("Der tote" 1931; Houben 1999: 89). It could thus be said that the period around the Depression resembled a de-festivalisation of everyday life. While this desperate period might be described as subdued – in terms of Attali's strong opposition between the Festival (noise) and the Norm (silence) – it was marked by the intensification of the sonic brawling and political activity I discussed in Chapter One.

By 1932, it was also decided that carnival events would be kept "quiet" (*leise*) in Cologne and Düsseldorf, a mandate that was evident in the official carnival broadcasts and musical programming ("Düsseldorfs Karnevalsonntag" 1932). Instead of the usual *Werag* broadcast from Düsseldorf's "*Grosse*" guild sitting under Eduard Czwoydzinski, the station invited carnivalists to hold a live event to raise money for the Cologne station's "Winter Aid" (*Winterhilfe*) fundraiser for the poor (Czwoydzinski 1937: 42). The following day, 7 February 1932, a similar "musical medley" concert was held as a fundraiser in Düsseldorf's Apollo Theatre. A newspaper critic praised the potpourri selection from classical pieces to the latest Willi Ostermann carnival hit song (*Schlager*) as appealing to the listener. However, he goes on to suggest that the programmers had played it too safe in their choice of traditional music and had not been daring or successful enough with a modern repertoire, as there was still too much dependence on trumpets and violins in the modern pieces played ("Düsseldorfs Karnevalsonntag" 1932). A 1930 issue of *Simplicissimus* made a similar observation that the music played during carnival had become too symphonic, with carnival event hosts becoming cautious about playing jazz or modern musical styles.[29] Instead of the usual ban-

ter and cheers, carnival sounds were characterised by an atmosphere of caution and restraint, and given the primary function of raising money for the poor. The carnival season could potentially cause more societal tension in a divided public sphere, since it was a luxury that only the middle class and elite could afford.

For my consideration of radio's public sphere as an expanded site for carnival celebrations, I will now analyse an example of a broadcast from a Düsseldorf carnival sitting, which was syndicated to all German stations in January 1939.[30] What makes this thirty-minute recording particularly interesting to the study of carnival sounds on radio is that it was heralded as expanding the territory of the festival to the national level, as part of the second *Bund Deutscher Karneval* (German Carnival Federation) conference. As the last Düsseldorf carnival season prior to World War II, the recording is also a reflection of the heightened centralised control over carnival organisation. Further party control of carnival had already occurred in 1936, with the rapid establishment of a new umbrella organisation in each city, which ceded the ultimate control of carnival societies in 1937 to the national *Bund Deutscher Karneval*. The following analysis will consider how the carnival's sounds of communal merriment were resignified within a Nazi festivalisation of everyday life that promoted nationalism and enabled "us"-"them" distinctions to be further ingrained.

The broadcast, recorded from the Düsseldorf city concert hall, begins with a washtub speech that affirms the opening of the season for balls and sittings (Track 4). On the one hand, carnival figures like the "grumblers" (*Griesgram*) are mentioned, while on the other, it employs ideological-inflected terms of struggle (*kämpfen*), joy (*Freude*) and the carnival motto as a slogan (*Parole*). As this speech is faded out, the radio announcer welcomes listeners to "West-German carnival," yet at the same time observes that the broadcast is a part of the nationalised *Bund Deutscher Karneval*. This discourse reflects the insistence on placing Düsseldorf carnival both within a regional and national framework during the course of the 1930s. Musical sounds then emanate again from the stage, upon which Düsseldorf guild president Czwoydzinski welcomes the audience and introduces the second washtub speaker: "Jubilu Hilaru." This speaker plays on the 1939 theme "Topsy-turvy" (*Drunter und Drüber*), taking binary pairs of the "natural" order and reversing them. The jokes thus play, in a very Bakhtinian way, between what is "forbidden" and "allowed," whether men or women are in charge, and whether Düsseldorf or Cologne has a better carnival. This speaker, too, emphasises the setting as being within the national scope of the carnival federation. A third washtub speech involves a (presumably costumed) man performing a female character with outlandish social ambitions.[31]

The sonic quality of the segments are characterised by a light banter (*plaudern*), which was characteristic of Nazi broadcasting's encouragement of light entertainment in the late 1930s (Lacey 1997: 65-9, 89). Indeed, similar to popular variety shows like the *Bunte Samstagnachmittag*, it is as much the merry sounds of communal entertainment as the direct references in the songs, which contribute the sense of national community through radio (Horn 1984; Pater 1998). The broadcast itself explicitly stages the idea of national unification and provides the listener with the sense of sampling the regional varieties of carnival through

the speeches and musical performances. The 1939 events in Düsseldorf involved carnival representatives from across greater Germany: Munich, Mainz, Cologne, Aachen and also Vienna following the 1938 annexation of Austria. The announcer performs his role as an intermediary, assisted by new cross-fading technology employed to mix in the various (recorded) segments from the carnival sitting.[32] Nonetheless, on several occasions, the reporter's voice strains to be heard over the background sounds of group singing, which he uses to emphasise the "liveness" of the event. He maintains the tone of light banter with a presentation style that builds up anticipation for the listener at home (Track 4, 12:50):

> This evening should demonstrate that Düsseldorf's carnival is connected to the people (*volksbunden*). [...] That there are real roots in the people (*Volk*). And that this is the place for the beginning of the carnival season, which will soar so high. We will have a second part – and experience a selection (*Ausschnitt*) from the whole of German carnival, indeed the guests appearing for the congress in Düsseldorf have come from the entire *Reich*: from Munich, from Mainz, from Vienna, from Cologne, from Münster, from Aachen, they are all here. We will witness [*miterleben*] a colourful series of cheerful surprises in the second part.[33]

In other words, the announcer tries to guide the interpretation of this event for the listeners, by emphasising the authentic and *völkisch* qualities of carnival. Even though a local song ("*Am alten Schlossturm*") is played and the Düsseldorf "*Helau*" carnival greeting is repeatedly cited, the announcer consistently places Düsseldorf in relation to other carnival cities. The collective nature of this radio broadcast is also affirmed, with listeners positioned as "earwitnesses" to the coming together of the nation.

On several occasions there are references to the production context, such as with the radio warning "Attention please – recording" (*Achtung bitte – Aufnahme*). Yet on the whole the male announcer's vocal presentation seeks a smooth transition between the potpourri of elements, and thus to downplay the act of mediation involved (Track 4, 13:45):

> Yes, dear listeners. As you can already tell from the music, this tour of the German carnival is only a fictitious one. This is the "*Berliner Luft, Luft, Luft.*" [...] The Berliners have brought their real Berlin humour to Düsseldorf, and they have brought their specialities: Berlin white beer, Berlin doughnuts. And now "*In Mainz am schönen Rhein*" can be heard. Before that the Viennese were our guest performers here in Düsseldorf. The song they just played was "*Wien bleibt Wien.*"[34]

Each of the participating carnival cities is thus represented according to local particularities or produce, but more emphatically with stereotypical songs. Regional varieties are affirmed by the song titles, yet this selection is subsumed under a national concept of "German carnival." Düsseldorf is thus situated as a setting for staging the convergence of various German carnival traditions.

The speaker introduces the fourth and final washtub speech by "Ermundo" from Mainz. The speech, mainly in rhyming AABB stanzas, begins with references to the "eternal struggle for tradition," which is implied to be fulfilled under National Socialism. The strong, possibly close-miked, sounds of laughter from the audience can be heard for a punchline about the necessity for a woman to be a member of the people, as a "*Volksfrau*." The speaker shifts to discussing current affairs by alluding to the mounting tension between European nations, with a punchline about the gas masks used by German civilians to rehearse air safety and nighttime blackouts. Observing that there are "radio wars" in Europe, the speaker asserts that Moscow's only radio station transmits deceptive lies. The punchline is that the only truthful sound on Russian radio is the station's signature tune (*Pausenzeichen*). The Mainz speaker not only directly refers to radio, but presents it as sonically mediating all the significant political events of the previous year. The speaker systematically makes jokes about how recent political events each had an accompanying radio soundtrack. When the Saarland region was remilitarised, listeners repeatedly heard the song "The Saar Is German" (*Deutsch ist die Saar*); when Austria was occupied by Germany in 1938, they heard Viennese waltzes; and, following the occupation of the German-speaking Böhm region, they heard the traditional "*Egeländer*" song. Thus, contemporary current affairs, international tensions and German military invasions are explained through the euphemistic metaphor of "radio wars" and the theme songs that were employed as part of the subsequent national celebrations on radio.

The nationalist inflections of the washtub speech are maintained, yet the jokes are soon placed within a frame of *Heimat* and the German colonial project. Ermundo's subsequent joke concerns the former German colony of Cameroon (established in 1884), which was placed under French and English governance by the League of Nations following World War I (see Smith 1978). Delivered in an ironic tone, the speaker remarks (Track 4, 20:20):

> And Africa and Cameroon,
> They also have a radio station now,
> Sing with Germany, black brothers:
> "I too would like to go back to the *Heimat*."[35]

This punchline attracts significant laughter and is marked by a brass fanfare. It makes reference to the sentimental late-nineteenth-century folk song "*Nach der Heimat möcht' ich wieder*," which had been popularised in a 1929 sound film by tenor Richard Tauber and violinist Dajos Béla, both of whom left Germany due to persecution on the basis of their Jewish heritage (Jürgs 2000). In addition, the condescending observation that Cameroon now has radio is paired with the idea that radio programmes induce sentimentality for the German *Heimat* in former colonial subjects. This notion is deemed impossible by the laughing carnival audience, probably since black people absolutely did not belong to a restricted conception of belonging to the *Heimat*.[36]

The jingoistic assertions of the washtub speech continue with a systematic criticism of Germany's diplomatic rivals as hostile and insulting, making refer-

ence to Russia, England and France. The speaker then suggests that America is also always fighting and throwing around insults, before insinuating that for Jewish immigrants, America must be the "promised land." The speaker continues to make discriminatory jokes by playing on several Jewish family names (Track 4, 22:45):

> America: the New World.
> It is a large "field of roses" [*Rosenfeld*]
> There you can smell "flowers" [*Blumen*], "sweet" [*süß*] and "dulcet" [*lind*],
> Which have long disappeared [*verduftet*] from Germany.[37]

The speaker takes the historical description of America as the New World and suggests that it is abundantly filled with things that have "disappeared" from Germany. This euphemism for the Jews living in forced exile overseas creates a double-entendre based on the linguistic similarity between the smell of flowers (*duften*) and their disappearance or eradication (*verduften*). Moreover, there is the play on surnames like Rosenthal that a German listening audience – well-versed in stereotypes – would recognise as typically Jewish. Since radio ownership for Jews was banned in 1938, the washtub speaker's radio-listening audience is assumed to be entirely non-Jewish, with the audience present in the hall predominantly party members and high officials.[38] This stanza, which received the largest applause of the whole broadcast, offers a clear indication of the shift in carnival under National Socialism, where racial and chauvinist attacks could be celebrated as carnival "humour."

As the washtub speech draws to an end, the speaker concludes with a farewell, which blesses the audience and suggests that they are engaging in harmless fun (Track 4, 27:00):

> And now I will end with a *Helau*
> Greetings from Mainz Carnival Guild [*Mainzer Carnivals Verein*]
> Link your arms with each other
> May God protect our speech-making on the German Rhine,
> We always want to be merry: *Helau!*[39]

The Düsseldorf carnival greeting "*Helau*" is employed here as a mark of commonality between carnival cities, particularly given the recent annexation of cities like Vienna. Yet this salute could also be interpreted as a carnival supplement for the Nazi "*Heil*" greeting, employed here in a context of national assembly, where the codes of military-style and festive bonding increasingly mixed and became almost indistinguishable. This congruence is supported by sources that suggest that the national anthems were used to open guild sittings under Nazism, with the reinforcement of the national unit particularly necessary during a tense political period. The speaker draws on religious imagery to affirm the "holy" principle of carnival freedom (*Narrenfreiheit*), a trope that is often used in asserting carnival as harmless, non-political and trans-historical.[40] The audience members are invited to link their arms together, suggesting the suitability of carnival as an event

that invites participation through movements (swaying, salutes) and voice (singing, vocal responses), not unlike in my analysis of the Schlageter festival in the previous chapter. Ultimately, the stanza reflects the paradox of asserting carnival as an opportunity for carefree entertainment and participation, even when it is simultaneously used as a platform for exclusion. The broadcast fades out after this farewell, with no further commentary from the radio announcer to frame this washtub speech, an omission that implicitly confirms its position.

The 1939 event offers a case in point of the Nazis' festivalisation of everyday life with carnival broadcasts that employed sound to perform ingrained patterns of identity and exclusion and make recourse to the nation. Where carnival was previously asserted primarily in terms of civic belonging, radio broadcasts now situated the festival within a framework that included diverse sonic expressions of the nation. However, if radio facilitated an expanded public sphere for carnival celebrations during the 1920s, these broadcasts also created a forum for attacks and abusive speech during National Socialism. The public sphere of radio, moreover, was limited to those with official radio ownership, which by definition excluded Jews. Carnival is conceived here as giving individuals a sense of their place in the national body politic. The use of politicised musical song, used to mark military invasions, is also placed under the bannerhead of harmless carnival fun. The broadcast, to paraphrase Attali, suggests the political uses of sound to: make people forget violence; make people believe in the harmony of the world; and create a silence through music that censors other human noises (1985: 19).[41] It is in this sense that the broadcast employs humour and song to affirm the Nazi worldview and self-image, while creating abstract conceptions of political and racial others.

It is the relationship between the national imagination and the sounds of self and other within the festival that I will explore in the following section: first, in terms of black people and jazz music in carnival, and second, in the influential concepts of *Heimat* and local dialect that influenced the self-identification of both carnival and regional radio in the 1920s and 1930s. In the following, I will reflect on carnival as a site of exclusion, in view of its role as a festival for reinforcing rather than challenging authority.

Festive Exclusions: The Carnival *Heimat*

The revival of carnival in the 1920s was increasingly typified by its relations to the so-called "Jazz Age."[42] In the Rhineland, progressive artist and worker groups organised costume parties and "*Lumpenbälle*" (rag balls) with jazz as the predominant form of musical inspiration (Zepter 1997). For other commentators, jazz was conceived as an expression of political freedom. As an article in Cologne's main Social Democrat newspaper declared in 1929:

> Jazz is revolution. Jazz is insurgency. Jazz is mocking the old. When […] old Schubert has his waltzes in "House of the Three Girls," then this Nigger boy stands disrespectfully in the corner and has his drums ready to break it

> all up. Jazz is revolt. [...] It drives things to the summit, makes the cowardly burst and smashes in pieces what's left over! We greet you, Jazz! Pang-pang. Quinn-quii.[43]

Jazz music is offered here as marking a departure from earlier musical forms such as waltzes. Not only is jazz the bearer of change, but it is also synonymous with revolt: represented here by the figure of the black drummer, whose music is counter-cultural and anti-authoritarian. Listening to jazz, moreover, is presented as a liminal and nearly-explosive bodily experience. This enthusiastic portrayal closes with the crashing sounds of jazz approximated through onomatopoeic descriptions. According to this description, jazz has strong alliances with carnival as a symbol of revolt and renewal, with a similar potential for disrupting the status quo. By contrast, cultural conservatives and the Nazi Party were resolute about jazz music as seeming too anti-authoritative (as per Bakhtin's understanding of carnival's utopian potential). In the context of Nazism, as I will now indicate, the emphasis on carnival was not as an inclusive expression of the people, but as a nationalist festival that delimited the boundaries of belonging to the *Volk*.

The enthusiasm for carnival and its links to modern music were often expressed in *Simplicissimus*, a popular satirical magazine from Munich with a bourgeois-liberal outlook. Exemplary in this regard was the cover of its annual carnival issue in 1927, which depicted a semi-naked black woman with a modern

FIG. 8: Cover image of *Simplicissimus*. Image illustrated by Karl Arnold [24 Jan. 1927]. Courtesy of Simplicissimus Projekt (DFG) / Pictoright.

cropped hairstyle playing the saxophone (Figure 8). A champagne advertisement inside this issue similarly vouched for a sonic definition of carnival celebrations: "Banjos twang, saxophones cry – Jazz pulsates the tempo of the times. Forget about the worries of daily life."[44] Jazz is not only associated with carnival excess, but also presented as a sonic emblem for the 1920s. In the case of this magazine cover, a racialised and sexualised representation of carnival freedom is offered through its music. This reflects a somewhat exoticised fascination with African-American culture as the origin of jazz music and new dance styles (as in the description of the black drummer boy as a "Nigger Boy" in the previous quote).

By 1928 and 1929, it is striking that, in addition to the usual brass marching bands, a number of jazz bands played in Rose Monday parades. Düsseldorf cinema manager Fritz Genandt's films of the street parades in these two years were also employed as footage for contemporary newsreels. Genandt's footage from 1928 depicts a group of men playing banjos, saxophones and other instruments on an extravagantly decorated float, while a 1929 float has men on horseback playing saxophones with blackened faces. The float following behind features men in white suits, party hats and blackened faces performing in a jazz band orchestration (*Es rauscht* 1951). This footage makes clear that the Jazz Age and its associations with African-Americans were included as essential components for the 1929 parade motto "contemporary caricatures" (*Karikadiz*, short for *Karikaturen der Zeit*). It is not entirely clear whether these parade participants were revelling in the "Jazz Age" or ridiculing it, yet it would seem that even the more traditional carnival guilds were taking note of developments in contemporary popular music.[45]

Indeed, despite the popular appeal of African-American jazz and dance music in carnival, black people were also presented negatively in the parades of the late 1920s. The theme of peace and demilitarisation was frequently used in parade floats of the 1920s, with criticism of the League of Nations in Geneva already appearing in Cologne's first street procession in 1927.[46] More specifically, archival sources for both 1928 and 1929 suggests that several floats made direct reference to the children of French colonial soldiers involved in the occupation of the Rhineland in the early 1920s. A Düsseldorf parade float from 1928 featured a woman in a nurse's costume with men dressed as babies waving from their cots. This float was accompanied by men on foot wearing baby-head masks, along with a man costumed in African dress. Likewise, the 1929 parade in Düsseldorf included a horse-drawn cart with the sign "city manger" (*Stadtfutterkrippe)*, suggesting that the city has to pay for the "fodder" fed to orphanage children. The twist is that it is not animals being fed, but men seated in a row with painted black faces. The implication in both cases is that there are church- or state-funded orphanages looking after the so-called "Rhineland bastards." These floats reflect the moral panic posed by the children born during the occupation of the Rhineland until 1925. Indeed, the French deployment of colonial soldiers had led to a large campaign concerned with the "Black horror on the Rhine" (Nelson 1970; van Galen Last 2006). In the Rhineland, between 600 to 800 mixed-race children were born during and following the French occupation, around half of whom were forcibly sterilised during National Socialism (Campt 2003: 324-5).

It is important to point out that this was not the first period in which black people were featured or imitated in Rose Monday parades. Carnival parades in the 1920s were not only a direct reaction to the military occupation of the Rhineland after World War I, but also refer back to Germany's national and colonial history. In the period around Germany's unification in 1871, carnival events were increasingly employed for staging the nation. In the decades after 1870, there was barely a carnival sitting that did not involve some tribute to the German emperor, with the national anthem frequently sung at the end of sittings. As Cornelia Brog observes, in the lead up to World War I, nationalist sentiments even led to a battle re-enactment in the Cologne streets with the cry "*Heil Kaiser!*" (2000: 198). This hail to the German emperor suggests that the (sonic) appropriation of carnival sittings for nationalist purposes during National Socialism was, to some degree, prefigured in the imperial era.

The use of carnival for asserting the nation was soon placed in direct relation to Germany's colonial project. One year after state-sponsored colonialism began in 1884, the Cologne parade theme was "Prince Carnival as Coloniser" (*Held Carneval als Kolonisator*) (Frohn 1999: 168). Against the background of popular support for Germany asserting its military power, this theme conflated carnival's central protagonist with the nation's colonial project.[47] Carnival in the 1890s and 1900s also endorsed Germany's colonial project and sometimes featured "exotic" people from African and Asian regions on parade floats. The carnival parades are one example of how the desire to establish a national identity after unification was exercised through the colonial project, with the subjugated colonial other employed as a means of defining the self.

While the scope of German colonialism was perhaps not as prominent as in Britain, France or other European nations, colonialist thinking remained persistent in the popular imagination.[48] Thus, even though Germany engaged in a so-called "late" or "belated" colonialism, scholars such as Susanne Zantop have documented the existence of "colonial fantasies" in Germany from the 1700s up to the present (1997). A paternalistic image of the German coloniser was not only offered in carnival, but developed in other festival-type events like circuses and annual markets, where displays of colonial and ethnic peoples situated the audience as potential colonialisers.[49] The "colonial imagination" fostered in circus and exhibition genres also fed into carnival fantasies, with circus shows such as "Buffalo Bill" in 1890 influencing the popularity of cowboy and Indian costumes in carnival (Moser 1972: 95).

Carnival parades in the 1920s exposed the post-war indignation that these earlier power relations between Germany and its colonial subjects had been reversed. As historian Tina Campt (2003) observes, the perception of the "Black horror" on the Rhine is inseparable from the loss of Germany's colonies and military power in 1919.[50] In this period, discourses about race and fears of racial mixture were fused with a nationalist discourse of German victimhood. Thus, while there had been fears expressed about miscegenation in the colonial era, the presence of African and north-African troops policing the white populace was condemned as both an insult and a threat. Nonetheless, as carnival floats of the late 1920s indicated, it was children of mixed racial heritage rather than

the occupying troops themselves, who were posited as a danger to German racial purity (Campt 2003: 337). Such discourses of purity and pollution could be found in much *völkisch* thinking in this period. Hitler, writing in 1928, criticised the French occupation as leading to "the de-Germanization, Negrification, and Judaization of our people."[51] The ongoing appeal of colonialist themes could also be found in the Berlin Colonial Week and Exhibition of 1925, which featured the slogan "*Volk ohne Raum*" (A people without space), which was associated with Hans Grimm's influential colonial novel of the same title in the 1920s. Meanwhile, the 1928 Colonial Exhibition in Stuttgart re-enacted colonial power relations by featuring a human zoo display (Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop 1998: 16).

Carnival parades and songs in the interwar period were thus a forum for a number of key trends in the broader cultural sphere. On the one hand, there was a celebration of African-American cultural forms as synonymous with modernity, with the modern sounds of jazz a central source of this fascination. On the other hand, anxieties about the dissolution of Germany's military power and the local experience of French occupation reflect a moral panic that was couched in racial terms. While philosopher Hannah Arendt (1951) famously suggested certain continuities between German imperialism and fascism, historian Pascal Grosse recalls that

> colonialism was less a prerequisite for the emergence of National Socialism's racial policies than an expression of the same intellectual eugenicist model at an earlier time and in a different historical setting. (2005: 129)

Nonetheless, the colonial imagination did persist during the Nazi era with heroic discourses about colonial history inhabiting a prominent place in films and popular novels. In Düsseldorf's carnival, too, there is a consistent pattern of references to colonial subjects and the lost colonies until the last carnival celebrations of 1939. In the years leading up to World War II, parades regularly featured men in African dress with blackened faces or in colonial explorer costumes (*Es rauscht* 1951). The radio broadcast of the 1939 Mainz washtub speech discussed previously is a prominent expression of paternalistic colonialist sentiments, with a Düsseldorf carnival float in the same year declaring to carnival revellers "The Colonies Await You."[52] Particularly in the interwar period, these ongoing colonial fantasies

> constituted a kind of projection surface that allowed for the insertion of different, even conflicting desires and interests. They made possible the conceptualization of a preindustrial Germanness that preserved the traditional German values of patriarchal peasant families deeply connected to the land. [...] Such colonial fantasies could comfortably accommodate a *Blut und Boden* ideology and could also serve as a terrain onto which the need for more *Lebensraum* could be projected. (Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop 1998: 23-4)

In other words, during this period colonial fantasies continued to facilitate concepts of German nationalism and identity. Moreover, the predominant sense of Germanness promoted, particularly in conservative and right-wing circles, was an idealised understanding of the homeland or *Heimat*.

The racial hierarchies perpetuated in colonial discourse also persisted in the Nazi critique of jazz and swing music as a "degenerate" threat to its perceived opposite: "German music" (Kater 1992). The "*Entartete Musik*" (Degenerate Music) exhibition held in Düsseldorf in 1938 provides a frame for these discourses, which appropriated the black "Jonny" character of Ernst Krenek's 1927 musical *Jonny spielt auf* as its main symbol. This musical, about a black jazz violinist, had gained enormous popular success following its premiere in 1927. In reappropriating this figure, the promotional poster for the 1938 exhibition posed jazz and swing music as a conspiracy between Jews and African-Americans (Figure 9). The poster depicts a presumably African-American musician playing a saxophone with the Jewish star of David on his jacket lapel. This fusion of blacks and Jews, therefore, continued to have a sonic component. While the musician appears to be a performer, with a formal suit and top hat, his facial features are exaggerated with large lips, eyes and ears that appear almost animal-like. While jazz was posited in terms of the sounds of the other – created by groups outside the acceptable social order – historical documentation suggests that a sizeable number of visitors flocked to the exhibition because they were fans of this genre (Dümling 2007).

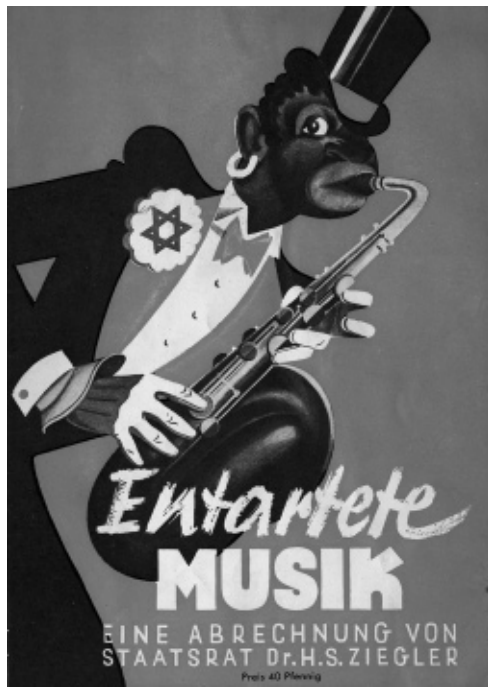

FIG. 9: *Entartete Musik*, promotional poster [1938]. Courtesy of BPK, Berlin.

The modern sounds of 1920s carnival were also contested in terms of their relationship to "German" tradition. Looking back at the transitional period of the late 1920s, Rhenish carnival historians such as Joseph Klersch (1961) lamented the influence of not only radio and jazz, but the entertainment industry more broadly for creating a "Hollywoodisation" of carnival. Indeed, Klersch suggests that the carnival societies were forced to take the pomp, tempo, styling and lighting effects from revues, which resulted in poorer songs and a "shallow eroticism" (172). Klersch's concerns echo those voiced throughout the interwar period about the need to restore carnival to its status as a people's festival (*Volksfestival*), a rhetorics that gained momentum during Nazism.[53] For cultural reformers, carnival had lost its connection to the *Heimat*, with the implication that the event had become too tourist-oriented in the post-World War I era, attracting crowds from outside the local area and region.[54] The importance of carnival song genres was often foregrounded, with Eduard Czwoydzinski – both a prominant Düsseldorf carnival and *Heimat* preservation figure – arguing that "the history of carnival songs is, in fact, the history of carnival itself."[55] His historical overview of carnival songs ends with the argument that the modern syncopated *Schlager* are unsuitable for carnival lyrics (1929: 19). Carnival songs themselves were considered an essential factor in cultivating *Heimat* sentiments. As psychologist Wolfgang Oelsner has observed, carnival

> offers the chance, like no other festival, to sing about the *Heimat*, to idealise it. This is always on the edge of being embarrassing, as it can become immersed in sentimentality and it can degenerate into chauvinistic raucousness.[56]

By around 1930, calls for *Heimat* preservation became more insistent and the undertone of "blood-and-soil" (*Blut und Boden*) thinking becomes more prevalent in the articles. Writing a historical overview for the tourism magazine *Düsseldorfer Woche* in 1936, Czwoydzinski's understanding of the carnival revival in the 1920s is situated in terms of mounting an opposition to the French occupation and the need to revive "the folk character (*Volkscharakter*) of the Rhineland."[57] While Czwoydzinski's earlier arguments reflected the investment of preservationists in *Volk* and *Heimat* culture, it is only after 1933 that their discourse was situated within a more explicit ideological and nationalistic frame (see Spickhoff 1929a: 8; 1938).

Celia Applegate (1990) has shown that *Heimat* movements and the concept of *Heimat* were already inextricably intertwined with the idea of nation in the nineteenth century. During National Socialism, then, it is perhaps less significant that the *Heimat* concept and the carnival festival were appropriated for the purposes of national culture, but that we can observe an ideological turn with a racially restricted concept of the nation as *Volksgemeinschaft*. Historian Rudy Koshar has emphasised an important distinction: where bourgeois *Heimat* groups sought "spiritualization" with the *Heimat* concept, Nazis sought "racialization" (1998: 130). Koshar posits *Heimat* and historic preservation between 1933 and 1945 as having the status of *privileged marginality*:

> Despite their contribution to the regime, most preservationists never tried to articulate their work fully within the cultural policies of Nazism. Their aim was to situate themselves securely in the political culture but also to establish a distance from it. [...] Nazism could be accommodated within the work of this particular association just as it could be sloughed off after 1945. No necessary connection existed between *Heimat* thinking and advocating Nazi goals. (177, 187)

Nonetheless, many *Heimat* preservation groups reinforced the trope about Nazism offering a decisive break in national history. A Düsseldorf official, Hans Apffelstadt, talking at a historic preservation meeting in 1933, enthused that National Socialist rule had allowed a new era to emerge: "Keenly listening for the voice of his own blood, the German man begins to get a sense of his own great past."[58] It is with such discourses, as Koshar emphasises, that *Heimat* groups began to participate in a concept of belonging based on race rather than national culture.

Heimat was not only asserted through images and an "optic identity," as historians like Koshar or Alon Confino (1997) suggest, but also through spoken language. The preservation of regional dialect (*Mundart*) was identified by most *Heimat* preservationists and researchers as essential to maintaining local identity.[59] However, it should be emphasised that the idealised understanding of German dialect was not always practised during Nazism, which usually took a pragmatic, nationalist approach to the issue of language.[60] In the case of carnival, broadcasts made by Cologne and syndicated to other stations increasingly required a voice with inflection that was still easily understandable for all German listeners. While carnival continued to appeal to *Heimat* through its songs, dialect and radio broadcasts, it was thus increasingly typified by the use of High German. There is thus a persistent tension between carnival as a local event and its appropriation by the Nazis to bring the German *Volk* together in the sound of a national *Heimat*. Elite *Heimat* groups did not always concur with the official understanding of *Heimat* and *Volk* culture practised after 1933. Nor is the relationship between *Heimat* thinking and Nazism necessarily a given, since the *Heimat* concept has been used historically for different intents and purposes. Scholars like Koshar also warn against simplified readings of *Heimat* and *Volk* thinking as having an intrinsic relationship to anti-modern or premodern behaviour. More generally, the self-perception of "marginality" entertained by *Heimat* preservationists and researchers allowed for the use of *Heimat* language immediately after World War II to assert a distance from the Nazi regime and the beginning of a new era (von Saldern 2004: 345-6). The reopening of the Cologne radio station in 1945, for instance, was accompanied by official statements asserting the continuity of *Heimat* (Karst 1984).[61]

We have seen how Germany's status as a newly-fledged nation influenced nineteenth-century colonial fantasies and concepts of otherness presented in carnival, along with the role of *Heimat* thinking in establishing a regional and national self-definition through sound. The pervasiveness of *Heimat* thinking and concepts of folk culture in representing regional and national identity, as I have

argued, found particular expression in the exchange between carnival sounds and spoken dialect. Such appeals to *Heimat* were part of ongoing cultural anxieties about modernity, which identified commercialisation and foreign influences as threats to carnival's status as a folk festival. A musical style like jazz was initially employed as an expression of modernity, yet its status remained ambiguous due to the concurrent associations with the French occupation of the 1920s and Germany's lost African colonies. The implication of jazz as anti-authoritarian, moreover, made it even more of a target for those who sought to reaffirm conservative or racialist values with the carnival festival. This signals the overall reorientation of carnival as a means of establishing and reinforcing (racial) distinctions on the basis of belonging to the *Volksgemeinschaft* (national-racial community). The next section will consider more closely how carnival parades under National Socialism were used to stereotype Jews as radically other, with particular reference to spoken voice and appearance for defining this alterity.

Anti-Semitic Violence as Festival

Right-wing ideologues retrospectively described the Weimar era as defined by the political and social influence of Jews (Katz 1991). On this basis, the reorganisation of carnival after 1933 was also identified as an opportunity to suppress Jewish involvement in carnival guilds and committees. In 1935, the Nazi *Westdeutscher Beobachter* newspaper asserted that prior to the Nazi takeover, Jews had a "strong influence" in numerous carnival guilds and Düsseldorf events such as the Zoo balls (*Zoobälle*) and Red parties (*Fest in Rot*) (Brog 2000: 35). While this view is symptomatic of anti-Semitic paranoia about "Jewish influence" during the 1920s, there were some people with a Jewish background involved in carnival organisation and guilds, but only in relatively small numbers.[62] For example, some Jewish artists from Düsseldorf's progressive arts scene were also members of the Malkasten artist society and contributed to their annual carnival events (Baumeister and Kleinbongartz 1998: 37-9). The Malkasten society reflected a somewhat conservative stance with respect to artistic styles and its membership, but it did organise popular masked balls during the carnival season. Jewish artist Arthur Kaufmann, for instance, was involved in a carnival decoration design in 1931, which was rejected by the society's board and led to a significant number of members leaving the society in protest. According to historians Annette Baumeister and Sigrid Kleinbongartz, the case was treated by the *Düsseldorfer Landeszeitung*, a newspaper for left-leaning liberals, as indicative of a "Nazi terror" conducted by the Malkasten board. Meanwhile, the Nazi *Volksparole* newspaper argued that it was the artists who were at fault for propagating a cultural bolshevism (*Kulturbolschewismus*) (1998: 30).[63] Such complaints increased in subsequent years with attempts to distinguish carnival from Weimar culture and associations with so-called "degenerated" (*entartet*) art and music like jazz.

During the 1920s there was a "hardening of attitudes" towards Jews in Düsseldorf, with increasing attacks in the right-leaning press and political parties

(Kauders 1996: 80-2). At this time, several different Jewish groups lived in Düsseldorf, but these by no means represented a politically or religiously homogeneous faction (Benz 2001: 49). The "*Ostjuden*" living in Düsseldorf in the interwar period were mainly first-generation residents, following the first waves of immigration from Eastern Europe after 1870.[64] *Ostjuden* was a term, also employed by Jews, to refer to Yiddish-speaking, mostly deeply-religious Polish and other eastern European Jews. While *Ostjuden* were the main focus of anti-Semitic stereotypes, such discourse did not distinguish between various groups in its attack on Jews.[65] As I indicated in Chapter One, an increasing number of SA attacks on Jews occurred during the course of the 1920s, and led to a large number of Düsseldorf Jews leaving the city between 1933 and 1935 (Voigt and Wiesemann 1983: 3).

It was precisely this increased emigration that carnival floats during the first years of Nazi rule commented upon. There are over ten examples of anti-Semitic floats in the available literature and sources, but presumably there were many more instances. Many floats comment on Jews leaving Germany and the forced closure of Jewish businesses.[66] For instance, a 1935 carnival float in Schwabach (near Nuremberg) named two local Jewish shopkeepers forced out of business with a shop front sign "change of ownership" (*Firmenwechsel*) (Hesse and Springer 2002: 84).[67] After 1935, the loss of rights and racial segregation brought about by the Nuremberg racial laws was emphasised, for instance, in a Cologne parade float with the dialect title "They've trodden on his ties" (*Däm han se op d'r Schlips getrodde!*). This float, officially endorsed by the carnival organisation, depicted oversized black stormtrooper boots stamping on a man's tie. The man's appearance is stereotyped as Jewish with a hooked nose and big lips.[68] In the lead up to World War II, as the representation of Jews became increasingly stereotyped, carnival floats included more references to Jews in terms of a supposed international conspiracy. Jewish politicians from Russia and America, who publicly criticised Nazism, were personally attacked in parade-float slogans and representations (Friess-Reimann 1978: 113; Brog 2000: 233-4). The conspiracy of Jewish influence, also emphasised in the 1939 carnival radio broadcast that I analysed earlier, concealed the destruction of Jews' economic existence and livelihood in Germany during the 1930s.

Undoubtedly, it is the physical attributes of Jews that are exaggerated for the purposes of carnival humour. Almost all the parade costumes make reference to "*Ostjuden*" and orthodox dress to distinguish Jews as different and strange. The men on the 1934 float in Cologne wore costumes with top hats, dark hair, glasses and exaggerated facial features. Yet the floats also suggest a way of speaking, with the voice as central to anti-Semitic representation. The 1934 float in Cologne is titled "*Die Letzten ziehen ab*" (The last ones are leaving) and depicts a map of how the Jews are leaving for Western Europe and Palestine (Figure 10). Written on the board is "*Mer mache nur e kleines Ausflügche nach Liechtenstein und Jaffa,*" which refers roughly to the supposed decision of Jews to go on an "excursion" out of Germany. While the Low German dialect (*plattdeutsch*) was revered and privileged as an authentic local dialect, particularly in carnival, the implied inflection here is that of Yiddish. The exaggerated movements and whis-

FIG. 10: Cologne carnival parade float titled "*Die Letzten ziehen ab*" [The last ones are leaving] [1934].
Photo archive, Yad Vashem.

pered exchanges of the men on the float combined with this use of Yiddish, stages a clichéd notion of Jewish behaviour.

The implication of this anti-Semitic representation is the speech of the Jew, with the sound of Jews suggested to be that of "*mauscheln*." This word implies sneaky, whispering speech, and has been historically linked to Jews in Germany from the 1700s onwards.[69] As linguist Hans Peter Althaus argues, while Jews could unselfconsciously employ the term *mauscheln* during the Weimar era, the connotations of the word were further politicised in the 1930s, as

> the new rulers and their followers imitated the Jewish tone of voice and quoted their use of foreign words, in order to exclude Jews even more decisively from their *völkisch* community. (2002: 172)[70]

In other words, *mauscheln* was repeatedly employed as a marker of linguistic difference and thus a sign of alterity. Historian Sander Gilman (1991) has traced such examples of the represention of Jewish language and gesture from *fin de siècle* Europe to post-World War II America. As Gilman points out, the Jews' language is employed as a signifier for their corrupt discourse and this projection occurs because the so-called "informed listener hears the Jew hidden within no matter whether this difference is overt or disguised" (1991: 19).[71] Gilman identifies the definition of Jewish language as other and suspicious within German anti-Semitism as involving acts of projection:

> Jews sound different because they are represented as being different. [...] Within the European tradition of seeing the Jew as different, there is a closely linked tradition of *hearing* the Jew's language as marked by the corruption of being a Jew. (1991: 11-2, my emphasis)[72]

The desire to detect and recognise Jewish speech – as an attuned act of listening – is closely linked to a broader process of representing the Jew as culturally and visually other. Moreover, *mauscheln* is used to denote Jewish speech as a hidden, suspicious language or manner of speaking German.

Cultural theorists Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (2002) take these observations further by suggesting that anti-Semites produce a concept of the Jew that is almost imitative:

> All the gesticulations devised by the *Führer* and his followers are pretexts for giving way to the mimetic temptation without openly violating the reality principle. [...] They detest the Jews and imitate them constantly. There is no anti-Semite who does not feel an instinctive urge to ape what he takes to be Jewishness. The same mimetic codes are constantly used: the argumentative jerking of the hands, the singing tone of the voice, which vividly animates a situation or a feeling. (150)

In other words, the experience of hearing Jews is translated to the speech, tone and bodily movement of the anti-Semite, who mimics precisely that which he is seeking to cast out.[73] This imitation of Jews is evident in carnival parades, where Jewish suffering became the target of carnival humour, with guild members dressing up as (Orthodox) Jews. In such costumes and float depictions, carnival's traditional exaggeration of anatomy is appropriated for the purposes of delineating Jews as social pariahs. In this sense, the carnival parades during National Socialism cast out the grotesque, presenting stereotypes that posited Jews as enemies of the German people (*Volksfeinde*).

In the Nazis' rejection of Jews and the desire to expel them from society there are unconscious forms of imitation, which they identify in the physical gestures of the hands, body and the tone of voice. Adorno and Horkheimer's description of anti-Semite mimetic behaviour is couched in acoustic terms, with its locus or medium being the body. Focusing on the facial expressions of Nazis, Adorno and Horkheimer observe that it is the fascist's grimace in particular that is "the painful echo of overwhelming power, violence which finds utterance in complaint" (2002: 150). Sounds are therefore employed as part of vocal utterances and acts of (hate) speech, which contrast with the supposedly quiet and whispered *mauscheln* of Jews. The excess of volume in anti-Semitic utterances is portrayed as intrinsic to the cry of terror:

> Even the plaintive sounds of nature are appropriated as an element of technique. The bellowing of these orators is to the pogrom what its howling klaxon is to the German flying bomb: the cry of terror which announces terror is mechanically switched on. The screamers deliberately use the wail of the

> victim, which first called violence by its name, and even the mere word which designates the victim – Frenchman, Negro, Jew – to induce in themselves the desperation of the persecuted who have to hit out. (150)

Indeed, in this understanding, it is the cry of the victim that is absorbed into the noisy din of the fascists' screaming and intimidation. This is suggestive of the official "noise" of power described by Attali, whereby noise is not only "a source of power" but can even override the sounds of its victims (1985: 6). Adorno and Horkheimer note that the linguistic operation of hate speech depends on the designation of French, blacks and Jews, three particularly prominent targets in German carnival rituals during the 1930s, as other.

The pre-modern character of anti-Semitic expression is asserted by Adorno and Horkheimer, insofar as they see projection onto the other as an automatic reflex and defence mechanism associated with the origin of humans as hunters. In terms of mimetic behaviour, the speech acts and gestures of anti-Semites are linked to extreme emotions of rage and laughter: In other words, anti-Semites accused Jews of ancient mysticism, while fascists themselves invested heavily in cult-like rituals, symbols and behaviour (152). Once again, the acoustic qualities of these rituals are emphasised, from drumming to propaganda slogans and gestures. Meanwhile, the fascist orator is allowed certain flaws or freedoms not permitted to the general populace. Hitler's furious physical and vocal expressions are described as clown-like, while Goebbels' imitative behaviour shares similarities with the Jews he denigrates.[74]

The carnivalesque of fascist oratory is emphasised in these descriptions. Adorno and Horkheimer are astute in their recognition of a continuum between rage and laughter, whereby those disliked or feared are targeted in jokes or laughter. However, describing this behaviour as entirely premodern is perhaps too simplistic. Historian Michael Wildt notes that there are similarities between Nazi rites of violence, such as "racial disgrace" (*Rassenschande*) processions and medieval popular justice practices like charivari. From 1933 onwards, there were incidents of Jews being forced to parade through streets in spectacles of humiliation.[75] In 1935 and 1936, these processions occurred more frequently, following a series of court cases charging those in "mixed" relationships as "racial defilers" (*Rassenschändler*). In popular justice practices, those accused were usually forced to wear a placard, march through the streets and have their hair cut off in front of those watching, often accompanied by brass instruments or noise-making. These events usually involved the participation of a local community or passersby, including women, children and youth, those present often chanted, laughed, insulted or spat on victims (Wildt 2007: 241, 366). As Wildt maintains, the stress on sexual mores and honour in Nazi practices do resemble the early-modern use of the charivari to police community behaviour. However, those conducting such rites in the 1930s were enacting their participation in National Socialist society by mimicking its politics of violence: "The "people's law" that the local National Socialist groups practised in their actions against Jewish civilians found – by way of mimicry – a popular (*volkstümlich*) form of jurisdiction."[76] Such examples do suggest a concept of "fun" or "amusement" during Nazism involving humiliation

and denunciation, whereby the overall festivalisation of the everyday produced an overlapping between carnival and military-style rites of "muscular bonding."

These practices of humiliation, moreover, were less about maintaining traditional or premodern values than establishing a racist anti-Semitic *Volksgemeinschaft* (ethnic community). In contrast to an early modern anti-Jewishness primarily motivated on religious grounds, Nazi anti-Semitism occurred within the framework of the modern nation state (see Benz 2001: 102, 44-6). Nonetheless, the fears of racial mixture behind *Rassenschande* trials and popular justice rituals do show a parallel to the threat posed by African Germans discussed earlier. Unlike colonial subjects, however, carnival's depictions of the abstract idea of the Jew's appearance and voices did not involve a fascination with the exotic, but sought more resolutely to cast Jews as inferior others. Carnival parades, as well as popular justice practices, used Jews as a way of projecting difference, which reinforced the sense of self as belonging to the *Volk* and *Heimat* (Jeggle 1972: 49).

The above examples suggest the potential for overlap between anti-Semitic repression and the representation of Jews in carnival. In fact, the carnival period came to provide a trigger or pretext for attacks on Jewish shops and property. For example, revellers returning home from carnival celebrations to the town of Moers-Meerbach near Düsseldorf attacked a number of Jewish shops and property in February 1936.[77] The same year, Düsseldorf painter Albert Herzfeld noted in his diary that carnival celebrations had recently taken place, but his family "absolutely did not participate" (1982: 51). This statement, which is not elaborated on in the diary entries, hints at the fact that carnival had become a site for voicing exclusionary and anti-Semitic sentiments. Indeed, following the 1935 introduction of the Nuremberg race laws, the organisation of carnival was completely "Aryanised" (Brog 2000: 226). Rose Monday crowds were now imagined as such, with the carnival community (*Narrengemeinschaft*) rendered synonymous with the ethnic folk community (*Volksgemeinschaft*).

Despite post-1945 assertions that the German public was not supportive of anti-Semitic floats, archival photographs of Rose Monday parades show predominantly enthusiastic reactions and gestures in crowds. A photo of the 1936 parade in Marburg depicts the gleeful laughter of the crowd watching a float with men costumed as stereotypical Jews. "Off to Palestine," the float's banner declares, while another notes that Jews should pay taxes to the city treasury as soon as possible (Hesse and Springer 2002: 84). Following the increased repression of homosexuality from 1935 onwards, the policing of sexual mores was evident in carnival with bans introduced on male cross-dressing in carnival parades and washtub speeches.[78] Carnival was thus confirmed as a site for the exclusion of Jews and all those unwelcome in the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

The increase in violence towards Jews in the late 1930s warrants further consideration of the "festival" under Nazism. For these purposes, Albert Herzfeld's diaries, kept between 1935 and 1939, offer useful insights into the measures taken against Jews and "non-Aryans" in the lead up to the November 1938 pogrom. Herzfeld, born in 1865, came from an industrialist and well-connected Jewish family, and was also a World War I veteran and former military officer. After a period of intensified anti-Semitic attacks and discrimination, Herzfeld

observed that by 15 October 1938, all Jews had had to hand in their passports to the police, which made overseas travel almost impossible (1982: 47).[79]

On the outbreak of the so-called "*Kristallnacht*" (Crystal night) pogrom in 1938, Herzfeld recorded his experience of being an earwitness to this violence.[80] Lying in bed following an illness, Herzfeld noted how he heard the attacks on the house of his Jewish neighbour Salomon Loeb opposite.[81] As Herzfeld recounts, their door was forced open around midnight and there were wails and pained cries from Loeb, who received multiple stab wounds. All the other residents saw the events from their windows, but no police officers came to give assistance. Following the arrival of an ambulance for his neighbour, Herzfeld made specific mentions of the sounds he heard:

> After another half hour a second group of vandals arrived, walking in military lock-step (I could hear everything exactly from bed) and I could distinctly hear a rowdy scream "Who here made the telephone call?" before another cry of pain arose. The word "Jew" could be heard many times in combination with all types of swear words, which were audible across the entire street. (1982: 115)

Herzfeld wrote that he listened to the noise of destruction from his bed until 2am, when he heard a voice give the order "Attention. Now march to the next shop" (116). In his diary, Herzfeld described his anguish at being privy to this pogrom, reflecting the confusion of those unexpectedly at the brunt of what Adorno and Horkheimer described as "limitless" terror (2002: 150).[82]

That people were alerted to the pogrom by acoustic cues appears in much of the Jewish testimonies about November 1938.[83] The first signs that something was happening were described in terms of hearing sounds in the street, including that of furniture, art, pianos and breakables being smashed and thrown out of windows onto the street. In some places, civilians were alerted to the pogrom not only by the noise of fire and destruction, but also with alarms or fire sirens, which led people to go to synagogues to find out what was happening (Wildt 2007: 344). Based on such recollections, it is clear that, for those people living without the protection of the state against violence, street sounds were a vital source for anticipating potential problems, a theme I will discuss further in Chapter Three.

The crossover between festival, carnival and anti-Semitic violence is further revealed since the 1938 violence coincided with the period marking St Martin's Day on 10 November and the official opening to the carnival season on 11 November. Cologne historian Max-Leo Schwering recalls that on opening of the 1938 season, a KdF *Winterhilfswerk* coin collection took place around the Schildergasse in Cologne, near the ruins of the city's Great Synagogue.[84] The three Cologne carnival figures of the prince, the maiden and the farmer collected donations as if nothing had happened, despite walking over broken glass, with ash and smoke still surrounding the destroyed synagogue. Schwering's earwitness testimony infers that the sound of walking over broken glass was not only ignored, but masked by the jangling of coin boxes, which was intended for poor racial comrades (*Volksgenossen*), rather than Jews persecuted in the pogrom.

Those who donated money were given lapel pins, to demonstrate their participation in helping fellow ethnic Germans. Schwering's testimony emphasises the disregard of carnival participants for Jewish suffering, since this incident took place in close proximity to Cologne's Neumarkt Square, which was a key location for carnival celebrations and Rose Monday parades.

Other "earwitness" testimony emphasises the role of sound in the city as a feature of exclusion or intimidation, along with the changed soundscape caused by the pogrom. In 1938, as Düsseldorf resident Karl Maria Spennrath observed, there was a marked absence of St Martin's Day events in the inner city of Düsseldorf, with none of the usual merry sounds of singing in the streets. In fact, the recollection of these events evoked an acoustic memory for Spennrath, since the St Martin's song "*Lasst uns froh und munter sein*" (Let us be happy and blithe) sung by children could not be heard in the streets:

> "*Lustig, lustig, trallerlalala, nun ist Martinsabend da*" [Merry, merry, tra-la-la-la, now the Martin's night is here] – No, I didn't hear it on this evening, although I did think of the song that I sung so many times on the Martin's evening as a child: "*o helft mir doch in meiner Not, sonst ist der bittere Frost mein Tod*" [O help me in my need, otherwise the bitter frost will be my death]. (n.d.: 3)

In this recollection, written in the late 1950s, Spennrath tries to express the acoustic contrast through the songs usually associated with St Martin's Day and the beginning of carnival in the Rhineland. Instead of the usual happiness experienced with the start to the "Fifth Season," Spennrath expresses disappointment that the central message of St Martin was lost during Nazism. The lyric he cites at the end of this quote refers to the legend that St Martin cut up his own coat to help a poor man in rags during winter. Few would have made such an act of generosity following the pogrom, Spennrath suggests, as people were afraid of being labelled "enemies of the state" and excluded from society.[85]

In response, it is difficult to ascertain to what degree Nazi terror can be blamed for the actions (or inaction) of Germans. Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman argues that, even though there were large numbers of Germans who disliked the violence of November 1938, they often still supported strategies that allowed for the "segregation, separation, and disempowering of the Jews" (2000b: 222).[86] Spennrath's comments do indicate that people did fear social exclusion and did not want to be cast out of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. In any case, the establishment of a *Volksgemeinschaft* was a political process that the whole of society took part in (Wildt 2007: 358). The rhetoric of those taking part in carnival was a part of this social transformation, with carnival being used to enact belonging in the *Volkgemeinschaft*. As such, carnival offered the possibility of smoothing over social differences and had quickly assured participants that they would not be the brunt of carnival jokes (Jeggle 1972: 47-8). The only people who were obvious targets for carnival humour were those outside the scope of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. To some degree, the event put people's minds at ease by minimising ambiguity in its jokes and performing belonging with song, group participation and references to *Heimat* and *Volk*.

The radio segment I discussed earlier in this chapter indicated that by 1939, Jews were represented and discussed in an increasingly abstract manner. The forced removal of Jews from certain parts of city, if not from public life completely, was increasingly naturalised given that Jews were cast out of the German moral economy. Jews were marked as different and unable to be part of the German people and spirit, causing a sense of discomfort or *Unheimlichkeit* to those in their vicinity.[87] Such sentiments, to some degree, explain the popularity of floats celebrating the emigration of Jews from the various carnival cities. Indeed, anti-metropolitan sentiments in Nazi ideology were also tied up with the notion that the modern city is a place of Jews (and Jewish influence). As Sander Gilman argues, this understanding of the city of Jews:

> haunts Adolf Hitler's image of Vienna, the city in which he first learns to "see" the Jew and, therefore, becomes aware of the "hidden" difference in this language of the Jew – even when he or she is speaking "good" German. (32)

In other words, the city itself was identified as a locus for the acoustic recognition of Jews, who are distinguished by their use of German, which is marked as "other." Moreover, efforts to enforce the geographical movement and separation of Jews from other Germans were part of the broader attempt to depersonalise them and designate "the Jew" as an abstract figure. Indeed, amongst many examples, the diaries of Jewish linguist Victor Klemperer document the way that radio was used as a platform for imitating Jewish accents and voices. An entry in May 1943 noted that:

> On the radio there is incessant hatred against Jews. In the most senseless and undignified manner. Yesterday particular animosity, because the Americans wanted to occupy the island of Martinique. [...] A whispered conversation of two Jews about it, about the kind of business they would make here and elsewhere, everywhere in the world, at the expense of the Goys [*Goyim*].[88]

This example indicates how Jewish voices were imitated by radio-makers with the intention of portraying American military actions as irrevocably associated with Jews and capitalist greed. Indeed, similar tactics were used in reference to the British, who were also repeatedly accused of succumbing to Jewish influence. In a Berlin newspaper in 1942, it was noted that "Radio London *mauschelt*," which associated British radio with a supposedly sneaky, Jewish-influenced speech.[89] Intensified representations of the abstract or stereotyped Jew, therefore, were coupled with the reduced visual and sonic presence of Jews in everyday life.

This section has been mainly devoted to the ways that anti-Semitism figured in carnival during the 1930s. The notion of *mauscheln* was emphasised in Rose Monday parades, projecting Jewish otherness with stereotypes of their voice and language, as well as their physical appearance. Carnival also commented on the exclusion of Jews from public life, with civic organisations such as the carnival guilds providing an example of how Jews were denied participation in social

networks. Indeed, the pre-existence of civic structures like carnival guild organisations facilitated the Nazi takeover of the event.

By focusing on a "festivalisation" of the everyday, I have noted similarities between (popular) festivals of violence and carnival, which involved muscular forms of community bonding and restricted notions of belonging on the grounds of race and sexuality. Both violence and carnival involved a ritual quality, involving chants, laughter and humiliation, although carnival floats usually presented this exclusion in representational form. Nonetheless, the fluidity between these events suggests the role of violence for participating in a society based on racial principles. As historian Michael Wildt emphasises, there was a unifying aspect to the participation in violence, as an experience of self-affirmation. "Everyone can take part," Wildt writes, "without taking any responsibility or leadership as an individual. Even the most cowardly person is allowed to take a punch and enact violence without fear of retaliation by the victim."[90] Although anti-Semitic attacks also occurred during the Weimar era, at least there was still some possibility of opposing this violence with police intervention and the judicial system. During National Socialism, therefore, not only did violence become more festival-like, but the carnival festival, too, was confirmed as an expression of radical exclusion. Carnival humour directed at those outside the *Volksgemeinschaft* manifested this exclusion in its laughter and calls, musical songs, radio broadcasts and across the urban soundscape more generally.

Conclusion

Jacques Attali's *Noise*, as I noted earlier, poses a binary between the Festival and the Norm. According to this understanding, the noisy Festival offers a distinct, yet temporary rupture from the official sanctions of the Norm (23). My analysis has shown that this opposition is not applicable to Nazi Germany, which featured what I have called the festivalisation of everyday life. The principle of the festival dominating the everyday – becoming the norm itself – is suggested by the many holiday events spread across the calendar year during Nazism. For all of these national holidays and special events, cities were visually and spatially occupied, as the previous chapter's analysis of the Schlageter memorial festival also indicated, with the creation of a (mediated) experience of affirmative resonance. This proliferation of official events and celebrations within the everyday meant that carnival was officialised, while official events were festivalised. While costume parties and similar events continued to appeal to bourgeois fantasies, carnival under Nazism by no means offered a utopian space or a liberation from the status quo. Carnival maintained certain differences to the more solemn official rituals, yet it did not warrant the ongoing claims of guild organisers about carnival as a distinct event with its own temporality. Carnival's associations as a popular tradition nonetheless contributed to the overall social legitimisation of the Nazi regime. In this sense, Attali is right when he emphasises that sound is "what links a power center to its subjects" (6). Attali argues that power depends on the exclusion and repression of noise as a means of creating order and com-

munity. Noise, as dissonant sound, offers a useful metaphor for the ways that power excludes oppositional elements to create consensus. Carnival under Nazism, nonetheless, is a paradoxical example as it revels in its noisy parade sounds and music, which were simultaneously appropriated in the staging of state power in the public sphere.

In terms of humour, carnival after 1933 was marked by a significant reduction of ambiguity and satire in humour, both in carnival and the Nazi era more generally. Humour during Nazism has usually been articulated mainly in terms of "whispered jokes" (*Flüsterwitze*) told by German people, as a form of opposition or resistance to the regime. In fact, there has been a tendency for historical scholarship to categorise National Socialism as humourless, with party members as wary or incapable of humour (Gamm 1963). In fact, as historian Patrick Merziger emphasises, there was more humour than ever during Nazism and these whispered jokes were "welcomed by the regime, they were treated with goodwill and amusement, and they were understood as a token of affection from the people" (2007: 278). While official organs of the Nazi Party themselves employed satire, the main satirical magazines were forced to discontinue printing satirical jokes about social types due to public pressure.[91] Merziger argues that satire was no longer popular with the public as it ultimately posed the risk of certain groups being ridiculed and thus cast out of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. Similar to the case of carnival humour, the most prevalent and preferred form of humour identified by Merziger was

> the all-embracing, harmonious, and non-contentious laughter. [...] This form, the "German Humour", became the humour of National Socialism, through public pressure and not by coercion. People protested against humour that could be understood as protest. Everyone wanted to laugh together, and everyone laughed together, but only as long as one wanted or was allowed to toe the line. (2007: 277, 289)

In other words, there was a public demand for an inclusive humour that would affirm belonging for those within the scope of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. By affirming "German humour," the risk of exclusion from society could be minimised. Even though Rhenish carnival events increasingly facilitated laughter about those who were clearly demarcated as other, there was an ongoing tendency towards light banter and skits in carnival broadcasts and *Heimat* programming.

The need to preserve one's social status in a dictatorship thus seems to have been an influential factor in calls to reduce ambiguous humour after 1933. This trend also undermines the claims made in many post-war historical accounts written by carnival guilds, which suggested that jokes about the party were "deadly" during Nazism. To give an example, in the lead up to the official exhibition in Düsseldorf "*Schaffendes Volk*," the 1937 carnival motto chosen was "Laughing People" (*Lachendes Volk*). Rather than mock the official party event, as some commentators have implied, this reference should be read as a form of cross-promotion linking these events, both of which fell under KdF tourist organisation.[92] The people, according to this formulation, were affirmed as both productive and

hard-working, as well as having fun and a sense of humour. On the whole, then, the persistent notion of humour as a form of political resistance, also present in Bakhtin's account, has been used misleadingly to affirm the German people as distinct from the Nazi Party, due to their supposed protest through jokes.[93]

In this chapter, I have posited carnival sounds as a case that testifies to the overall festivalisation of the everyday under Nazism. Carnival may seem an unusual ritual for this project, yet carnival's noisy energy was compatibile with National Socialism's occupation of the urban environment. Carnival discourse during Nazism also called for a new type of person who was youthful and vigorous, which is in keeping with the militarist associations with Schlageter that I discussed in the previous chapter. Similar to the medieval carnival festival described by Bakhtin, a sense of belonging was enabled by the communal experience of being in the crowd and participating in vocal-corporal activities of "muscular bonding." Radio, as I have shown, emphasised the experience of carnival as an acoustic event, with broadcasts publicising the event and dispersing its sounds to a regional and national listening audience. This shift enabled the festival to be expanded beyond the face-to-face interaction of the urban marketplace, as radio increasingly stretched the time-space coordinates of the festival and allowed for participation at a distance.

Despite the initial articulation of the carnival festival as an exuberant expression of the Jazz Age, carnival also became a platform for articulating opposition to the earlier presence of black French colonial troops during the occupation of the Rhineland. Central to this sharp delineation of belonging and otherness, as I have discussed here, was an assertion of carnival according to an ethnic definition of Germanness. The pre-existing concept of *Heimat* was a key tool in this process, whereby local or regional identification – often through dialect – was grounded in nationalist discourse. Carnival events were thus part of a broader attempt during National Socialist rule to establish a national sound of *Heimat*. This acoustic participation in the *Volksgemeinschaft*, as my analysis has suggested, is intertwined with an emphasis on the acoustic dimensions of otherness. With marked similarities emerging between carnival rites and anti-Semitic terror, carnival humour increasingly ridiculed Jewish speech, appearance and their fate during Nazism. In this sense, violence and hate speech comprised perhaps the most striking distinction from the utopian carnival described by Bakhtin: whereas carnival violence in the medieval era usually erupted as a challenge to authority, Nazism took carnival's noisy impulses to affirm its racist concept of nationalism. The festivalisation of the everyday not only suggested that the festival can become part of the norm, but that rites of military bonding and festive bonding merged and shared a similar function of policing the boundaries of self and other.

In the following chapter, I will return to the expanded role attributed to radio for performing national events and celebrations in the context of World War II. Similar to the claims of the washtub speakers from January 1939, military successes were performed and celebrated on the radio with evocative songs, often based on existing national or religious repertoire or as new campaign themes. In what follows, the functions and uses of existing symbolic repertoire – like the sirens and church bells used in the Schlageter events and for nation elections – be-

came more differentiated. Among other dimensions to the soundscape of wartime German cities, I will explore how sirens were redefined as a mode of disciplinary control in wartime, while church bells continued to be appropriated for their religious symbolism and to justify Germany's role in the war.

3. Mobilising Sound for the Nation at War

The specific contribution of sound to cultural expressions of modern national identity has been emphasised in recent scholarship (see Revill 2000; Connell and Gibson 2003; Biddle and Knights 2007). This interest in how the nation is performed through sound and music has underscored how such practices are produced spatially. The intersections of (national) identity and cultural geographies can even reflect an "aural border" that delimits acoustic identities in a particular geopolitical area (Kun 2000). In the case of Germany, its nationalism since the nineteenth century had been particularly dependent on such a process. As George Mosse argues, "ritual, songs, and national symbols were used to shape the crowd into a disciplined mass in order to give it direction and maintain control" (1975: 2). Building on such narratives, the previous two chapters concentrated primarily on the role of sound in the reworking of identity patterns and the production of space under National Socialism, with a particular stress on the first five years of the regime. I also emphasised the efforts to produce conducive modes of attentive listening in both urban public space and domestic radio reception. In what follows, I will account for the intensified use of radio for nationally-syndicated programming and the conception of broadcasting as a "cultural front" following the outbreak of war in September 1939. As such, this chapter is particularly concerned with the attempts to produce and maintain an ideal of the "imagined community" (Anderson 1991), as harnessed through the timing of radio broadcast announcements and pursued in the spatial organisation of the urban home front with alarm systems and acoustic forms of surveillance.

The first important aspect in this investigation of the wartime soundscape concerns the use of radio to manipulate listening attention, interrupt usual radio routines and stage a mediated experience of national celebration. In order to sketch out the imaginative space promoted for radio, I will examine the case of an irregular, yet much-anticipated radio event in Germany during World War II. Special announcements (known as *Sondermeldungen*) were surprise interruptions to the normal broadcast schedule, ranging between twenty seconds and twenty minutes in length, which were used to deliver important announcements from the German military between 1939 and 1945.[1] Despite the large amount of research about radio propaganda during the Nazi period, no serious attention has been given to these *Sondermeldungen*.[2] I will closely examine the links between traditional, World War I and newer campaign theme songs in the *Sondermeldungen*, which symbolically posited Hitler's resemblance to great German leaders of the past and his "God-given" mandate to lead Germany. I will draw on personal accounts, memoirs, official Nazi sources and archived radio material

for my analysis of *Sondermeldungen* as facilitating experiences of the nation as an "imagined *listening* community" and performing Germany's unity and military power by means of musical song and symbolic sounds. This analysis will concentrate in particular on the temporal organisation of radio programming for emphasising liveness and the co-participation of listeners "as earwitnesses" to large-scale events.

The second major interest is how wartime alarm systems and safety routines were employed as a template for establishing a controlled experience of urban space. In addressing the specific socio-geographical conditions under which (radio) listening occurred, I am particularly interested in how wartime conditions affected the listening experience and sensory perception of the city: How did listeners use sound to negotiate the space of the darkened and threatened city? The analysis will concentrate on official air-protection (*Luftschutz*) measures, with the spatial distribution of sirens (as acoustic signals) as an example of the stress on safety precautions and disciplined behaviour. The heightened awareness of urban populations to sound as a means of survival during aerial attacks raises issues regarding how listeners develop rationales for decoding the acoustic signals around them, whether these sounds were official alarms or the sounds produced by aerial attacks. My focus on a heightened auditory and spatial awareness in this period will take note of the development of new listening skills and modes of interpretation. However, it necessarily reflects on the ongoing tension between sound as a disciplinary practice of control (official measures) and sound as an unpredictable disruption to everyday life (air attacks and their aftermath). I will also suggest that the symbolic currency and performative impact of *Sondermeldungen* were reduced during the course of the war due to the worsening conditions in urban environments.

Against this background, the final section will examine how sound and listening emerged as a source of fear or suspicion, given propaganda and official discourses that produced a concept of sound as a potential source of anxiety. Here I will concentrate on how listeners were influenced by propaganda posters about eavesdropping and espionage, as well as the intensification of terror and surveillance practices. My analysis will also address the ways that the "ether" re-emerged as a mysterious and dangerous realm, particularly following the ban on listening to foreign radio stations and with heavy sentences for those charged as "enemy listeners" (*Feindhörer*) and for "illegal listening" (*Schwarzhören*). I will analyse the growing scepticism and misgivings about the sounds produced by the regime, mainly due to exaggerated radio reports, the near-disappearance of *Sondermeldungen* (following 1943) and their eventual function as defeat announcements. The growing scepticism of dwindling urban populations, I will contend, only increased due to a lack of reliability in alarm systems and the permanent displacement of radio listening to air shelters and public bunkers. In this section, therefore, I will stress the eventual crisis in German radio broadcasting and its reception as central to the eventual collapse of the officially-endorsed model of the nation as an "imagined listening community."[3]

I will begin by outlining the concept of "imagined community" and its relationship to the modern nation as theorised by Benedict Anderson (1991). I draw

on several critiques of Anderson's conceptualisation in order to specify its importance for my analysis of radio's place for twentieth-century German nationalism and its dominant concepts of national identity based on musical tradition. By reading Anderson somewhat against the grain, I will specify not only the success of sonically producing an imagined community, but also the moments when the production of a cultural imaginary proves difficult (such as during a prolonged period of war).

Imagining National Community

There are two theoretical accounts concerned with the constitution of community in the modern era that are highly relevant to this case study. In Benedict Anderson's work, a crucial matter is the contribution of print culture to the emergence of concepts of nation and nationalism in the late 1700s, and how medial representations offered a (temporal) structural framework for imagining the community of a nation (1991). In *Discipline and Punish* (1977), Michel Foucault is primarily concerned with the spatial organisation of urban communities, with a particular focus on power relations, discipline and the body. The latter's account, too, involves a periodisation concerned with the emergence of modern institutions of public health, and law and order from the 1700s onwards. Both theoretical trajectories are preoccupied with the socio-political dynamic between inclusion and exclusion in the modern era, but from distinct vantage points: on the one hand, of nation-building and its specific concept of community and time, and on the other hand, of power and its realisation in urban spatial practices and discourses.

Although much has been written on the nation (and nationalism), Anderson points out that there is little consensus on basic conceptual definitions or a fully-fledged philosophy of the phenomenon (1991: 3). Since the nation is one of the most pervasive political concepts of the modern era, Anderson coined the term "imagined community" in order to address the historical specificity of nationalism and its "profound emotional legitimacy" (4). Even though it is impossible to actually have "face-to-face" encounters with all the other members of a nation, many citizens harbour an affective attachment and commitment to the nation based on an image of community. Anderson's reflections mainly involve former colonial contexts in Asia and Africa, in relation to which he draws attention to the emergence of language and ethnicity as definitive categories of belonging in post-colonial nationalisms. According to this conception, the imagined community is a "cultural artefact" and a conceptual tool for understanding why people are willing to make such huge sacrifices, including their own lives, for the nation.

Anderson specifies the imagined political community as defined by several inherent components. Firstly, Anderson notes, they are *limited*. Modern nations are delimited by some form of (physical) boundary, whether geographically defined or marked by the existence of other nations. Second, they are *sovereign*, since the emergence of modern nations occurred in the wake of the Enlightenment and the demise of the "divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm" (7). Despite the

diversity of national movements, the image of community is commonly based on an idea of "deep, horizontal comradeship" (7). Anderson defines the imagined community as less inherent to specific political movements or ideological values than to familial membership or spiritual ties (5). The strong (although not always acknowledged) identification with national community involves a sense of collectively inhabiting the present. Nationalism, too, tends to be projected onto events and people from the past, and extends beyond the present to provide its populace with the vision of sharing a common future. Moreover, it is common for nationalist movements to proclaim a new era, despite being highly dependant on the historical past for self-legitimation. In appropriating the historical past for contemporary purposes, certain events are collectively forgotten (198-201).

One of Anderson's primary concerns with nation-building and the production of a national consciousness is the role played by the media, print culture and education (113-4). A constitutive factor in making the imagined community of a nation possible is what Anderson terms "print-capitalism." The emergence of the printing press in the fifteenth century provided an important precedent for the possibility of creating a national public sphere via the circulation of printed forms with a shared vernacular, such as newspapers and the novel. Importantly, the structure of these cultural forms presupposed a reading public in a shared time and language, which created a historical continuity between past, present and future (44-5). There is a common sense of temporality, Anderson suggests, since the "ceremony [that the reader] performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others" (35). In other words, imagined community is not only created on the basis of common bonds of ethnicity, language or shared territory, but involves a structure based on sharing the same temporality (24).[4]

While Anderson does not fully extend his analysis to radio and the twentieth century, he stresses the importance of song for enabling a simultaneous performance of and participation in community. The ability for language to produce a sense of bond between members of a nation is particularly expressed in singing anthems and national songs since

> there is in singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: *unisonance*. [...] If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, or even where, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound. (1991: 145, my emphasis)

In other words, Anderson argues that the co-participation of individual subjects in singing can facilitate a shared sense of community. Whereas everyday language is usually predicated on dialogue and negotiation, singing provides a codified expression of being unified in sound. This example of anthems is perhaps even more emphatically performed in the case of radio: even if listeners do not actively join in the singing, they can share in the simultaneous moment of imagining oneself hearing the same sounds as other listeners. Moreover, in the case of Germany, the main national anthem predated National Socialism and thus provided a more ac-

cessible mode of identification with their nationalist project, as I have suggested in my earlier discussion of "affirmative resonance."

Anderson's analysis implicitly situates oral cultural forms, such as poems and songs, as providing the emotional scaffolding for interpellating the individual's attachment to the nation. Among the various criticisms levelled at Anderson's influential analysis is the view that this position maintains an implicit binary between oral culture (as emotional) and literate culture (as cognitive). Peter Wogan, for instance, argues that the depiction of the nineteenth-century reader as silent does not sufficiently address the ongoing existence of oral practices like reading-aloud and thereby reinforces Eurocentric "linguistic ideologies" (2001: 412-4). This critique therefore provides a reminder to be cautious of reinforcing theories of the "great divide" between orality and literacy, and instead consider the interactions between listening, seeing and reading activity.[5]

Literature scholar Jonathan Culler (1999) praises Anderson's work as spearheading an important re-evaluation of the nation's hold over the collective imaginary. However, Culler urges that there has been a misconception of Anderson's argument since the contribution of the novel and newspaper to national consciousness cannot be generalised on the basis of their content:

> Few newspapers in the period of nation-building are sufficiently dominant to constitute in themselves a national voice or their readers as a national community, and few are genuinely national in their readership. (26)

In other words, the structural components of a reading public can be used as an analogy, but it is difficult to make a convincing causal argument on this basis. Culler argues that Anderson's claim of imagined community is most convincing as a structural comparison, whereby "the community of readers of a novel or newspaper is the *model* for the imagined community of the nation" (26).

While Culler redresses the misperception that the novel actually led to the rise of nationalism, he emphasises that it offered the chance for imagining something similar to the nation:

> For imagining a community that could be opposed to another, as friend to foe. [...] [T]he novel can be a condition of possibility of imagining communities that may become nations because it addresses readers in a distinctively open way. Offering the possibility of adhering to a community, as an insider, without laying down particular criteria that have to be met. (37)

Thus, while novels can allow for the "space of the community" or provide national narratives, they do not proscribe its actual social formation or societal structure. Nonetheless, they can contribute to public discourses and a nationalist language, particularly in the positioning of the imagined community in opposition to its enemies or those deemed as outside its scope.

It is at this point – on the theme of inclusion and exclusion – that I turn to Michel Foucault's theory of power and the spatial organisation of community in modern European societies, as principally outlined in *Discipline and Punish*

(1977). The most vivid example offered in Foucault's account of how power is exerted on the body through spatial strategies is Jeremy Bentham's 1791 blueprint for the modern prison as "Panopticon." This model of prison architecture was based on a principle of solitary confinement and extensive surveillance, which was facilitated by the building's circular structure. The Panopticon, in Foucault's reading, constitutes a model based on both surveillance and disciplinary strategies. The act of subjecting the prison inmate to these conditions was intended to habituate a self-monitoring or auto-surveillance, since they could not tell if and when they were being observed by guards (1977: 200-1).

In recent interpretations, there have been calls to rethink Foucault's theory of power, social space and the body not only in terms of the prison model, but also in terms of social health and policing.[6] There are two main models of power identified by Foucault in the medical organisation of urban societies, related to leprosy and the plague respectively (195-9). In both cases, these diseases pose a form of threat to a community and its well-being. Foucault theorises the response to leprosy as a mode of *exclusion*, since those afflicted were banished from the community. This response to lepers – along with the insane, destitute or criminal – represents an older, religious vision of maintaining "pure community" (198). By contrast, the plague affects the entire community and even the city itself and thus calls for a model of *inclusion-organisation*. According to Foucault, the latter approach reflects the emergence of the militarist model of the disciplined society, which relies on controlled organisation and self-monitoring.

The example of the Panopticon prison emerges as a combination of these two models, where the "leper" is excluded to the margins of society and the society is subjected to the organisational discipline of the plague town (199). The Panopticon, as Stuart Elden argues, reflected a broader project than is usually acknowledged, since Bentham originally foresaw its principles as having relevance for other modern institutions, such as schools, mental asylums, hospitals and the workplace (2003: 247). Indeed, Foucault's account of public health strategies reveals a broader pattern of how alterity, abnormality, medical illness or that which is deemed threatening is excluded and contained in modern urban society.

The two theoretical accounts I have outlined here address socio-political organisation, and respectively its imaginative and disciplinary components. While Anderson is primarily interested in the origins and diffusion of the nation as a political and cultural concept, Foucault's analysis of modern social institutions focuses on spatial practices of power and control.[7] Both accounts point to the ways that religious authority was challenged in the wake of the Enlightenment thinking and social upheaval. This shift is suggested as crucial for allowing modern societies to take advantage of a symbolic vacuum and the power of sovereignty formerly determined by church or monarchy.[8] However, neither of these theorists extends their analyses beyond the nineteenth century. In Foucault's case, as I will later elaborate, he conceded that much of his thinking about the nineteenth century had been directly influenced by his personal experience of the German military occupation of France during World War II. Anderson's work, as I have suggested, provides a useful account of how poetry and song play a role in producing emotional attachment and even "self-sacrificing love" for the nation (1991: 141).

In what follows, my examination of radio points to the contribution of mediated sound for performing national community. Musical song, as I will argue, is not only appropriated in special radio announcements for inviting identification, but also reasserts the German nation's military power in opposition to its enemies. Even though Anderson suggests that it is "truly rare" to find nationalist products that explicitly express hatred or fear, in this case I will examine how various songs can be appropriated to name and oppose an other or enemy nation. In the subsequent two sections, I will return to Foucault's notion of power relations (between exclusion and inclusion) within urban communities under threat. This concerns, firstly, the sonic organisation of the German home front, and secondly, modes of (acoustic) surveillance and disciplining under National Socialism.

Radio Sounds as National Celebration

The notion of a national public sphere was considerably influenced by the development of sound technologies, and radio was particularly instrumental in using sound and music to offer audiences a sense of simultaneity and "the immediate experience of collective identity" (Frith 1996: 273). The symbolic power provided by national broadcasting should not be underestimated, as David Morley points out, since it helped to

> create a sense of unity – and of corresponding boundaries around the nation; it can link the peripheral to the centre; turn previously exclusive social events into mass experiences; and, above all, it penetrates the domestic sphere, linking the national public into the private lives of its citizens, through the creation of both sacred and quotidian moments of national communion. (2000: 107)

Indeed, in the previous two chapters, I stressed how regional radio recast local events within a nationalist framework and symbolism during the 1930s. Radio was designated as a "medium of presence" and credited with the ability to achieve a live and simultaneous gathering of national community.[9] In this vein, Joseph Goebbels asserted that "what the newspaper was to the nineteenth century, so will radio be for the twentieth century."[10] However, it was only after 1939 that nationally-syndicated broadcasts were employed on a large scale.[11] It is this shift, against the background of the further centralisation of wartime radio, which compels me to consider the significant investments in radio as creating an "imagined *listening* community."

Anderson's work on imagined community appears to provide a good precedent for considering "the limits and possibilities of radio as a structuring production for the nation state" (Smulyan 2007: 63). However, radio is not a straightforward object for national listening audiences, since broadcasts were not always nationally syndicated and, in addition, radio transmission often extended beyond national boundaries. The boundaries of radio, moreover, are more porous than

the claims of governments or national radio histories would suggest. In the German case, for instance, audiences freely listened to international radio broadcasts prior to 1939.[12] Even though government regulation and censorship was extensive, it is thus important to displace the common assumption that German cultural forms existed in a complete vacuum during National Socialism.

Nonetheless, the public domain did not by any means resemble the Habermasian ideal of a public sphere based on free speech and communication.[13] Radio allowed for the state to enter the private space of citizens' homes and address a diffused German listening public on the basis of shared ethnicity and language, and – in the case of war – a common enemy. Indeed, Culler's notion of a community imagined in terms of the "other" also constituted one of the core aims of Nazi propaganda during World War II: namely, to rally Germans together in opposition to their wartime enemies. Wartime radio programming aimed to assert Germany's national unity, virtuousness and superiority in direct opposition to Allied countries, in particular Britain, whose World War I propaganda was deemed by Hitler as superior to that of Germany (1933/1969: 161-9). To my mind, it is fruitful to follow Culler's argumentation and ask how German listeners, like Anderson's reading public, were able to identify with radio's nationalist project without necessarily adhering to all aspects of Nazi ideology. I want to emphasise that Nazi broadcasters were appealing to a fragmented audience, whose members had individual listening patterns, interests and attitudes towards radio. Precisely for this reason, I am interested in the ways Nazi propaganda insisted on a normative conception of a national listening community and compliant, attentive modes of radio listening.

Underpinning the notion of a German "listening community" was a restricted definition of community belonging. In the late nineteenth century, Ferdinand Tönnies developed an influential thesis about the distinction between the meaning of society as *Gemeinschaft* (community and family life) or *Gesellschaft* (public opinion and legislation) (1887/1970). National Socialism sought to merge these two concepts of the public sphere under the bannerhead of *Volksgemeinschaft*. This concept of community promoted a pan-German identity based on "Aryan" ethnicity and shared language.[14] Following the 1933 takeover, the Nazi Party moved quickly to promote radio as the definitive medium for uniting "the people." High-profile campaigns and advertising, particularly at the annual Berlin radio exhibition, encouraged citizens to buy government-subsidised radio sets (*Volksempfänger*). The *Volksempfänger* (literally: "people's radio receiver") was consistently linked with a mythology of providing radio reception for all, although ownership remained disproportionately urban and middle class (Krausse 1984; König 2003). In other words, radio was accessible for those who could afford it, and its imagined community was based on racial criteria, since Jews were banned from radio ownership in 1939.[15] The imagined "space" of radio was thus designated as exclusively for those who met the official criteria as "Aryan."

The notion of the mediated public sphere was not only intensely racialised, but also gendered. To take an example of communal listening practices in the family home:

> We would sit together in front of the radio and listen to the programme. [...] Particularly when Hitler spoke on the radio, we'd have to sit quietly and listen. And my father would lean forward and turn his ear towards the radio.[16]

This reminiscence reflects the normative ideal of the family unit gathered around the radio set: in close proximity, with their bodies (and ears) directed towards the speaker, listening silently and attentively. Nevertheless, the father's positioning also suggests his principal relationship to this technological device within the organisation of the home. The proximity of the father to the radio set is not surprising given the masculinist public sphere of German radio organisation with its history of an implied (male) listening subject.[17] By contrast, female announcers were rarely heard on the radio, except for *Frauenfunk* programmes for women, which established an "intimate authoritarian voice" for listeners and stressed a strongly ideologically view of women's societal role as housewives.[18] This "imagined" audience for women's programmes, however, excluded women who worked, and those who disagreed with or were rejected by Nazi ideology.

Despite the inherent restrictions implicit in the "imagined listening community," the general concept of radio as a conduit between Hitler and *all* German listeners persisted in official propaganda and discourse. For some, the expressive staging of Hitler's speeches gave the impression of an imagined visibility, as if his eyes "could look at every listener, even in the farthest away places, even

FIG. 11: "*Ganz Deutschland hört den Führer mit dem Volksempfänger*" [All of Germany listens to the *Führer* with the People's Radio Receiver], poster [ca. 1934].
Courtesy of BPK, Berlin.

when only his voice sounded through a loudspeaker" (Dovifat 1937: 144). This fantasy of individual access to Hitler through listening experience was already popularised by the 1934 visual poster *Ganz Deutschland hört den Führer mit dem Volksempfänger* (All of Germany listens to the *Führer* with the People's Radio Receiver) (See Figure 11). This poster places an enlarged radio set centre stage, with an undifferentiated scene of a massive outdoor crowd filling the background. Hitler's vocal presence is imagined as materialised through sound waves emanating from the black box, associatively linking Hitler's radio voice with visual power. This *Volksempfänger* depiction not only posits the "mouthpiece" of the state within the home, but also proposes the act of listening as allowing the participation in national events.[19]

The 1934 poster also inscribes a communal context for listening to Hitler's voice. Indeed, as I noted in earlier chapters, Hitler gave all his radio speeches from public meetings, rallies and large events, rather than from an enclosed studio environment. In this way, the adoption of a public mode of address appealed to Germans simultaneously as a collective of listeners rather than as the anonymous, individual subjects they, in fact, usually were. Nonetheless, ongoing anxieties about the conditions of reception and individual listening habits led to increased efforts to provide communal listening contexts for special occasions, with radio sets installed in schools, factories and urban outdoor areas, as well as in cafes and restaurants (Pohle 1955: 268-72). Such efforts confirm the labour involved in trying to establish modes of radio reception that supported propaganda claims of a unified and attentive listening community.[20]

The success of a normative notion of radio listening is open to debate, even though the mediated public sphere constantly credited radio as enabling the collective assembly of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*. Official radio broadcasts during National Socialism were consistently linked with the image of German listeners participating as one united nation. By 1938 Germans had taken out eight million radio licences, which was double the number of licences issued in 1933 (Pohle 1955: 333). By the outbreak of World War II, this figure had almost doubled again, which meant that a large majority of German citizens had access to a radio set (Schaefer 1939: 372). Although some individuals and families refused to buy a radio altogether, they were undoubtedly affected by its role as a key social forum for discussion, entertainment and information dissemination.

During wartime, radio announcements were constructed as experiences of the nation that performed Germany's unity and military power by means of musical song and symbolic sounds. In particular, I am interested here in how the temporal organisation of radio programming was employed to emphasise liveness and encourage the co-participation of listeners in large-scale events. Indeed, one of the most significant fields of national symbolism within German radio was the use of a national repertoire of music. From the late nineteenth century onwards, music was central to the expression of national community as both "a metaphor for the nation" and "a cultural form through which they could participate actively, regularly and intensively in the nation" (Applegate 1992: 29-30). Indeed, following the outbreak of hostilities with Poland in August 1939, the Propaganda Ministry immediately arranged for the song "*Marsch der Deutschen in Polen*" (March of

the Germans in Poland) to follow all news bulletins, in order to stress a thematic link to the campaign in Poland. Similarly, the two German national anthems, "*Deutschland über alles*" and the "*Horst-Wessel-Lied* (*Die Fahne hoch!*)", were played at the end of each broadcasting day. The choice of these two anthems for the end of the broadcasting schedule is comparable to the end-credits of a serialised radio play, as it suggested the conclusion of another day's action and that it would soon be followed by more historically decisive events.[21]

The sense of a shared temporality and of witnessing historical events had a profound impact on the attitudes of listeners to radio broadcasts. During an interview I conducted in Düsseldorf, one man recalled that his family's radio set was kept on as much as possible during the first year of the war, as "it was always important to know what was expected in the coming hours."[22] It was not only a heightened sense of radio liveness imparted to listeners, but also the impression given by Nazi propagandists that radio's imagined acoustic space could collapse the divisions between the home front and the war. As another interviewee remarked:

> You really felt like you were part of something with everyone else. When radio programmes had soldier requests for songs from different regions, it was like everyone's father was fighting in the war: that you were all the same.[23]

In other words, by bridging the gap between the home and war fronts, radio programming provided audiences with the possibility to feel "culturally mobile" from the vantage of their domestic listening contexts. Some programmes, such as the request concert (*Wunschkonzert*), staged a form of national assembly by allowing soldiers to send song requests, which were read out and performed in a broadcast concert setting.[24] For special occasions like Christmas, link-up broadcasts (*Ringsendungen*) from occupied territories across Europe allowed listeners to imaginatively visit and "directly experience" all geographical locations where the war was being fought (Diller 2003; Schrage 2005).

It was in the first war months that the ritual of *Sondermeldungen* was established as a key radio event and a deliberate interruption to the structured "dailyness" of usual radio programming.[25] Male radio announcers would alert listeners to expect an announcement with the declaration: "We shall now have total air silence" (Kris and Speier 1944: 59).[26] These *Sondermeldungen* followed a formula, beginning with the interruption of all radio transmissions with fanfare, the reading out of a victory announcement, followed by the most recent campaign song.[27] Depending on the importance of the news, the segment might also include the German national anthems, traditional religious hymns or World War I songs. Propaganda Ministry official Hans Fritzsche confirmed the role of special announcements in harnessing the German radio audience as an "imagined listening community." In 1940, Fritzsche asserted that the German national radio

> has managed to unite at certain hours, and for certain moments, Germans from all over the world, welding them into one single listening community with one common purpose. A *Führer* speech, relayed by the German wire-

> less, unites Germans all over the world into a community. Not one of us will ever forget how millions and millions of Germans […] were all warned in one and the same second when the trumpets announced a new deed of glory by the German army. And when before did a nation so vividly participate in the conclusion of a great struggle period, as the German people, when it shared in the events of the beginning of the armistice with France?[28]

For Fritzsche, the significance of radio broadcasting was that it facilitated a mediated space for communicating national victory to the entire populace. Fritzsche not only stresses the simultaneity of informing listeners "in one and the same second," but also that it was a musical cue that alerted them to this news. This propaganda assertion is, to some degree, reflected in a photograph of a Berlin street scene on 17 June 1940 (Figure 12), given that urban crowds gathered to listen to a *Sondermeldung*, including those on bike.

Musical song performed a central role in dramatising news reports about the war. Radio broadcasts repeatedly emphasised a shared repertoire of recognisable musical motifs and songs, such as traditional marching music and *Volkslieder* (folk songs). One of the most frequent sounds heard in radio broadcasts was a short sound clip between programmes (*Pausenzeichen*) from Mozart's melody "*Üb' immer Treu und Redlichkeit*" (Always practise loyalty and honesty), which had strong associations with Prussian nationalism and the 1870 unification of Germany. In the frequent news bulletins, political commentaries and front reports, which were broadcast up to ten times per day in the early phase of the war, some of the additional sound effects included the sighs of wounded soldiers,

FIG. 12: Pedestrians crowd outside a radio shop to hear a *Sondermeldung*, Berlin [17 Jun. 1940].
Fotosammlung, Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv.

the noise of hammering machine guns, and the footsteps of the army marching forward (Shirer 1999: 272). In doing so, radio broadcasts positioned listeners as experiencing live action and participating in momentous German history.

The campaign song for the offensive in France during 1940 is a good example of how Nazi propagandists appropriated traditional songs to form a symbolic bridge between past and present. The "*Frankreichlied*" comprised a new version of the traditional anti-French song "*Wacht am Rhein*" (Watch on the Rhine), which asserted to listeners: "They wanted to ruin us and take a stranglehold on the Western wall/We come and smash their old and corrupt world to bits."[29] While the original text refers to French occupations of the Rhineland of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the revised text makes a reference to the "Western wall" front of World War I and the subsequent French occupation of the Rhineland in the 1920s. The assertion that "the Rhine will remain German!/[...]/Our flags fly high in the wind/On the Rhine, on the German Rhine" works to re-emphasise that antipathy towards France as both historical and necessary to Germany's present-day nationalist struggle.[30]

In late 1939, another campaign song was released, which is sometimes referred to as the "*Englandlied*." This marine song, officially titled "*Wir fahren gegen England*" (We Sail against England), called for revenge on England and encouraged noble sacrifice for the "Fatherland."[31] The song can be seen as reinforcing the present day "imagined listening community" with reference to Germany's historical opposition to England, most notably in World War I. One of the striking parallels between the older "*Wacht am Rhein*" song and the newly-created "*Englandlied*" is the invocation of the flag as a symbol of German power: "Our flag flies on the mast/It heralds our strength."[32] Perhaps one of the main differences is that, unlike the solemn "*Wacht am Rhein*," the "*Englandlied*" popularised militarism with its lighter melody and eager stance towards going into battle: "We sail against England/Against England, Ahoy!"[33] Moreover, it was a very popular song during 1940, and was described as a "very catchy tune, the sentiment is popular, and everybody's singing it" (Shirer 1999: 190). The England theme song, in other words, relied on a "*Schlager*" principle to employ and circulate wartime jingoism in the form of a hit song.[34]

To fully understand the symbolic significance performed by *Sondermeldung* broadcasts it is perhaps useful to note how Hitler was represented as an "artist-dictator" embodying both the spiritual sovereign and the military sovereign (Michaud 2004: 15-6). As I noted earlier, many secular nationalisms have drawn on the symbolic power base and sovereignty inhabited earlier by religion. In the case of National Socialism, art was elevated to the spiritual-religious level and linked to the *Volksgeist* (the spirit of the people). Moreover, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels' insistence on radio as the "spiritual apparatus of the nation" reinforced a link between voice and the collective spirit during wartime.[35]

A *Sondermeldung* announcing the near-completion of the campaign in France on 4 June 1940 demonstrates the attempt to merge Germany's historical, religious and present-day justifications for war. This special announcement about German victory in Dunkirk began with fifteen minutes of fanfare, marching songs and a religious-like ceremony involving the "Old Dutch Prayer of Thanks," the two na-

tional anthems and a three-minute silence for reflection. In this special announcement Hitler ordered the ringing of all bells for three days, thereby appropriating the religious associations of Christian churches to celebrate a national occasion. Following the reading of the announcement, "*Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre*," the "*Frankreichlied*," the "*Fallschirmjägermarsch*," "*O Deutschland hoch in Ehren*," the "*Englandlied*" and "*Feierlichen Praeludiums*" were broadcast in succession.[36]

The appropriation of religious hymns to confirm Hitler's status as an infallible leader pre-ordained by God is reinforced by these songs' lyrics. In this context, the "Old Dutch Prayer of Thanks" emphasises that Germany's position in the war was vindicated by divine forces: "So from the beginning/The fight we were winning/Thou, Lord, were at our side/All glory be Thine! Lord, make us free!"[37] Similarly, the lyrics of "*Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre*" impart the words of God: "I am your creator/I am wisdom and goodness."[38] Moreover, a direct line with Germany's glorious past is made with "*O Deutschland hoch in Ehren*", a popular soldier's song in World War I: "Think of your forefathers!/Think of the great epochs/When German knights won every battle."[39] These examples demonstrate how military victories were imbued with a religious symbolism connecting contemporary events with past German nationalism and historical military successes, in the effort to establish and appeal to the "imagined listening community." Moreover, the efforts to provide a tight narrative structure for the performance of national victory relied on an undue stress on the lyrics of the songs employed.[40]

The combination of religious and historical justifications for Germany's invasion of France culminated in an elaborate ritual on 22 June 1940 in Compiegne, the location for the signing of the armistice in 1918. To mark the end of fighting in France, Hitler arranged for the train carriage used in the World War I armistice negotiations to be placed in the same location, to perform a celebration symbolising Germany's triumph over the misfortunes brought by military defeat and the Versailles Treaty. These celebrations were still continuing two days later, when a *Sondermeldung* was introduced with the "*Pariser Einzugsmarsch*," a marching song from 1814 that operated as both a link to Prussian nationalism and the recent occupation of Paris (Track 5). The reading of the announcement was followed by the song "*Nun danket alle Gott*," a religious hymn that insists: "Now we all thank our God/With heart and hands and voices/Who hath done wondrous things." The two national anthems followed, and the *Sondermeldung* concluded with the "*Badenweilermarsch*." This last song, used to introduce Hitler at all of his public appearances, refers to the storming of the French town Badonviller in 1914. The lyrics highlight both Germany's shared cultural past and Hitler's position as rescuer of Germany's national pride:

> Sounding out and clear from the south to the north
> German song again and German words
> The ringing of bells announces the *Reich*'s honour
> [...]
> The swastika illuminates from the mountains to the sea
> Brothers in arms, true to the *Führer*![41]

The *Sondermeldung* begins with twenty seconds of fanfare, which is a fairly standard sound effect of trumpets and drum rolls, stressing the importance of the upcoming announcement. The announcer addresses the German people as a whole, stressing the nation as an "imagined listening community," and reads out a message from Adolf Hitler. In this message, Hitler insists that the defeat of France was heroic and claims that it "will go down in history as the most significant victory of all time." After thanking God for "prevailing over this victory," Hitler's message gave the order to ring all church bells across Germany for a week and the *Sondermeldung* concludes with "*Nun danket alle Gott*."[42] This is a good example of the propagandistic use of religious hymns to proclaim Hitler's resemblance to great German leaders of the past and his supposed God-given mission to lead Germany. Moreover, it is indicative of how propagandists borrowed religious symbols in order to appropriate the symbolic power of the church for their own purposes, while simultaneously repressing organised religion in Germany (May 1991; Wilhelm 2004).

Shortly after the German victory celebrations in France, Goebbels requested that the *Sondermeldungen* be timed more carefully to keep the listening public attentive and engaged with the war effort. During his daily meeting with the Propaganda Ministry in June 1940, Goebbels decided that for the upcoming campaign against England there would be "no more than two (or at most three) of the maximal victory announcements with drum rolls and hymns to prevent the effect from wearing off" (Boelcke 1966: 382).[43] By January 1941, Goebbels warned against too much dramatisation of the war on England, making a comparison with the "psychological mistake" during the invasion of Norway in 1940, when frequent special announcements caused the population to be "continually alarmed and in a permanent state of suspense" (Boelcke 1966: 602). As a result, according to Goebbels, when the final victory results were announced, they had already been long anticipated by the average listener. For the time being, there would be no *Englandlied* or fanfare, Goebbels ordered, and soon listeners would readjust and "know how to judge [*Sondermeldungen*] correctly" (609).

These changes provide important insights into the ways in which the German Propaganda Ministry tried to avoid disenfranchising listeners, and thereby lose control over their "imagined listening community." In the campaign against Russia in 1941, news was frequently withheld from listeners for several days, to prevent the events from sounding disappointing in comparison to the *Blitzkrieg* in France the previous year. Memoirist Margot Füsser Blewett describes how listeners were still given the impression of spectacular military successes as "day after day *Sondermeldungen* talked of Russian cities falling under the pressure of the *Wehrmacht*" (2001: 87). Many of the first *Sondermeldungen* about Russia included fanfare and the "*Russlandlied*" campaign song, titled "*Von Finnland bis zum Schwarzen Meer*" (From Finland to the Black Sea).[44] This new song contained important references to the geographical expansion of the Third Reich, whereby Germany's "imagined community" of listeners included soldiers on fronts from Scandinavia down to northern Africa, and from France to the Balkans and parts of Russia.[45] Campaign songs like the "*Russlandlied*" and "*Englandlied*" were also circulated in the context of youth organisations and school

music lessons, with teachers requiring students to handwrite new song lyrics in their songbooks, and then rote-learn and perform the songs individually.

What is most noticeable about *Sondermeldungen* from early 1942 onwards is that fanfare and songs take up most of these announcements, which contained very little text and few details about German victories. Moreover, unlike the frequent victory announcements during the campaigns in western Europe, longer periods of time were passing between announcements from Russia. Throughout 1942, the special announcements were characterised by an almost exclusive focus on other fronts. This shows how propagandists were acting on the defensive, forced to make promises and give explanations in order to satisfy the expectations of the "imagined listening community." This situation worsened following the announced loss of lives in Stalingrad in early 1943 – itself celebrated as a victory – with only a handful of *Sondermeldung* each year until 1945 (Track 6). Such announcements were usually short in length and only included a short statement about a new development in the war.

In sum, the strategic combination of symbolic music and sounds invited radio listeners to identify with the regime's mandate to restore the national honour and military power stripped from Germany in the aftermath of World War I. As a result, *Sondermeldungen* in this period conveyed the victory in France as a sign of the invincibility of Germany under Hitler's leadership, rather than making specific reference to the Nazis' broader ideological programme. Radio, too, was posited as a "spiritual apparatus" (as per Goebbels) for performing the religious, military and historical justifications for Germany's role in the war. Thus, unlike the forging of new, "imagined" communities in the nineteenth century, as described by Anderson, National Socialism used music to symbolically revive what was perceived as a pre-existing German "spirit." Indeed, while the majority of songs featured in *Sondermeldung* were neither new nor pointed to a specific enemy, as Anderson has discussed, they were appropriated in the context of wartime assertions against military opponents. The use of pre-existing music in announcements, moreover, was consistent with Hitler's desire to revive the "former sovereign emblems and symbols of the Reich" (1933/1969: 471).

The claims of propagandists might give the impression that the creation of an "imagined listening community" was a straightforward process. However, this case has revealed the elaborate efforts required for the Nazi Party to appeal to all listeners. The heterogeneous nature of the (listening) public, moreover, is indicated by the wide range of symbolic music and sounds included in *Sondermeldungen* and the various coercive strategies for ensuring listenership. The ultimate fragility of a collective consciousness based on radio listening is indicated by the compromises made by the Propaganda Ministry to avoid disenfranchising listeners, which ultimately led to a loss of control over their "imagined community." As Anderson's observation of the national anthem suggests, musical expressions of nationalism like the *Sondermeldung* rely on repetition and collective involvement for their success. While he does not develop this insight further, I have sought to highlight the potential in using radio for the performative enactment of national community, but also the difficulties posed by a fragmented audience with divergent listening patterns.

The inclusive discourse of *Sondermeldungen* and national listening community at the beginning of World War II discussed here needs to be contextualised within the broader cultural framework of the concepts and uses of sound under National Socialism. For this reason, the following sections will reflect on the practices of urban control that employed sound for air safety measures before establishing the intensification of fear and suspicion associated with sound more generally during the war.

Alarm Sounds as Acoustic Signals

Sirens, plane engines and bomb explosions are among the most common references in accounts about the urban experience of air attacks during World War II. Despite their pervasiveness in such descriptions, these intense sound events remained ephemeral. The inability of these sounds to be captured by photography led to their absence in what has been termed the "visual iconography" of warfare (Paul 2005). Indeed, while the intensely loud resonances and physical vibrations of air attacks on German cities permeated the wider (acoustic) landscape, the overwhelming sensory experience for civilians has left few material traces, let alone recordings.[46] My interest here is not to recuperate the exact nature of these sounds or their spatial markers. Instead, I will begin by considering how the initial wartime organisation of German cities involved acoustic strategies for establishing controlled social behaviour and "air safety" (*Luftschutz*). In particular, the principle of "inclusion-organisation" described by Foucault requires further elaboration for these purposes, along with the state discourses concerning its provision of "care" for citizens. My initial focus is thus primarily on how sound participated in expanding spatial practices of control during National Socialism.

Several aspects of Foucault's account of urban strategies of *inclusion-organisation* also ring true for the case of wartime air safety. Similar to the case of the town infected with the plague I mentioned earlier, the Nazi regime had long anticipated a "threat" to urban cities in the form of aerial warfare. The emphasis on sufficient organisation also called on citizens to make preparations for their self-protection (*Selbstschutz*).[47] Urban residents were required to clean out attic rooms of any unnecessary belongings or flammable items, to prepare basement rooms as air shelters, and, when necessary, to create emergency break-through walls to adjoining houses. Basement shelters were prepared with various precautionary items, including seating, temporary beds and gas masks.[48] Such precautions were checked and approved by the "air safety warden" (*Luftschutzwart*), a male representative appointed to each apartment building or small neighbourhood by the national air safety organisation (*Reichsluftschutzbund* or *RLB*). Air wardens thus shared some of the authority of the syndic during a plague, who ensured the containment of all individuals, made roll calls and reported back on behaviour through a chain of command to the military and judiciary. As Foucault points out, the organisation of cities in such exceptional situations involved a "penetration of regulation into even the smallest details of everyday life through the mediation of complete hierarchy that assured the capillary function of pow-

er" (1977: 198). The temporary incursions warranted by the plague, moreover, underscored a utopian vision of containing urban space and the movements of all individuals within it.

The medieval plague was combatted by local authorities through the technologies of the gaze, space and writing. The Panopticon, too, in Foucault's reading, created the architectural separation of prison inmates, whose behaviour was monitored on a principle of perfect visibility enabled by bright, "full lighting" (1977: 201). I will return to the implications of the Panopticon prison model for Nazi surveillance in the following section, but for now, I begin with a contrast to Foucault's insistence on visibility and bright lighting for the success of creating disciplined behaviour. The case I examine here involved various efforts to produce disciplined behaviour in conditions of *reduced* visibility. For World War II air attacks, which usually took place after dark, blackout regulations were introduced to camouflage cities and avoid detection by enemy aeroplanes. Air wardens monitored urban dwellings to ensure sufficient black covering over windows, and some shops installed systems to automatically switch off lights when the front door was opened.[49] Evening curfews were introduced to reduce the nocturnal movements of civilians, although there was still street activity and vehicle traffic that required dimmed light sources after dark. In the darkened context of the wartime city, the most effective way of warning all those in a particular area to the risk of air attack was with acoustic sirens. For this reason, I will now consider how German authorities established sound systems and (attentive) listening as essential mechanisms for establishing a disciplined home front and ensuring its protection against aerial attacks.

The main procedure established for air safety meant that once an attack was confirmed for a particular area then an "alarm" (*Vollalarm*) would be rung for two minutes, consisting of a rising and falling sound. Once the threat had passed, a long even tone would be given to signal the "all clear" (*Entwarnung*). While quite straightforward, this system reflected the establishment of an alternative source of acoustic power to the sounds and presence of enemy aircraft. The regulated "sonic" signals provided by alarms would mask and overrule other sounds, thus emphasising the role of the state in intercepting attacks and alerting its civilians. This procedure also implicitly involved a spatial notion of control since the alarm sounds could reassure the public that the entire territory of the city was being monitored. In addition to reports from watchtowers and border areas, anti-aircraft artillery (*FLAK*) and fighter planes would protect the edges of the city.[50] Reports would be sent to the central control centres, which gathered all the information and decided on the distribution of alarms.[51] Once it was certain that respective neighbourhoods were unaffected, the "all clear" could be given in these districts. This discourse of defending the city territory was perhaps not so necessary in the first year of the war, when the German army had considerable military successes. However, it set up a precedent for the symbolic associations with aircraft protection and alarms as an extension of state protection. The appointment of a state-endorsed "air warden" (*Luftschutzwart*) in every household or neighbourhood was the most literal embodiment of the state's "care" and control over the protection of city dwellers.

Foucault's example of the plague town depended on total control and the reduction of mobility by locking people up in their homes. Like the plague, a war situation is also exceptional and permits more extensive controls over the populace. While German authorities could not force people to stay and defend their homes, they did use alarm timing in such a way as to encourage a quick return home. Rather than allow alarms to continue through a whole evening, a moment would be chosen to give the "all-clear" for half an hour so that the majority would return to their dwellings (Hampe 1963: 306). This example emphatically illustrates how alarm sounds could be employed to manipulate the behaviour of civilians, while maintaining the claim that air protection systems were acting in their best interest.

The need to instil confidence in the state's acoustic control and organisation of the city is suggested by a November 1939 article in the air safety magazine *Die Sirene*. This feature included an interview with an air force engineer in charge of air safety regulation, who had worked on creating a mechanised city map with small lights representing the location of all alarms. The interviewer suggests that the distances between the lights look strange and irregular to the eye, but then explains that this placement was measured exactly according to the "range of audibility" (*Hörweite*) at around five hundred metres, so that the sounds are distributed evenly across the entire city: "even in the most distant corners of the city, they can be heard at an equal level (*gleichmäßig*)."[52]

The explanation for this "acoustic blanket" or envelopment of the city was that it was organised according to acoustic principles, rather than geometric or aesthetic ones. Indeed, unlike the organisation of cities with architectural design, lighting systems or street signs, these sirens were not planned geometrically. Yet, the concept of the *grid* was still evident in the decision to divide up cities into five main blocks for siren systems and communications posts (*Warnstellen*). The efforts to keep a constant flow of communications between those sending and those receiving reports were enabled by various telephone and wireless systems (Hampe 1963: 298-300). For instance, a watchtower observer might hear or see a plane and report it by cable communications to the central air safety office. The central command would give a secret "pre-alarm" (*Voralarm*) to government organisations (including schools and hospitals) and large businesses. The official timing of a "full" alarm was meant to be ten minutes before the anticipated arrival of enemy planes. Once all reports had confirmed that the danger had passed, an "all clear" could be given. This explanation of the procedure was not only designed to reassure the large readership of *Die Sirene*, but to show that the sounds were being centrally organised and administered according to a logical and even scientific method. The acoustic blanket, moreover, not only implied a muffling of bomb sounds, but also offers a metaphor for the discourses of "care" underpinning disciplinary forms of control outlined by Foucault.

Despite the effort to stress the high levels of planning involved in the organisation of air safety, it appears that there were ongoing confusions about this process. *Die Sirene* received such a high volume of letters from readers that it requested for queries to be directed to local *RLB* offices. The procedures and the interpretation of official regulations (and the authority of air wardens) were fre-

quently questioned.[53] One reader asked whether immobile elderly people could be left in bed during alarms. Another was unsure whether it was necessary to go to the cellar during alarms when no anti-aircraft fire or spotlights were used. Yet another asked whether it were permissible to reject strangers from a shelter that was already full. Such questions reflected a certain anxiety about the grey areas of new regulations and the appropriate behaviour for the demands of wartime preparations (See "Wir wissen Rat!" 1939: 698-9).

Above all, the air safety authorities were concerned with avoiding situations of "mass panic" or careless behaviour. This shares a similarity with the impulse for plague organisation, as outlined by Foucault, which sought strict organisation as the only alternative to possible rebellion and insurgency in the exceptionable conditions of the medieval plague.[54] The need to insist (if not coerce) civilians into appropriate behaviour patterns took on a more popularised form in *Die Sirene*. Cartoons or short comic pieces explained, for instance, that air safety activities should be "fast and effective" (*kurz und einprägsam*) ("Immer daran" 1939). In this case, a list of instructive reminders to readers emphasised the importance of attentive listening and swift action, whether driving at night, hearing anti-aircraft fire, or waiting for a train in a darkened station. Civilians should be alert and careful, but most of all, they should know that "self-discipline is everything" ("Immer daran" 1939). This insistence on the individual's role implied that individual acts of self-restraint were essential to the wider war effort. The normative image of wartime community depended on what Anderson describes as a sense of collective destiny, but also on the attempt to extend the presence of state representatives to the private space of individual households. Moreover, such examples also suggest how control is practised under the rubric of "safety."

Before turning to listener experiences and interpretations of the changed urban soundscape, I would like to reflect on how authorities were required to fine-tune and adjust the spatially distributed sonic organisation of the city. Local control offices were dependent on reports from anti-aircraft (*FLAK*) stations, whose gunfire could be heard by civilians as a sign of protection, and whose visual presence was marked by their spotlights scanning the sky at night. Control offices were also reliant on observers stationed at high points around the city, who gave so-called "hearing" and "seeing" reports. The capacity of these observers to detect new waves of planes following an initial attack, however, was severely reduced by smoke clouds. Reports from observation towers contributed to "false alarms" during 1940, when too many sirens were let off when British planes flew overhead to other regions. The increasing ratio of alarms to actual attacks was seen as a significant trial for city dwellers and the cause of traffic disturbances and production loss (Hampe 1963: 305).[55]

In October 1940, new regulations were introduced by Aviation Minister Hermann Göring, which led to the alarm length being reduced from two minutes to one minute. It was only deemed necessary to go to the cellar or air raid shelter if anti-aircraft fire could be heard, and there would be no alarms for single planes (Shirer 1999: 341, 383). Nonetheless, these policies reflected a fundamental tension in the organisation of air protection. On the one hand, official discourses emphasised the need for caution and alert behaviour. The importance of sirens

was perceived as so great that alarm control officers were often tried in court if they made mistakes (Hampe 1963: 305). On the other hand, they simultaneously insisted that everyday life, work production and commercial activity should not be disrupted. In order to keep the city alert, but not discontinue commercial and industrial activity, a new alarm signal was introduced in August 1942. This was also a response to the British introduction of fast, small planes (*Mosquitoes*), which often operated bombing missions alone or in small formations.[56] The new signal, which warned of possible "public air danger" (*Öffentliche Luftwarnung*) involved three repetitions of a fifteen second lengthy tone rising and falling (Hampe 1963: 308).

Despite efforts to the contrary, it is not possible to generalise listening experience. Civilian listening competencies and interpretations not only changed over time, but differed according to individual situations. Nonetheless, when the first bombs fell on Düsseldorf in May 1940, the alarms were initially a novelty, leading to a kind of "bomb tourism" with many people from the surrounding countryside travelling into the city to sit with their relatives in the cellar and hear the *Fliegeralarm* sounds. Urban residents, too, were keen to watch anti-aircraft battles with enemy aircraft, and crowds thronged to bombed areas to look at the damage.[57] More than anyone else, children found it initially exciting, "almost like fireworks" or "an evening show," and following bomb attacks children collected the coloured shrapnel pieces scattered on the ground.[58]

The distribution of sirens around the city also marked a shift in certain everyday features of the soundscape. Sirens were traditionally associated with the end of the factory working day, marking industrial work time and even – as I indicated in the previous chapters – as an acoustic background to national radio events. Rather than operating as the substitute for the factory clock, sirens were now used to mark unexpected emergency situations. It was not only the "masking" capacity of loud wartime sirens that made them so prominent, but also that they replaced other quotidian sounds in German cities, such as church bells and mechanical clocks. Church bells, as I noted in my discussion of *Sondermeldungen*, were a prominent feature in victory celebrations in 1940. During the course of the war, however, some ninety thousand bells were either destroyed by bombing or melted down for armament production (Koshar 1998: 192).This growing absence in the soundscape produced a certain disorientation as the earlier ringing of bells every fifteen minutes had provided a prominent temporal marker in cities.

It is the alarms themselves that are most frequently mentioned in general accounts and recollections. While the total duration and number of alarms far exceeded that of bomb attacks themselves, it is likely that there has also been some amplification in recollection (Birdsall 2009). For those in the city, sirens were usually heard when at home, in the workplace, at school or while out in the city. For most, the predominant experience of sirens was marked by the need to move swiftly: the hurried activity of waking and dressing (if sleeping), taking a suitcase and supplies to the cellar or running outside to a public shelter. A common experience was also that of waiting and listening in anticipation to determine whether an attack would occur. The sirens not only masked and even replaced other sounds in the urban environment, but were often accompanied by a silence due

to the cessation of usual daily sounds. This, no doubt, heightened the ominous associations with bombs, since they were the single predominant outdoor sound. Many of the air raids also occurred after dark, and if the power went out, then these sounds were often heard in pitch darkness. For some, the experience of sitting in the dark caused high levels of anxiety during Allied air raids: "The cellar walls shook when a bomb fell nearby. The worst was when the lights suddenly went out and we couldn't see anything. It was an oppressive feeling, the women, in particular, cried."[59]

In an interview I held in 2004, one respondent recalled the distinct sounds associated with the temporal order of attacks:

> It was unnerving to sit there in the cellar. First it would get really quiet. Then you would hear a very light, even humming sound. Then it was dead silent, before the bombs started hammering down. That was, that was horrible. We would kneel on the floor and pray. My mother always prayed the loudest. One had the feeling that the cellar floors were raising up.[60]

These accounts emphasise the anxiety created by the loss of control and intense sensory impressions, particularly the feeling that the walls and floors were moving. The high volume of alarm systems and their repetitive occurrence also provided a source of psychological anguish. In one description, the falling bombs have been described as even providing a kind of relief, since their arrival

> disrupted the painful ringing of the sirens. Pre alarm, full alarm, all clear, pre alarm, full alarm, all clear, came one after another, so that many lost their orientation, became crazy, and wanted to leave the cellar during full alarm, and enter the cellar when the all clear sounded.[61]

The loss of orientation, according to this account, was in part due to the confusion caused by the intensity of alarm sounds and the new system of time they created, which disrupted the usual distinctions between daytime and nighttime. The disturbing potential of alarms and bombs was not only due to the pressure placed on individual thresholds of hearing, but also the loss of control associated with their predicament in wartime. The individual experience of acoustic pain and noise, after all, is often linked to whether the subject has the agency to choose the volume levels.[62]

By contrast, in the initial stages of the war, before the escalation of air raids in the summer of 1940, civilians were not always sufficiently alert or used to the blackouts. Indeed, the general experience of visual deprivation in the city took some readjustment. During 1939 and 1940, American CBS radio correspondent William Shirer noted that he had difficulties following the first blackout on 1 September 1939:

> It's a little strange at first and takes some getting used to. You grope around the pitch-black streets and pretty soon your eyes get used to it, and you can make out the whitewashed curbstones – and there's a blue light here and there to guide you – and somehow you get along. (1999: 69).

Only two weeks later, Shirer noted that he had repeatedly stumbled into a lamp-post and injured himself. After deciding to use a small torch to avoid this, he was immediately stopped by the police and almost arrested for breaking the blackout regulations.[63] Even after only several months of the blackout policy, Shirer marvelled at the city lights during a visit to Amsterdam in January 1940, with his colleague Ed Murrow agreeing that it was a "shock, it seems almost indecent to have all this light around."[64] These observations thus emphasise the relief experienced by a break from the wartime conditions of reduced visibility and a context requiring a heightened use of proprioception and attention to sonic markers.

In this early period of the war, the surprise caused by unexpected alarms sometimes meant that people left restaurants or cafés without remembering to pay their bill (Hampe 1963: 588). While some people acted thoughtlessly or were caught off guard, others still initially seemed oblivious to the war:

> The restaurant and café proprietors are complaining here that their clients don't seem to listen properly to the news broadcasts from the German stations. The complaint is they go on chatting and thus prevent those who do want to hear the news from getting it. It's therefore suggested that signs be put up in all cafés and restaurants asking the customers to observe silence when the German news bulletins are being read. (Shirer 1999: 178)

This observation reinforces the difficulties faced by Nazi propagandists for the task of dictating attentive listening. Moreover, although people were still gradually adjusting to the blackout and its new restrictions, Shirer suggested as late as June 1940 that Berlin seemed almost unaffected by the war and "fundamentally unchanged" (309).[65] With the onset of more regular air attacks, appeals were made to civilians to show more discipline, and to learn to get off the streets immediately upon hearing siren wails (377, 414).

Despite the emphasis on discipline and order, nighttime alarms often meant a hurried sprint to a public bunker, with up to hundreds of other people also running for safety (Steinacker 2003: 16). The frequency of the alarms meant that people often went to bed with the knowledge they would be woken up by alarms, or they would wake up surprised when no alarm had sounded. Yet there were still occasions when no one heard the alarms or anti-aircraft shooting nearby. For example, Hans-Georg Vogt (b. 1926) woke up to find himself being rescued from the rubble to discover that he had lost his mother and three siblings (Steinacker 2003: 13).[66] However, once air attacks became more frequent, many people developed a heightened awareness, to the point where they learned to judge the distance of the planes and could recognise the type of plane (Steinacker 2003: 16). The development of acoustic recognition skills was also important for recognising the level of danger. As one person recollected, there was usually a spotter plane (*Aufklärer*) plane that would arrive first, nicknamed "Der *eiserne Gustav*," which one could recognise by its engine sounds: "Then we knew that the bombs would follow soon after" (Steinacker 2003: 16).

Everyday listening experience was mostly confined to cellars and public bun-

kers after 1943. As a listening environment, underground private basements were often damp, cold and echoing. This acoustic space was markedly different from the earlier predominance of the living room for radio listening. It was not only a contrast to muted, absorbent domestic spaces with household interiors, but also uncomfortable listening in at times crowded cellars without sufficient air. On some occasions, therefore, it was an uneasy, often nervous listening that was also often quite attentive (in the case of an attack). At other times, there was a "tuning out" when sirens were precautionary and left to sound for longer periods of time.[67] On the whole, though, the bomb attacks were experienced as overwhelming and frightening, heightened by sonic extremities and the danger posed by an enemy that was heard and felt, but rarely seen. These conditions highlight a contrast to Foucault's account of the plague city, which depended on a strict segmentation of the people, but maintained its exceptional conditions for a limited period of time. While urban space was partitioned and even rendered immobile in the lead up to an air attack, the time frame of air protection was protracted across more than five years, and the wellbeing and safety of civilians also changed dramatically over this period.

The increasingly extended periods of time spent in cellars also produced an augmented sense of temporality as the day was stretched out. From summer 1942 onwards, the Allied bombing attacks worsened, and from 1943, during both the day and night.[68] Air raid sirens began to occur so frequently that citizens often moved back and forth between their bedrooms and the cellar for one- to two-hour intervals during the night. One woman recalled that her father kept a tally of the number of time they had gone to the cellar, which by 1943 had occurred in Düsseldorf on five hundred occasions.[69] This act of keeping a tally and recording one's experience, moreover, implies a textual strategy for regaining some control over one's situation.

The need to provide civilians with more air information than sirens could provide led to some access to local communications lines for each city, usually known as "wired radio" (*Drahtfunk*). For instance, when planes went over Roermond in the Netherlands, these listeners came to know that one of the western border cities would be hit (Steinacker 2003: 10). The formula for these warnings was: "Attention, attention, enemy bomber formations are passing over…."[70] The location information given enabled listeners to approximate the distance and likelihood of an attack. This additional acoustic information source also required listeners to partially decipher the messages, since code words were often used out of fear for Allied tapping (Hampe 1963: 316). In some cases, listeners were able to plot other codes on an anti-aircraft map (*Flakkarte*). The code given for southern Düsseldorf was "Marta-Otto," while "Ludwig-Otto" referred to the northern parts of the city (Steinacker 2003: 28). Since Hannelore H.'s father worked at the Beyer company in Leverkusen, he had access to such a map (Figure 13):

> As you can see, the coded information [for us] was "*Marta Otto Neun.*" At first we couldn't show [the map] to the other people in the cellar. However, it became a safeguard for us, because we had quite a long walk to the public bunker. Later it became easier to get one of these maps, to the point where it wasn't a secret anymore.[71]

As this observation indicates, these maps were initially designed for the use of FLAK and other war-related organisations, but were also used by civilians to decode messages, providing them with a sense of being able to better predict whether they were at risk. Furthermore, it demonstrates how civilians made use of textual forms to make sense of and exercise a greater degree of control over their personal safety, and did not only rely on the signals provided by siren warnings.

The success of alarm systems depended on an intricate chain of command between different party organisations and military units. Once the volume of air attacks was almost daily and sirens frequently needed repair, these control offices were less able to manage their task of warning civilians with sonic signals (Hampe 1963: 309-16). In the later years of the war, there was also an increased need for alternative siren sources when the official system was not working. Air safety wardens were encouraged to use hand-held sirens that were operated with a rotating handle. If the sirens were completely out of order, then vans with loudspeakers attached (*Lautsprecherwagen*) sometimes took on this task, which was often hindered by the large amounts of rubble on city streets.[72] In other words, the inability of alarm control offices to deal with the high frequency of alarms and provide accurate alarms led to the breakdown of sirens as part of a disciplinary system.

FIG. 13: Coded grid map, used to decipher *Drahtfunk* information during World War II. Personal collection of the author.

In addition to providing siren warnings, *Lautsprecherwagen* were also sent through the streets to give local information on emergency shelter, medical treatment and food supplies (Steinacker 2003: 22).[73] On one occasion, there was a district in Düsseldorf dominated by rubble, smells, water streaming out of broken pipes, injured people and terrible scenes following an attack. The response of a *Lautsprecherwagen* driving through the area was to play an uplifting aria from Mozart's *The Magic Flute*. What a bystander remembered most clearly about this absurd contrast to his own situation was the lyric "This image is enchantingly lovely."[74] This attempt to literally cover the reality of destruction with the German music tradition is indicative of the ever-widening gap between the experience of urban civilians and the propaganda agenda towards the end of the war.

Another example of the stark contrast between the staging of war sounds in propaganda and listening experience in everyday life can be found in the cinematic portrayal of sirens. During the premiere of *Die Grosse Liebe* (1942) at the Düsseldorf Apollo cinema, the film was stopped twice due to air alarms.[75] Coincidentally, the film itself included a scene with an air alarm, which was no doubt a strategy for the popularisation and normalisation of war conditions. In this case, the sirens and bomb attacks created a recurring acoustic interruption that ultimately undermined the idealistic depiction of the war effort in *Die Grosse Liebe*.

It seems impossible to speak of a public life in the last two years of the war. From October 1944, schools, businesses and most public venues in Düsseldorf were closed (Zimmermann 1995: 28-9). Low-flying Allied planes (*Tiefflieger*) frequently shot at civilians, who now often lived in public bunkers or their own cellars. These conditions reduced large parts of the population, mostly consisting of women, children and the elderly, to obtaining the bare essentials of life by going through the ruins in search of food and clothing. By 1943, the Düsseldorf school administration was forced to acknowledge that unsupervised children were wandering around the streets on the days that school classes were cancelled due to air attacks (Jakobs 2003: 16, 88).[76] In general, the increasing failure of alarm warnings contributed to the knowledge that bomb attacks could be unexpected and might take place at any time (Steinacker 2003: 16). This situation suggests that, despite earlier assurances, the state could not sufficiently protect civilians from attack. Rather than providing a sign of the state's protection and safety, the alarm systems were thus transformed into a reminder of civilians' vulnerability and the breakdown of any substantial form of social life.

Following one of the heaviest attacks on Düsseldorf in June 1943, a local resident sent a letter to his soldier son. The letter notes that three weeks after the attack, life was slowly getting back to normal, but there was destruction in almost every street. Indeed, in this period, most tram services had stopped, there was little traffic and people could only move through the city by bike or by walking in the middle of the street. Several weeks later, the father wrote that the city was still "desolate" (*verödet*). When businesses closed in the evening, one could only see five or six people when walking across the whole city. The city, in his words, had become a "dark, deserted hole" (*einem dunklen, gemiedenen Loch*).[77]

Indeed, in this last two-year period, those who remained in the city were almost permanently relocated to cellars or left the city altogether; food and water

were scarce; communications systems were often down; and families were separated or their whereabouts unknown.[78] Communication between city dwellers was often reduced to chalk writing on house ruins to inform others as to their safety and new location. An official report from 1945 described Düsseldorf as:

> a city where thousands of people lived in bunkers and cellars, a city where no trams could drive, […] a city dominated by hunger and need, [...] a city where even the most primitive standards of hygiene could not be maintained, where the most necessary utilities were cut off, and where no coffins were available for the dead anymore.[79]

The basic hygiene problems and contamination described here are reminiscent of the potential risk that authorities sought to contain in the case of plague, yet these conditions reiterate that the destroyed city, with its scattered population, was beyond any organised system of discipline.

The decline of the city meant that even those urban residents still remaining were more like "catacomb dwellers," due to their makeshift, underground living conditions (Fehrenbach 1995: 1). This sense of absence and decay in the city emerges as the predominant theme in descriptions of urban environments at the end of World War II. Dieter Forte's semi-autobiographical account of wartime Düsseldorf poignantly describes the sensory dimensions to this absence:

> In this landscape there were no trees and no gardens, no lakes and no parks, so that you couldn't hear the rustle of leaves, shrubs or grass, just a monotone, rising and falling howl of the wind, connected with the rumbling thuds of walls collapsing, the hollow rattling of radiators on burnt walls, the flapping of curtains in empty windows. [...] Clouds of dust dried the inside of your mouth, shut with a wordless and deathly silence, in which no bird calls could be heard, no flapping of wings; there were no birds anymore, just like there were no dogs or cats, whose barks and sounds were long forgotten, lying dead between the grave mounds of grey stone, charred timber, broken bricks and rusted beams. (1998: 11-2)

This account of the city at the end of the war stresses the strange impressions in multiple sensory registers: the glass splinters and rubble, the strong smell of dead bodies and ash, the absence of the natural environment and its usual sounds.

While descriptions of the end of the war emphasise silence and absence, the wartime soundscape was profoundly dominated by the three main sounds of sirens, planes and bomb attacks. Indeed, various combinations of these loud wartime sounds – interspersed with intervals of silence – emerged as the daily soundscape in urban centres like Düsseldorf. These sounds predominated over almost all other features of city soundscapes, although it remains uncertain as to how easily these unexpected sounds (and their "life or death" implications) could be entirely normalised and relegated to the background of listener attention. Alarm sirens were similar to *Sondermeldungen* in that they provided a mediated, sonic framework for the interpretation of the success and eventual breakdown of the

German urban defence systems and overall war effort. This attempt at discipline, ironically born out of a loss of control due to aerial attacks, eventually failed just as that of the national listening community of official radio. While *Sondermeldungen* all but disappeared from radio's public sphere, sirens and the overwhelming sounds of bombs remained pervasive features of urban soundscapes. As the war progressed, the meaning attributed to alarms shifted as they were no longer precise or a form of reassurance for civilians, let alone capable of asserting the regime's presence and control over the domestic situation. This failure ultimately undermined the air safety discourse, which insisted that authorities could extend protection (or "care") to civilians based on an acoustic organisation of the city, as a controlled immersion in sound.

Here I have shifted Foucault's stress on how visuality is implicated in modern institutions of power. By contrast, I have shown how a disciplinary mechanism can function in an urban context of reduced visibility with a sonic alarm system. While Foucault suggests the success of modern disciplinary systems in achieving all-encompassing, generative mechanisms of power, I have also tried to highlight the shortcomings of Nazi urban sonic control, operating as it did from a defensive position and amidst the protracted conditions of war. Nonetheless, Foucault's account of the plague remains a useful comparison since it accentuates civilian participation (as *inclusion-organisation*) and the response of authorities as both a militarist model of maintaining order and a public-health project of combating disease. In the following, I will return to Foucault's account, which provides a comparison for the increasingly rigid definition of community used to police civilian behaviour during World War II. This policing, I will argue, also revealed a strong correlation between sound and surveillance, along with new categories of social outsiders based on radio listening and behaviour classified as abnormal or non-normative.

Suspicious Sounds

In this chapter, I have established some of the striking similarities between the World War II home front organisation and Foucault's notion of organised discipline in the plague city. The medical response to the figure of the "leper" also provides a useful precedent for considering the rituals of exclusion underpinning the ambition to maintain a "pure community" during National Socialism. Not only did Nazi thinking combine a vision of collective historical destiny (*Schicksal*) with a racialised concept of community, but the policing and exclusion of otherness took on a more radicalised form during the war. Against this background, with acts of listening and speaking generating increasingly fearful associations, this section tries to conceive of how the auditory figured in (wartime) surveillance.

Foucault's account of the Panopticon, as I have noted, places undue emphasis on the role of visuality in modern institutions and surveillance. More recent interpretations of Western modernity, however, have highlighted the interplay of vision and hearing. Historian Mark Smith, for instance, counters the visualist discourse emphasised by Foucault and other scholars of modernity:

> The print revolution, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, all enthusiastically promoted the power of the eye, but hearing seemed to hold its own, with no discernable dilution of its social and intellectual importance. (2007: 58)

In other words, Foucault may have underestimated the contribution of sound to the modern project. His essay on the Panopticon, however, does hint at the sonic implications of solitary confinement, causing inmates to be unable to communicate with each other or form "a crowd"; a similar compartmentalisation in the school room meant "no noise, no chatter" (201). Ultimately, the overall effect of modern surveillance is a sense of being continually monitored, whether visually or acoustically, whereby subjects are conditioned to practise *auto*surveillance.[80]

Although Foucault himself commented very rarely on National Socialism, he conceded that his work was influenced by his own experience of growing up in German-occupied Vichy France between 1940 and 1945.[81] Nazism, as Foucault noted elsewhere, is the "culminating point of the development of the new mechanisms of power set in place since the 18th century [...] disciplinary power, biopower; all that traverse and sustain every aspect of Nazi society."[82] Indeed, one of the most common tropes in post-war scholarship has been to reiterate the perception that the Nazi regime was not only all-seeing, but also all-hearing. This view, most often found in accounts of the regime as "totalitarian," implies that there was no room for the individual to move, no free spaces.[83] This claim, as a form of exculpation, was also taken up by both West and East German governments in the immediate post-war era, as well as by left-wing movements in order to account for the ineffectiveness of their own resistance during National Socialism.[84]

In this chapter, I have taken issue with Foucault's scopocentric emphasis and argued that the application of control was sometimes more difficult and chaotic than was purported in Nazi discourses, particularly in the context of wartime. A similar argument can be made about official forms of surveillance. While for many civilians the regime appeared monolithic and efficient from the outside, the secret service (*Gestapo*) did not actually have the resources to conduct extensive surveillance of citizens. Instead, for their investigations, they relied heavily on information volunteered by civilians and informants.[85] Despite this reality, the perception of many civilians was that the regime had far-reaching surveillance capacities, a notion that was enhanced by the proliferation of rumour, propaganda discourses, heavy sentences and the intensification of regime organisation for those remaining in cities during the war.

In trying to address how sound emerged as a field of fear or suspicion, I will begin by exploring predominant propaganda discourses about listening and speech. One of the major themes in World War I was a concern with the development of espionage as a mode of warfare. Between 1914 and 1918, posters had warned Germans to be cautious about what they said in public, as visualised, for instance, by a padlock over a soldier's mouth (Fleischer 1994: 18-21, 261). In the aftermath of Germany's defeat, conservative commentators such as Hans Henning Freiherr Grote returned to the wartime slogan "Careful! The enemy is listening!" (*Vorsicht! Feind hört mit!*). In Grote's eponymous book (1930), espionage is presented as a major cause for Germany's military defeat in 1918,

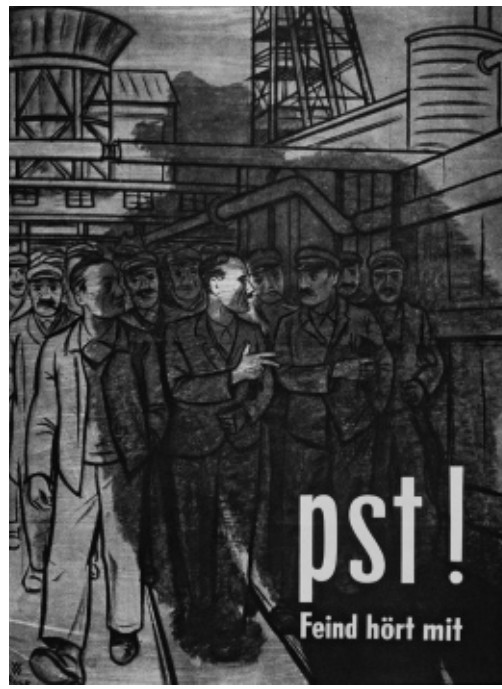

FIG. 14: "*Pst! Feind hört mit!*" [Psst! The enemy is listening!], poster [ca. 1943]. Courtesy of BPK, Berlin.

in keeping with the "stab in the back" myth (*Dolchstoßlegende*), which asserted that the German war effort had been undermined by a lack of discipline on the home front. Among the various espionage strategies explored, including carrier pigeons, miniature cameras and cryptograms, Grote offers everyday speech and the telephone as two significant hazards causing the dissemination of military secrets (1930: 8-12).[86] The specific concern about telephone conversations was emphasised in another poster that visualises the oversized ear of a Frenchman as being privy to information passing through telephone cables.[87]

With the onset of World War II, a number of posters developed several visual variations on this earlier propaganda theme, usually featuring the dark shadow of a man cast over illustrations of Germans engaged in various everyday activities such as working, travelling, chatting or speaking on the telephone (Figures 14 and 15). This looming shadow was either accompanied with the text "The enemy is listening" or the whispered shush to be silent (*Pst!*). Such instructions for civilians to be quiet or silent (*Schweig!*) in posters constructed an authoritative discourse around avoiding careless or unnecessary speech when in public.[88] Andreas Fleischer notes that, despite several examples of posters specifically warning against "spies" (*Spione*), the broader notion of the "enemy" (*Feind*) listener was more predominant and perhaps better suited to the increasingly rigid definitions of otherness in wartime Germany (1994: 73). The supposed omnipresence

FIG. 15: "*Hans schreibt seine Division kommt nach... pst! Feind hört mit!*"
[Hans has written that his division is going to… Psst!
The enemy is listening!], poster [ca. 1942].
Courtesy of BPK, Berlin.

of the mysterious, unknown enemy, moreover, was supposed to stimulate the German *Volk* into a "preparedness to defend" (*Abwehrbereitschaft*) (Schneider 2000: 155).

In addition to such visual posters, the German film industry was quick to capitalise on the popular sensation provoked by the fear of espionage. The film *Achtung! Feind hört mit!* (1940) sets up a narrative of intrigue at a large factory near the French border in 1938, due to spies who are interested in listening in (*mithorchen*) on "German armament secrets" (Herzberg 1940). The narrative revolves around an English spy and his attractive German accomplice, Lily, who both begin relationships with two young factory employees. The opening titles of the film impressed upon German viewers the importance of this theme:

> Espionage is a form of total war! It affects all of us. The issue is not just the secrets of laboratories and weapons manufacturers. It is also about loyalty, discretion, emotional steadfastness./The weakness of a few can allow for enemy espionage. For those involved, it means enduring a life in constant fear, and to end up in unhappiness and disgrace. For the nation, however, it can be worse than a lost battle!/For this reason: Careful! The enemy is listening![89]

These titles argue that everyday speech and behaviour need policing, given the conditions of "total war," whereby individual actions could have national repercussions.[90] While the film's title might suggest the sonic dimensions to espionage, the telephone features as a minor narrative device for revealing the English spy's activities.[91] Espionage is depicted as primarily based on photographic images and printed documentation, with the character of Lily reinforcing the suspicion of attractive women as unreliable and potential traitors during wartime (Chickering 2007: 316). The dramatic ending of the film involves the English spy trying to unsuccessfully escape from the factory by plane, which leads to anti-aircraft fire and air raid sirens being let off. A propaganda poster is subsequently shown, which reveals that two other employees have been charged with treacherous behaviour and will be hung as a punishment. In this final scene, a man tells a group of employees that these events could happen anywhere: he points at the poster and warns that this should be a lesson to all workers, as "every colleague […] can be a spy."[92]

The use of the word "*mithören*" in these cultural artefacts does not only translate to mean listening, but also has the implication of a suspicious or deceptive listening: *eavesdropping*. As Ann Gaylin explains, the modern understanding of eavesdropping suggests

> a particular sense of space: one that indicates boundaries of public and private areas, and transgressions of the former into the latter. [...] This border state presupposes the trespass of another individual's sense of private space. (2002: 2)

While Gaylin explores this theme as a narrative device in nineteenth-century literature, I will consider how this fear of the enemy eavesdropping did not only concern one's outdoor public behaviour. Indeed, the fear of eavesdropping within the private sphere has a wider relevance given the extensive incursions on the home under the pretext of wartime discipline and organisation.

The domestic environment is the locus of Foucault's plague model, since it is observed, inspected, and, eventually, purified. Despite Nazism's ideology of the home as an idealised sanctuary, it has been shown that aerial warfare exposed the vulnerability of the urban home. In the case of World War II, moreover, the home was established as a vital site of war preparation due to fears of air attacks, along with the notion of the "home front" (*Heimatfront*) as representing the contribution of a feminised private sphere. With the outbreak of war, there was a renewed emphasis on community and co-operation with others, yet it took some coercion to ensure the participation of the *Kriegsgemeinschaft* in the war effort. Correct air safety participation was induced by threats of heavy sentences for theft or incorrect conduct during the evening blackout, with numerous public announcements of death penalties used to set an example to civilians. The home in wartime was not only constructed as under threat (as a site of military defence), but was also criminalised as the potential location for illegal (listening) activity or selfish behaviour, such as hoarding coal (*Kohlenklau*).

On the whole, there was a heightened sense that the activities and sounds

made within the home could carry beyond its walls and expose its inhabitants to further potential scrutiny. In general, tight-knit Catholic or worker communities were sometimes able to resist certain intrusions of the regime, whereas those in the city were often more privy to observation by neighbours or informants. Given that National Socialism led many people to retreat into the domestic sphere, the predominant context of individualised radio listening was no doubt conducive to what Detlev Peukert terms the "atomisation" of everyday life in the 1930s (1987/1993: 78). Nonetheless, following the ban on listening to foreign radio stations in September 1939, placards were designed to attach to domestic radio dials, which stated that it was strictly forbidden in the interests of "national security" and that the *Führer* had given orders to the authorities to give harsh prison sentences to those who broke the ban.[93] While the regime initially eased the prosecutions following the military successes of 1940, around 250 death sentences were issued for foreign radio listening during the entire war period (Hensle 2003: 89, 134-6). Such harsh penalties were usually not premised as much on the act of listening to foreign radio stations as on being caught sharing this information with other people.

The fear associated with clandestine acts of radio listening is noted in many personal accounts, with the strategy sometimes mentioned of covering the receiver in order to muffle its sounds from potential eavesdroppers.[94] Indeed, this practice of listening to foreign radio can also be likened to an experience of eavesdropping, since radio listeners were privy to *illicit* knowledge (Gaylin 2002: 25). Moreover, being caught for foreign radio listening also implied a certain loss of control over the domestic listener: the informant required a certain spatial proximity for detecting foreign radio sounds, yet from inside the home it was not necessarily possible to ascertain whether one had been overheard and, if so, by whom. Goebbels also capitalised on this anxiety by spreading the rumour that police and postal workers could trace foreign radio listening activity (Hensle 2003: 147).[95] While there are no exact figures for foreign radio listening, it appears that many loyal followers of the regime were among those who listened out of curiosity or a desire for news (332, 338).[96] The various foreign stations, interruption signals and pirate radio stations may have also provided a certain fascination for listeners, heightened by the discursive investment in the radio "ether" as a somewhat mysterious and dangerous realm during wartime.

The criminalisation of listening brought with it new societal categories of the "foreign listener" (*Feindhörer*) and "illegal listener" (*Schwarzhörer*). This was part of a moral discourse perpetuated by propagandists, which insisted that the ban on foreign radio was to protect the people from enemy lies. This claim was in keeping with the portrayal of the British as "war mongers" and "aggressors," which enabled Hitler to claim the moral high ground that Germany was a victim who entered the war reluctantly (Kris and Speier 1944: 34). While the regime claimed to extend its "care" for the people, it required the people to participate and show their commitment to the nation as a "wartime *Volk* community" (*Kriegsvolksgemeinschaft*). This is suggestive of how normative concepts of community were rearticulated in the context of war, instilling a sense of collective destiny, a "community of fate" (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*). Such a process requires,

in line with Anderson, that personal sacrifices be subsumed in a narrative about the whole nation making collective sacrifice. Put in terms of the "national listening community," the criteria for acceptable membership required attentive listening to *Sondermeldungen* and speeches, refraining from tuning into foreign stations, and accepting related wartime discourses of obedience and sacrifice. This broader model of community belonging based on (listening) habits became more exclusive, revealing the hardening divisions between members of the community (*Volksgemeinschaft*) and "community aliens" (*Gemeinschaftsfremde*).

One of the key sites for the close interaction of civilians (with the potential for sonic surveillance) was the public bunker or shelter. First of all, besides work environments, food queues and some limited leisure activities, the bunker was one of the last sites of sociability. The bunker also reflected a restricted definition of community that emerged in a period of policing "*Volk*" behaviour and ensuring that there was no contact with forced foreign workers (and the few remaining Jews). These exclusions were reflected in admission to public bunkers, which often had signs indicating that Jews were not allowed.[97] Foreign forced labourers, who made up around ten per cent of the remaining population in Düsseldorf, were prevented from having adequate protection during air attacks and were forced to continue working despite alarm sirens (Zimmermann 1995: 22). During my oral history interviews, Wilhelm M. (b. 1927) recalled clearly that towards the end of the war in Düsseldorf there were prisoners who had to clean the streets and collect rubble along the tracklines on Friedrichstrasse from Graf Adolf Platz to Aachener Platz. Renate S. (b. 1928) noted that one was alerted to the presence of these "*Fremdarbeiter*" because they wore wooden clogs, which meant "you heard them when they were coming."[98]

The bunker was thus marked as an exclusively "Aryan" space, although those considered as belonging to the *Volksgemeinschaft* were also scrutinised on the basis of their behaviour and speech. "Block" leaders and air wardens (*Luftschutzwarte*) were the lowest-ranking party functionaries, yet they had the authority to make sure residents followed correct safety procedures within shelters (Steinacker 2003: 13). Their inspection of resident behaviour sometimes extended to surveillance and denunciations, particularly on the basis of black-out measures and radio usage. In most cases, these party representatives conducted reports (*Haushaltskartei*) on individual household members and documented their participation in, for instance, *WHW* coin collections or hanging out the party flag (Gellately 1993: 91-2).

Public bunkers were usually large and may have offered some shelter from the individual scrutiny and eavesdropping of household representatives of the party. Indeed, household shelters were more likely to have a fairly consistent group of domestic residents, and the protracted nature of the air war made these spaces a potential source of community tension, disputes and denunciation (Zimmermann 1995: 30). The societal friction produced by long periods in bunkers and cellars reflects a more general tension between solitude and community in the city. As Fran Tonkiss has argued, the modern urban subject often desires anonymity, the ability to blend in and feel like "no one is looking, nobody is listening" (2003: 300). The usual attempt to preserve some physical distance or privacy was under-

mined by war conditions, which restricted mobility and placed civilians in close proximity to others.[99] While much has been made of the oppositional nature of "whispered jokes" (*Flüsterwitze*) and a solidarity amongst the populace, the radicalised conditions of war meant that all accusations were likely to have serious ramifications. As Richard Sennett has observed, when "everyone has each other under surveillance, sociability decreases, silence being the only form of protection" (1978: 15). In other words, the common knowledge of cases involving the denunciation of spouses, parents, siblings and within friendship circles heightened a general sense of monitoring one's own behaviour and speech, particularly for those already targeted as outsiders (like Jews) and at risk of discrimination and surveillance (Johnson and Reuband 2005: 293-300).

The July 1944 assassination attempt on Hitler's life, with a subsequent policy of "no tolerance," led to an intensification of terror practices against civilians. From late 1944, civilians in Düsseldorf could hear battles with the Allied forces in the area near Aachen, yet official sources continued to make appeals to "hold out" (*Durchhalteappelle*) (Tapken 1990: 402). With ongoing restrictions on public information, many civilians were eager to ascertain what was happening, usually by actively seeking to decipher various news sources and scraps of information they had heard. A classified secret service (SD) report from 22 January 1943 already acknowledged the limits to official propaganda in this period:

> The national comrades have the feeling that when events take a negative course the public media of guidance and control always put an "official face" on them. A condition has thus developed whereby, under such circumstances, considerable sections of the nation no longer regard the press as the best source of instruction but assemble "their own picture" from rumours, stories told by soldiers and people with "political connections," letters from the front and the like. Hence often the most nonsensical rumours are accepted with an astonishing lack of criticism. (Quoted in Peukert 1987/1993: 54)

The notion of a disciplined home front, in other words, was perceived as being threatened by the individual interpretations made on the basis of rumours. In response, "word of mouth" campaigns (*Mundpropaganda-Aktionen*) were established by the regime in October 1944. Uniformed soldiers were enlisted to conspicuously promote certain standpoints in large cities, since the populace were supposedly more receptive to accepting what they heard from uniformed men on leave (Echternkamp 2004: 19-20).

This final period of the war, defined by rumour, terror tactics and noisy air attacks, is suggestive of the state of affairs that the medieval plague organisation was precisely trying to avoid, as Foucault notes: "rebellions, crimes, vagabondage, desertions, people who appear and disappear, live and die in disorder" (1977: 198). Moreover, since earlier control systems like alarms were no longer fully operational, loudspeaker vans were given a function similar to the medieval "town crier," whose public messages resounded in the streets and were passed on by word of mouth. In the German case, civilians had increasingly limited access to print information, with perhaps the exception of propaganda flyers (*Flugblät-*

ter) dropped over their cities by Allied planes, and they were thus forced to rely on the usually aural and localised information sources available to them (see Kluge 1977/2008).

The most prominent sonic cue in Düsseldorf during spring of 1945 was a six-week period of artillery fire by American troops stationed on the left bank of the Rhine River. The almost unceasing fire on the city signalled to most remaining civilians the futility of their situation, yet the party administration refused to concede defeat, calling for an absolute defence of the city. These chaotic circumstances shared a certain similarity to Marshall McLuhan's description of how (indiscriminate) violence in medieval cities is linked to their noisy soundscapes. Terror, he argues, "is the normal state of any oral society, for in it everything affects everything all the time" (1962: 44). Indeed, in the last weeks before the city's surrender on 17 April 1945, local leaders intensified the terror measures, with units sent out to conduct house searches for deserters and Jews, and punish civilians suspected of defeatist behaviour, such as hanging out white flags. With the city itself as a battleground, rife with arbitrary violence and gunfire, *all* the sounds in the city had become suspicious.

Conclusion

My analysis of sounds and wartime organisation has acknowledged that the initial war effort was effective in concealing profound social changes, particularly in the use of radio events and popular song as mechanisms for creating a sense of national listening community. My elaboration of Benedict Anderson's term "imagined community" has extended his focus on printed media to radio sound without reinforcing theories of a "great divide" or notions of listening as a passive activity. The initial enthusiasm for an "imagined listening community," as I outlined, was eventually undermined by the sensory experience of war. This produced in many civilians an enormous sense of frustration and powerlessness, caused by experiences such as the sounds of bombs in overwhelming the self, the loss of belongings or loved ones, or the various incursions of party functionaries and instruments of surveillance. Consequently, the notion of an imagined (listening) community came under considerable pressure towards the end of the war. The affective bonds with the nation were fading fast and the nation could not produce a replacement for lost social ties, or for the home:

> The Nazis, with their terror apparatus, did succeed in breaking up the complex jigsaw of society into its smallest component parts, and changing much of its traditional coherence almost beyond recognition. By the end of the Third Reich, and of the world war the Reich had staged, the vision of a "national community" had dissolved. (Peukert 1987/1993: 241)

The societal tensions produced by the worsening conditions of war also led to a reassertion of local and regional identities. The particular, located experience of the air war is suggested in the frustration expressed towards Berlin as blame

was cast on the capital city and its politicians for imposing these conditions on the industrial western regions.[100] This serves as a case in point for the increasing challenge to identifications based on national community. Moreover, those in affected cities were aware that other German cities were under attack, yet their experience (and suffering) could be interpreted as disproportionate to the relative safety of rural and regional areas. Such divergences in experience thus posed a challenge to the repeated claims of unified national experience.

In particular, I have drawn on Foucault's theory of modern power to analyse the role played by sound in the construction of German cities as part of a militarised home front with civilian-soldiers. The efforts of Nazi authorities to control the home front shared traits with Foucault's two key principles of *inclusion-organisation* (the plague) and *exclusion* (the leper). While Foucault suggests that modern institutions of power operated on a generalisable visual-spatial mechanism, I have sought to illustrate the specifically sonic dimensions to discipline and surveillance. Foucault's notion of autosurveillance, in particular, has been delineated during wartime as having sonic consequences in everyday practices involving speech and radio listening. Indeed, my analysis has argued that the notion of a disciplined *Volksgemeinschaft* in wartime Germany was predicated on: 1) attentive radio listening; 2) a disciplinary system of air raid sirens and protection; and 3) discursive emphasis on sound as a source of fear or anxiety.

The efforts of the Nazi Party to "sound out the city" and achieve spatial and auditory omnipresence was undermined by the context of World War II. In the following chapter, I will pursue my interest in these efforts to use sound to fill space by examining the specific context of film exhibition. In this case, I am not only interested in concrete cinema practices and spectatorship (in reference to Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal), but also the discursive conceptualisation of the cinema as facilitating national community and reworking identity on the basis of its sonic spectacle and "rhythmic harmony."

4. Cinema as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*?

In 1876, the much-anticipated Bayreuth music festival opened with the first complete performance of the *Ring des Nibelungen* cycle, directed by its founder, German composer Richard Wagner. This inaugural festival enjoyed critical success, and has since been considered as a major breakthrough in the history of modern (operatic) performance (Shaw-Miller 2002). From the late 1840s, Wagner had preoccupied himself with a new concept of *music-drama*, which he discussed in theoretical writings and pursued in his own compositions. According to Wagner, music-drama would involve a total fusion of the traditional arts, with a balance between music and poetry (Wagner 1849/2001: 4-9).

Even if the ideal of a total work of art (*Gesamtkunstwerk*) was not necessarily achieved, media scholar Friedrich Kittler (1993) locates Wagner's music-theatre in the 1840s to 1870s as a predecessor of the modern PA sound system. Kittler's definition of Wagnerian music-drama as a "mass media" invention emphasises the orchestra's function as a kind of amplifier, creating feedbacks and reverberations that cannot be shut out by the ears. It is precisely the overwhelming of the audience's senses through the "all pervasive power of sound" that Kittler sees as constituting a significant precursor to modern mass media (222). This new theory and practice of acoustics depended on the staging of echoes and breathing with the aid of an orchestra placed out of the audience's sight. Kittler conceives this development in terms of an interconnected network:

> The text is fed into the throat of a singer; the output of this throat is fed into an amplifier named orchestra, the output of this orchestra is fed into a light show, and the whole thing, finally, is fed into the nervous system of the audience. (233)

In other words, Wagner's acoustics is posited as a media invention that employed a large, yet hidden orchestra to produce "acoustic hallucinations" and immerse the audience in reverberant sound.[1] This account thus determines a "total world" of hearing in the vocal and musical content of Wagnerian music-drama. Moreover, Kittler argues, its sensory overwhelming created an aesthetic experience that we may now see as a "prehistory" for present-day cinema.

This chapter takes Kittler's enthusiastic reading of Wagner's medial breakthrough *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a departure point. While Kittler highlights the role of Wagner's operas as performing an acoustics that anticipated modern sound technologies and cinema, I will argue that a normative use of Wagner for the cinema often misread the concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in terms of an equal syn-

thesis of sound and image. I will start by delineating the appeal and pliability of this concept for early-twentieth-century film critics, who rarely acknowledged Wagner's argument for an increased role for music over other elements. During National Socialism, in particular, the unity and synthesis associated with the *Gesamtkunstwerk* offered ideological currency as a metaphor for national community. I will thereby emphasise the concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk* in terms of its hierarchy of elements, the attempts to conceal its own mediality, and its controversial legacy for National Socialism.

Against this background, in this chapter I will investigate how, in the early twentieth century, cinema was conceived through specific metaphors of sound, such as *symphony*, *rhythm* and *harmony*. I will begin by noting the reaction against Wagnerian musical technique and *parallelism* as principles for sound in cinema during the 1920s. The concept of the "symphony" will be introduced as a means for examining the resulting avant-garde experiments in audio-visual *counterpoint*. For these purposes, I take the work of German filmmaker Walther Ruttmann as an illustrative case, with a particular focus on his pluralised, rhythmic portrayal of urban modernity in *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1927). The "symphonic," as I will argue, did not only involve counterpoint between audio and visual rhythms, but also a heightened medium awareness, as exemplified by the premiere of Ruttmann's 1927 film. Ruttmann, who was also a prominent critic of the transition to film sound, provides a useful case for considering how (urban) sound was imagined across the silent and sound periods. Rhythm, in my account, is employed as a heuristic tool for pinpointing how Ruttmann's avant-garde aesthetic increasingly integrated themes of urban control and a subdued soundscape following the Nazi takeover. My analysis shows that while Ruttmann sought to reclaim the symphonic, his earlier experiments with rhythmic counterpoint were replaced by a "postcard" aesthetic in his 1930s city films. In Ruttmann's later films like *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt … der Stadt Düsseldorf am Rhein* (1935), audio-visual rhythms were contained and harmonised. This predominantly visualist approach, as I will show, was defined by smooth transitions and musical illustrations that ultimately concealed the medium, in keeping with the synthesis ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Following this film analysis, I will concentrate on how a concept of rhythm was extended to cinema-going and the public space of exhibition during National Socialism, with the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal as a model for "rhythmic harmony" in the cinema.[2] Cinema programming in the 1930s, as I will indicate, also drew on a multitude of sound media and advertising practices, which were understood as necessary for conditioning the cinema space and the spectator's attention patterns. The rhetorics of (rhythmic) control I identify in Ruttmann's later work are extended here to the stress on the projectionist for ensuring the smooth operation of live and multimedial elements in the cinema space, now designated in terms of festive gatherings of the German *Volksgemeinschaft* (national-racial community). My analysis will emphasise how sound was imbued with significant potential, but also posed a risk of rupture within both film production and exhibition, a condition that was exacerbated in the last years of World War II.[3]

In the final section I will re-examine the claims to a *Gesamtkunstwerk* pur-

sued in Nazi cinema exhibition with the aid of a contemporary film, which challenges the ideology of synthesis or "synchronisation" as a metaphor for totalitarian control. This documentary film, titled *Hitler's Hit Parade* (2003) adopts a structural principal of sonic continuity, with twenty-five hit songs played in full. In this case, I will draw on the notion of the "jukebox" for conceptualising the narrative organisation of these songs. The film's jukebox structure, as I will show, is innovative in allowing for gramophone "noise" and, with it, historical contingency to be foregrounded. It also allows for the mobilisation of *both* parallelism and counterpoint, in order to achieve a "perceptual dissonance" that operates to re-sensitise audiences to audiovisual representations of the past. The film thereby transcends the opposition between Wagnerian parallelism and avant-garde counterpoint and with it, the traditional hierarchy between sound and image. The critical use of rhythm and (musical) sound in this film will be explored as a challenge to myths of media transparency as well as the perpetuation of visual representations of Nazism itself as totalitarian *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

The *Gesamtkunstwerk* in Cinema

According to the common understanding of the concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Richard Wagner imagined a synthesis of the arts in music-drama. Indeed, the vagueness of the concept itself has led to divergent appropriations in both scholarly accounts and early commercial film practice. Its circulation since the nineteenth century could be described in terms of what theorist Mieke Bal (2002) has termed a "traveling concept." Bal notes that the meanings of concepts are not static:

> They travel – between disciplines, between individual scholars, between historical periods, and between geographically dispersed academic communities. [...] These processes of differing need to be assessed before, during, and after each "trip." (24)

This chapter will not trace the many twentieth-century projects that have used and adapted the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a comparison that has almost become cliché (Flinn 1992: 48). Rather, I will begin by emphasising its general appeal for film critics and practitioners, before specifying its ideological currency in Germany from 1933 onwards.

Film scholar Scott D. Paulin contends that the status of music shifted in Wagner's artistic work and theoretical writings. By 1870, Wagner argued that "the union of Music and Poetry must [...] always end in [...] a subordination of the latter" (quoted in Paulin 2000: 61). Over a period of time, therefore, Wagner gradually produced a privileged understanding of music's place within his music-drama ideal. From 1900 onwards, theorists of silent film took a specific concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* to appeal to a general idea of synthesis, one which was initially based on the relationship of (visual) cinematic techniques and narrative.[4] This position overlooked Wagner's gradually increased role for music, by sug-

gesting that film sound be subservient and "fit" the image (Paulin 2000: 64). In fact, most claims made for early film sound as having an inherent relationship to the image never extended beyond a fuzzy notion of "appropriateness." Among the possible explanations for the concept's appeal, Paulin suggests that Wagner's name offered a recognisable myth of origin for the cinema, which would associate the new medium with a pre-existing, high art form (68). This position thus aligned it with Wagner's notion of a self-contained work produced by a single artist and simultaneously neglected the mass-produced nature of film as an assemblage of media forms. Paulin does not dispute Wagner's influence, but attempts to displace his self-evident place in the history and theorisation of cinema, whether "silent" or with synchronised sound (72-76).

The *Gesamtkunstwerk* continued to grow in popularity from the late 1920s, with critics suggesting that sound films offered further possibilities for unifying image and sound. However, in the case of American cinema, the ideal of *Gesamtkunstwerk* was less an aesthetic aspiration than an attempt to attribute cultural distinction to the medium and harness profits. Claudia Gorbman (1987), for instance, has argued that film music is of a different order than music-drama because it mostly involves instrumental and non-texted composition. Within classical uses of film, music, even as *leitmotiv*, is not only relegated to the background, so to speak, but is most effective when unnoticed (1987: 73-80). The subordinated status of sound in cinema has led Michel Chion to polemically argue that "there is no soundtrack," since the acoustic elements are usually broken up and reassembled on the image track (1999: 1-4). As a general rule, Chion asserts, film sound is used to provide "added value" when experiencing the images but has no independent status. Thus, while a theorist like Kittler is quick to accentuate the similarities between Wagnerian music-drama and cinema, the predominant historical understanding of sound within film discourse has focused on the contribution of composed scores and musical song as accompanying the visuals. Kittler reminds us, however, that the cinematic image-sound hierarchy was not inherent, but rather a historically contingent development within its technological and industrial history.[5]

Not only did Wagner's aesthetic agenda shift with regard to the place of music in the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, but his own political allegiances and aspirations also altered during his career. Cultural historian Hannu Salmi (1999) has specified the diversity in Wagner's thinking, despite the influential understanding of Wagner as a state supporter with "proto-fascist" politics.[6] While Wagner took part in an anarchical uprising in 1849, Salmi notes, it was only in subsequent decades that his nationalist convictions were confirmed:

> The idea of *Gesamtkunstwerk* emerged during Wagner's anarchist period, but later he adapted his theory of art better to match the new political situation. A belief in art focusing on man's inner regeneration, closely linked with a religious vision of art's function, would be in harmony with the principle of monarchy. (79)

Even if his desire for state patronage proved unsuccessful, Wagner's "national utopia," as Salmi dubs it, maintained a vision of the possible fusion of arts and politics. This symbiotic understanding conceived art as moulding national culture, infusing it with myth and ceremony. The nation, in turn, would be channelled into the work of the artist. The fusion of the aesthetic and the political, consequently, would facilitate the German people's spirit (*Volksgeist*) and provide the basis for national community.

Wagner's views have thus not only been placed within a tradition of German romanticism, but also as part of a pernicious strand of German nationalism. His writings on the need for German culture, which have led to considerable scholarly debate, established a number of binary oppositions, most notably between the "German" and the "un-German," a category that included foreigners and Jews (Large and Weber 1984; Rose 1992; Weiner 1995). Salmi emphasises that a distinction should be made between Wagner's utopian project and Nazi doctrine, which conceived art as a mere tool of the state. It was long after Wagner's death, for instance, that his legacy and the Bayreuth *Festspielhaus* were remoulded by his relatives, and established under National Socialism as an aesthetic justification for their aggressive model of German nationalism (Salmi 1988: 61, 178, 184-8). While Wagner's writings should not be read as synonymous with the Nazi project, his romanticist conceptions of revolution, the German spirit, national culture and the importance of the artist for the state were easily realigned under a nationalist model. In other words, Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal provided a useful metaphor for creating a new society that was supposedly unified and under "total" control.

Synchronised sound film, too, in unifying sound and image, was appropriated after 1933 as a prime example of the Wagnerian synaesthetic model for German nationalism. State control of the film industry was understood to be a constituent element for ensuring national unity, a trend which shows strong parallels to the progressive centralisation and nationalisation I discussed with regard to organised carnival celebrations in Chapter Two. The appeal to Wagner, however, was perhaps necessary for the establishment of cinema, which simultaneously drew on both popular and high art (musical) traditions (see Schulte-Sasse 1996; Petro 1998). The ambition to establish cinema as a palpable, synaesthetic spectacle also drew on Wagner's belief that the *Gesamtkunstwerk* could restore the divide between the mind and the body. Sound and movement (comprising emotion) would be fused with language (rationality) (Salmi 1999: 77). This imagined unification of "hearts and minds" was thus transferred to cinema-going, as an event that would create shared sensory experience and thus a national public.

The persistent insistence on Wagner's legacy for German sound cinema extended until the end of the Nazi era. Written during the early 1940s, Gottfried Müller's *Dramaturgie des Theaters und des Films* preserves the nineteenth-century concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as intrinsic to Germany's cultural inheritance:

> Like drama, which deals with plot and language, the sound film also has to achieve a picture effect and musical mood. The music's contribution to the

> film is as an indispensable creator of atmosphere. The sound film is a total work of art [*Gesamtkunstwerk*], just like Wagner's music-drama, which connected language and music, gesture and rhythm in a unified way. With this total work of art, [...] Wagner conquered all people from all societal levels and all nations of the world.[7]

Müller mainly deals with the relationship between stage drama and sound film, taken from the perspective of dramaturgy.[8] However, his contentions about the *Gesamtkunstwerk* are also transferred to the social level. Wagner's writings are refashioned to address issues of social cohesion, with sound film offered as a cultural levelling agent and thus overriding societal or class divisions during National Socialism.

Wagner's universalism, which originally positioned German art as a cultural benefactor, is reinterpreted here in terms of conquest, against the background of Germany's imperialist war programme in this period.[9] Music-drama, according to Müller's reading, contributes to national culture by investing it with myth:

> While the music drama is a festive art, as the embodiment of the national myth for important holidays, film is the stuff of everyday life, as a popular form of the music drama. [...] Only a total work of art [*Gesamtkunstwerk*] can be a true art of the people [*Volkskunst*]. It is directed towards all senses, is intelligible for everyone and requires no education. It is directed at the heart and not at the intellect. For a spoken performance, one needs a literary training, for a symphony you need musical training. [...] In this way the music drama is the folk art of the festival. Sound films are the folk art of everyday life, because they satisfy the eyes, the ears, the heart and the senses. The earlier low-entertainment forms of silent film, *Tingel-Tangels* and annual fairs offered too little authentic internal experience [*inneres Erlebnis*] in order to become true folk art forms. It was only with the technological possibility to seamlessly unite language-based drama, opera, ballet and symphonic music, in one art form, that film demonstrated itself as the heir to the theatre.[10]

In this account, cinema's status as a mass art is not denied. Instead, emphasis is placed on the popular nature of cinema, which depends on unified sensory experience to contribute to the culture of the people (as *Volkskunst*). Cinema is thus presented as a cultural form accessible to all Germans, reflecting a rhetoric of social homogenisation and an idea of the festivalisation of the everyday as I outlined in Chapter Two. The main difference, however, is that while carnival is presented as an outward expression in public space, cinema is stressed as working on the level of "internal" or subjective experience. Indeed, Walter Benjamin observed during the 1930s that *Erlebnis,* as a singular event or experience, had usurped the earlier place of *Erfahrung*, where experience had involved a process with critical potential (1936/1999a: 83-107).[11] In addition, Müller's account implies that cinema's success depended on concealing the medium and, as in Wagner's vision for music-drama, ensuring that the audience member "forgets the confines of the auditorium" (Wagner 1849: 6). Thus, this idea of the *Gesa-*

mtkunstwerk is not only infused with myth and experience, but also underscores the potential for overwhelming cinema audiences in the dark, resounding auditorium, as suggested by Kittler.

Even though Müller affirms the notion of an equal unity of the various art forms, his argument also maintains a certain hierarchy: the early period of cinema was inhibited in its ability to appeal to the national spirit due to the absence of synchronised sound and its low-cultural status. Music, here, is given emphasis as a dominant element for cinema during the Third Reich, largely due to the guiding principal of rhythm:

> Film drama is the most perfect fusion of image, language and music. Its script is the score of the total work of art [*Gesamtkunstwerk*] in which the action is conspicuously adjusted to the musical principles of timing and the logical mood created by the rhythm of the melody. [...] Just like the music, which is steered by its accompanying film image, the language and visuals achieve an urgent and convincing metaphysical significance through the accompanying music. The intentions of music drama were completely achieved with the creation of a moving and sounding film image. The total work of art is just as much in its higher form (as music-drama) as in its lower form (film) a product of the spirit of music.[12]

Sound film, in Müller's account, represents a pinnacle in cultural achievement that effectively fulfilled Wagner's ideal of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* with music as a dominant factor. As I noted earlier, the predominant use of Wagner for theorising cinema frequently misrepresents the subjugated status of sound in most cinema practice. In the case of Nazi cinema production, however, music was often given undue emphasis, particularly with the proliferation of musical and operetta genres (Koepnick 2002: 40-6; Wedel 2007). In this case, melodic timing is presented as the structuring principle for the other filmic elements. Although the concept of German music remains vague here, it is presented as integral to the sensory address to the audiences of both music-drama and the cinema. Film, therefore, is not only accessible and understood by all, but also lends itself to a concept of collective national audience.

While Wagner affirmed the role of the single genius artist in creating art for the nation, Müller adjusts its original contours to satisfy Nazi doctrine by presenting cinema as a collective project, where the artist belongs to an operation involving other artisans and workers (1942: 207). While, in some respects, the Nazi appropriation of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* idea for cinema does reflect Wagner's increased role for music, his concept was thus adjusted to complement official ideological positions during the 1930s. In the following section, I will consider how music-influenced concepts like rhythm were configured across German silent and sound cinema. Through a reading of films by Walther Ruttmann, I seek to pinpoint some of the ways that these concepts were reoriented following the Nazi takeover in 1933.

Acoustic Metaphors: From Symphony to Postcard

There was an abundance of acoustic metaphors in German cinema during the 1920s and 1930s, in particular the notions of *symphony*, *melody* and *rhythm*. A *symphony* is a composition for a full orchestra in four main movements, while a *melody* refers to a less complex musical form, as a catchy sequence of notes that are pleasing to listen to. *Rhythm*, meanwhile, usually concerns the repetition of a (musical) pattern or sequence. This involves the division of musical events into regular pulsations, but such repetition can also vary or be pluralised.[13]

As Kurt London observed in *Film Music* (1936), European "silent" films in the 1920s increasingly adopted a symphonic structure, with the dramatic action usually following the sequence: Introduction – Main and subsidiary theme – Development – Recapitulation – Coda.[14] The idea of rhythm, moreover, gained further momentum, particularly under the influence of Soviet montage techniques championed by Sergei Eisenstein. The rhythm of a film, as London wrote in 1936, was

> derived from the various elements in its dramatic composition, and the rhythm again is based on the articulation of the style as a whole. [...] If there was no rhythm at all in the film, the illustrator had it as his plain duty to trace and focus it by his music – to give the film, so to speak, a backbone by means of musical rhythm. (73)

London concedes that the rhythm of a film, while important to the dramatic action and style, had often been ignored in commercial film production. He cites Eisenstein's *Potemkin* (1925) as an exceptional case where the musical score by Edmund Meisel made a successful contribution to the overall filmic rhythm and "achieved an overwhelming hold on the audience" (1936: 74). In other words, the notions of the symphony and rhythm are presented as aesthetic organising principles with the purpose of maintaining audience attention.

In Germany, the symphony and rhythm metaphors also proved popular for the avant-garde during the 1920s. In order to consider the contribution of acoustic metaphors across the silent and sound periods, I will examine the work of German filmmaker Walther Ruttmann. While Ruttmann was and still is best-known for his development of rhythmic montage in *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (1927), his other work also explored acoustic metaphors for aesthetic and narrative effect. Ruttmann was by no means the only active member of the German avant-garde to explore rhythm and symphony motifs, yet he was one of the few to work in the German film industry for the majority of the Nazi period.[15] My primary interest here is how Ruttmann foregrounded the intersection between rhythm, sound and urban space across the 1920s and 1930s. By focusing on *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt … der Stadt Düsseldorf am Rhein* (1935), I will establish how Ruttmann's earlier interest in sound aesthetics and rhythmic plurality was reoriented according to new political imperatives. In this film we can observe a clear shift in emphasis on the level of the soundtrack, from a counterpunctal to an illustrative score within the span of a few years. The portrayal of the

urban, moreover, is not only crucial in terms of the status of sound in Nazi cinema, but also underlines the attempts to tame the supposedly chaotic space of the modern metropolis, symbolised by its noisy sounds and unpredictable rhythms.

Writing in 1928, Ruttmann stressed that sound film could stage an interaction between listening and viewing experience in the cinema, with "optical-acoustic counterpoint, by playing visible and audible movements against each other" (Ruttmann 1929). This interest in the creative potential of synchronised film sound signals an attempt to dispense with a Wagnerian-inspired parallelism or a seamless fusion of sound and image.[16] Perhaps the most emblematic use of counterpoint and acoustic metaphors in Ruttmann's oeuvre can be found in his first two feature films, *Berlin: Die Sinfonie der Großstadt* (1927) and *Melodie der Welt* (1929). Both these films use acoustic metaphors in their titles as a frame for the narrative organisation of both visual and auditory rhythms.[17] Here, I will concentrate on *Sinfonie der Großstadt*, a silent film that depicts the urban metropolis from early morning until late evening. Its "symphonic" structure conforms to London's outline by organising the day into five main temporal rhythms. Each of these five acts indicates the relationship of social activity to the space around it. These multiple rhythms, involving both cyclical routines and asynchronous events, are placed in relation to the linearity of industrial work time, as symbolised by the clock (see Thompson 1967). The various rhythms of the work day reflect Ruttmann's conviction that modernity is a break with the past and speeds up temporality, most notably with communications media and the dissemination of information. This "oppressive overloading of sensations" results in heightened activity for the eye, which is increasingly forced to register temporal events (Ruttmann 1919-1920). The modern metropolis is thus constructed in the film as an unfolding series of present moments, which coincide but are not in opposition to various cyclical patterns (such as work and times of the day). These cyclical elements, as Derek Hillard indicates, are evidence of the ambivalent position Ruttmann takes with regard to modernity (2004: 91-2).

Sinfonie der Großstadt placed emphasis on rhythmic polyphony rather than trying to resolve or subdue rhythm into a regulated harmonic scheme. Edmund Meisel's score established a film-specific composition for a full orchestra with sound-effect machines. Since Meisel's main priority was to address "the city dweller and their environment," he listened to the noisy sounds of the city and tried to feed this experience into the musical score.[18] Meisel's composition for *Sinfonie der Großstadt* thus attempted to find some continuum between the audience's prior knowledge of the urban soundscape and the aesthetic reinterpretation of its sounds in the cinema. The use of recognisable sound effects and patterns was designed to prompt the audience's acoustic recognition of their own urban experience (Uricchio 1989: 59). In fact, Meisel emphasised that these sounds be heightened during screenings: "In the moments when a total impression is absolutely necessary, parts of the orchestra will be positioned around the auditorium."[19] This use of *surround sound* in the cinema precisely suggests the staging of the multidirectional urban soundscape. While this "total" strategy may provoke associations with Wagner's attempts at immersive acoustics, there are also some key differences. Meisel's notion of creating a total experience foregrounds the

orchestra musicians, who were scattered around the auditorium in full view. Not only did Wagner try to conceal the workings of his music-theatre performance with a hidden orchestra, but his narratives have also been criticised for staging pastoral idylls untouched by modernity (Adorno 2005). Meisel's concept, moreover, contributed to Ruttmann's creative rendering of daily life in the city, rather than appealing to the mythical or melodramatic as in Wagner's music-theatre.

Another important difference is that Meisel had collaborated with key proponents of montage and counterpoint, such as Eisenstein. The tradition of counterpoint, as Caryl Flinn has remarked,

> upholds that music should be used in contrast to the image and should try to dispel any illusion of unity. In so doing, music would then expose – and exploit – cinema's basic heterogeneity, not conceal or deny it as under parallelism. The disunified text, proponents contend, makes film consumption more active, and the "critical distance" it allegedly promotes is valued more highly than the passivity and immersion they believe characterize the auditor-text relations under parallelism. (1992: 46-7)

Despite their opposition to Wagnerian *leitmotiv* illustration, advocates of counterpoint, such as Eisenstein and composer Hanns Eisler, still endorsed a concept of cinematic rhythm based on certain correspondences between the visuals and the composed score (Flinn 1992: 47).[20] Eisler opposed film music that was "a mere duplication, ineffective and uneconomical," yet he did concede that image and sound "however indirectly or even antithetically, must correspond to each other" (Adorno and Eisler 1994: 3, 47). Correspondingly, Meisel's score for *Sinfonie der Großstadt* was not completely counterpunctal since he also operated on the principle that the melody should be motivated by the film's narrative content (van Domburg 1956: 52). Although the musical score does not play a completely independent role, it still represented an important contribution to the intensification of movement and rhythm, and his attempt to evoke the atmosphere of the urban soundscape.

The principle of creating a "symphony" or "melody" implies a process of aestheticisation and narrative organisation whereby musical sound (and sense) is created out of noise. Ruttmann's symphony claims continued after 1933, but I will show that this involved a shift from its earlier, polyphonic definition. Working within the institutional framework of the Ufa cultural and advertising section, Ruttmann's 1930s films offer insights into how earlier acoustic metaphors and aspects of avant-garde film aesthetics were reworked into non-fiction film production under National Socialism.[21] Derek Hillard, for instance, notes that Ruttmann appropriated scenes from *Sinfonie der Großstadt* for his later film *Blut und Boden* (1933).[22] A sequence from the earlier film about the theme of money

> displays the anxieties that persist in an urban setting without visually resolving them. *Blut und Boden* uses this very same footage to construct modernity and the big city as a space of decadence, economic ruin, and the potential threat that unchecked urbanity and racial downfall pose for the German people. (2004: 92)

In other words, Ruttmann's film – made at the outset of the Third Reich – reorients an earlier ambivalence about the modern metropolis towards anti-urban discourse.[23] By 1935, when Ruttmann began a series of city films about Stuttgart and Düsseldorf, there was a general trend of reinvesting in the city under National Socialism as a unified, conflict-free space.[24] If the films of the Weimar period created a mode of address concerned with individual subjectivity and sensory experience, there is clearly an increased emphasis on the formation of community and reducing the shocks of the modern under National Socialism (Carter 2004). I will pay particular attention to attempts to reclaim the "symphony" metaphor during Nazism, alongside the suggestion that Ruttmann's city films express a "postcard-like" notion of the city. My claim will be that this "postcard" aesthetic pushed sound to the margins and contributed to the ideology of organic wholeness that – in keeping with the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal – reflects an attempt to conceal these films' mediated status.

When interviewed by a magazine in August 1935, Ruttmann gave a detailed account of his upcoming film *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt*. Emphasising the importance of the genre of the short *Kulturfilm* (cultural film), Ruttmann described this project as a "symphonic impression of Düsseldorf" ("Kleiner Film" 1935). Ruttmann reinforces his own role in mediating the essence of the city, noting that:

> For me Düsseldorf is a special concept: a concept that I have viewed, palpably sensed, compiled, experienced. I have [created] a special urban perspective of this city. [...] In this film, Düsseldorf speaks for itself.[25]

Even though Ruttmann goes on to describe the rhythmic composition of the film narrative, this statement implies that the visual and auditory composition will synthesise various aspects of Düsseldorf into a "total" rhythmic concept. Firstly, the influence of the general Wagnerian ideal of synthesis is reinforced in Ruttmann's subsequent listing of the entire succession of shots in his fifteen-minute film. His superlative-laden descriptions of the film's symphonic narrative are marked by his repeated reference to "blending" or cross-fading techniques. Secondly, the artist as a creative individual – prefigured in Wagner's writings – is realigned in the context of National Socialism, with a parallel drawn to the worker's physical labour. The interviewer stresses Ruttmann as a creative artist, with particular reference to his hands ("that are always creating") and eyes ("that want to register everything optically"). Ruttmann, moreover, is portrayed as a kind of camera machine, a restless artist whose roaming documentary eye is likened to that of "an explorer or treasure hunter."[26] Thus, even though Ruttmann invokes the symphony metaphor here, his work is primarily situated in terms of the visual track. Ruttmann is praised for his "eye" and suggested to be visually mediating the rhythm and experience of the city for the audience.[27]

The reorientation of acoustic metaphors in favour of claims about direct experience based on the visual are, in part, due to the truth claims of the *Kulturfilm* genre. The *Kulturfilm* was an educational genre, usually used to impart information about natural science and society with an instructive voice-over.[28] Even

though Ruttmann is positioned as the agent mediating the city, he stressed that it was Düsseldorf that would "speak" for itself by way of an integrated rhythm of sound and image. In this account, Düsseldorf is almost personified as a living organism with various energies and events channelled through it. While its status as city advertisement film suggests a straightforward form of tourism promotion, Ruttmann asserts that *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* is different since it is "not a picture postcard album, [there is] no voice of God offering an 'explanation'" ("Kleiner Film" 1935). However, the rejection of the "postcard" moniker deserves some consideration, since it has a bearing on how Ruttmann's film is situated as achieving direct experience for its audience due to its appeal to multiple senses. The postcard album suggests a series of disconnected photographs of city locations: images that would not be dynamic enough to "speak" to the audience, let alone imply a direct access to the city's essence or flavour.[29] Moreover, the postcard appears here as a synecdoche for crass commercial culture, whereas tourist activity under National Socialism needed to be imbued with positive associations, and even constructed as an act of national duty (Rieger 2005: 158-92).

The dismissal of the postcard album notion and claims about his films as unified, harmonious wholes raises the question of how the various rhythms of Düsseldorf are organised within Ruttmann's film. *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* still shares certain trademarks of Ruttmann's earlier style in that it alludes to the micro and macro rhythms constituted by everyday life and major events in the city. Each vignette presents a different path of movement or theme of activity in the city, and the film interweaves various temporal and spatial planes. The film is temporally framed by events across a whole year: it begins with the carnival season opening around January and spans to St Martin's Day in November. These traditional customs, repeated each year, suggest both a cyclical rhythm and a sense of permanence under Nazism. There are no asynchronous rhythms to disrupt this portrayal of Düsseldorf, such as the strikes, street disturbances and social divides alluded to in *Sinfonie der Großstadt*. The linear temporal scheme that emerges in *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* is predicated on creating a connection with the historical past, which ensures a basis for the meaning derived from the present. The linear relation to the past is included in the chronological depiction of "great men" from Düsseldorf's history, ending with Albert Leo Schlageter in the twentieth century. The film confirms this temporal axis with historical locations such as the medieval ruins in Kaiserswerth and Benrath Castle. The geographical features of the city are also established with depictions of both older and modern architecture, monuments and the Rhine River.

The city itself is portrayed as innocuous and under control, with its cyclical, temporal and spatial coordinates in place. The stress on cyclical patterns and historical "tradition" reflects the effort to naturalise social changes following 1933, which also led to a calendar filled with new and appropriated events, whether celebratory or commemorative, and the attempted festivalisation of the everyday. Moreover, this depiction of the Nazi present as an unchanging, stabilised realm was possibly an attempt to allay concerns about the political disruptions produced by the 1933 takeover and the violent power struggles within the party during 1934.[30] This effort to soften the impact of National Socialism resulted in

an absence of explicit symbols or uniformed members of the Nazi movement, which I will discuss shortly.

Given Ruttmann's active interest in the possibilities of sound montage and counterpoint in the 1920s, his symphony principle was partially revised under Nazism. While the use of acoustic metaphors in Ruttmann's previous work sometimes tended towards an aestheticised urbanity, he nonetheless made a concerted effort to incorporate a range of tonalities derived from the city soundscape and the everyday. By contrast, *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* only employs two short sequences with diegetic sound for its opening scene (carnival) and its closing scene (St Martin's Day). To take the first instance, the opening sequence, the diegetic voice of a carnival washtub speaker proclaims that the crowds should be merry.[31] The viewer is then placed in the crowd, amongst the Düsseldorfers, situated within a ritual expression of community. However, we do not hear the noisy cheers of the crowd, calling out "*Helau.*" Instead, these newsreel-style sequences are only accompanied by light instrumental music. Despite the absence of diegetic sound in these first scenes, the film immediately recuperates any sense of alienation in the city, by emphasising it as communal space. A sense of eventfulness is created by the rapid cross-cutting, with footage of confetti, streamers, costumed carnivalists, crowds swaying, cartwheels and the street parade.[32] At the same time, the status of the carnival event is endowed with tradition and an assertion of the city space as a familiar *Heimat*, even at night time.[33] Indeed, the final scene of the film also employs diegetic sound and creates a sentimental understanding of the city as *Heimat*. This scene depicts groups of children in a nighttime St Martin's parade with paper lanterns. Their almost inaudible voices can be heard singing, before candies are thrown to them by Düsseldorf Lord Mayor Hans Wagenführ, who is situated as a benevolent authority figure and representative guardian of the city. A sense of organic wholeness is produced by the narrative span of the film from day to evening, and across a whole year of events.

In contrast to the contrapunctal effects of *Sinfonie der Großstadt*, Ruttmann's film about Düsseldorf primarily deploys instrumental music as "*Untermalung*" or illustration. In other words, music takes on a supportive or "connective" (*verbindend*) function, as one reviewer described Werner Schütze's score ("Weltaufführung" 1935). This use implies the idea that the music should not complicate or interfere with the visual narrative organisation, thus allowing for the image track to assert a direct experience of the city. In this case, then, the soundtrack comes to reflect what Chion has dubbed "added value":

> Added value is what gives the (eminently incorrect) impression that sound is unnecessary, that sound merely duplicates a meaning which in reality it brings about, either all on its own or by discrepancies between it and the image. (1994: 5)

This principle marks a contrast to the use of music and sound in *Sinfonie der Großstadt* to foreground the modern experience of fragmentation, distraction and sensorial stimulation. The technique of counterpoint was offered as a method for highlighting the cinematic medium and dispensing aspirations associated

with the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* marks a subduing of the urban soundscape and its people, and excludes any asynchronous rhythms.

This context requires further investigation of the claim that *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* would not be like a postcard album. While Ruttmann insists that the symphony structure and use of fade-outs in editing create a sense of narrative unity, I contend that the notion of the "picture postcard album" mentioned earlier may, in fact, be apt for the Düsseldorf film. While the subject matter of Düsseldorf offers a unifying thematic for the various image sequences, the picture postcard aesthetic could be said to apply to the filming of the tourist sights presented in the film. In one of the first sequences, the camera pans revolving bust heads of "great men" of Düsseldorf's history, before casting its gaze above the Albert Leo Schlageter cross, an image that itself featured on countless postcard reproductions during the 1920s and 1930s.[34] The close-up of Schlageter's name and the subsequent pan up the monument are suggestive of how the eyes might scan a still image or postcard. This picture postcard theme is also established by a mode of positioning audience members as potential tourists as they enter the city by train. Filmed from the perspective of a passenger, passing images of tulips and fields are shown, and tea is served in the train carriage, followed by a dramatic flourish for the appearance of the Rhine. While some critics have theorised the earlier opening train scene in *Sinfonie der Großstadt* in terms of the shock of modern urban experience and migration (Kaes 1998), train travel is reconceived here as part of a sanitised everyday, narrating the "panoramic" experience of tourists entering the city via the comfort of passenger trains (Schivelbusch 1979: 57-71).

The presentation of the city for the consumption of tourists is further suggested by a subsequent scene that runs through the leisure activities and sights (*Sehenswürdigkeiten*) on offer in Düsseldorf. The camera introduces the viewer to panoramic views of various architectural icons in Düsseldorf: from the medieval "Castle Tower" (*Schlossturm*) over the old houses of the old city and its laneways, past the Bismarck monument at the "*Hindenburgwall*," on to the new central train station, the Wilhelm Marx office tower, and the city music hall (*Tonhalle*). The unified depiction of these sites as quintessential to Düsseldorf bears a certain similarity to the 1934 carnival poster discussed in Chapter Two, which presented these same iconic buildings as being "under one hat."[35] Moreover, these short sequences impressionistically fuse the subjective point of view of someone on the street or in a tram with an aerial or bird's eye view over the city that is presumed to be objective. This perspective infers control through an omnipotent perspective, offering the viewing audience a sense of freedom of movement as well as a panoptic gaze over the inner city (Foucault 1977: 195-230).

The stress on narrative congruity implies that there should be no ambiguity in the presentation of the city. The reluctance to reveal ambivalence or anxiety about the city is reflected in the fact that *Sinfonie der Großstadt* was rarely shown after 1933. Film critics in the 1940s noted that Ruttmann's 1927 film about Berlin had "no plot" (*keine Spielhandlung*).[36] While this same phrase had been employed as a positive attribute in the film's promotional material in 1927, the supposed lack of a clear plot or intertitles was a cause for criticism during

the Nazi era ("Berlin" 1927: 2). *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt*, as I have suggested, created postcard-like compositions, yet Ruttmann continued to draw on his earlier symphony concept, which foregrounded audiovisual rhythm. The resulting tension that emerges in Ruttmann's Düsseldorf film is one between visual movement and stasis.[37] The status of *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* as (tourist) promotion required the camera to linger long enough to allow the city's architectural, historical and cultural icons to be visually registered: hence the postcard aesthetic. However, Ruttmann's own film aesthetic encouraged movement and a rhythmic organisation of the visual composition and its musical accompaniment.

We can gain some further insight into the need for "risk minimisation" in Ruttmann's filmic representation of the city as tourist destination. Following the 1935 premiere of *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt*, a reviewer praised Ruttmann's editing and smooth transitions as making voice-over or diegetic speech unnecessary, since all viewers can easily follow the narrative chain of events.[38] While the review praises the film as achieving effective transitions with fade-outs, an awkward scene change is noted between the first scene with carnival masks to that of death masks of Düsseldorf's historical figures. The rupture in narrative rhythm noted by the reviewer was, in fact, due to the censoring of the film by the Berlin *Film-Prüfstelle* several days before the premiere.[39] Ruttmann's earlier films had typically sought similarities in structural form as a mode of transition between scenes. In this case, however, the fade-out from a carnival mask to death masks was censored as inappropriate. While only three metres of film were removed, the resulting lack of continuity was subsequently perceived to be somewhat jarring and abrupt, despite Ruttmann's rhetoric about producing a symphonic experience of unmediated access to the city.[40]

The "postcard" aesthetic outlined above reflects the attempt to bring diffuse aspects of the city together in a unified manner: not only to promote Düsseldorf as a centre of arts, culture and industrial production, but to assert its national ideological significance (as symbolised by the Schlageter monument). The aestheticisation of modernity in Nazi filmmaking is also a strategy to defuse earlier anxieties about the urban metropolis. Since the Düsseldorf film was a product of (local) government-sponsored advertising, it tried to cast its net wide and offer something for everyone, particularly for potential tourists. For this reason, it should be kept in mind that some of the generic aspects of the city advertising and tourism film also predated National Socialism.[41] Nonetheless, the Düsseldorf film was clearly in line with Third Reich "lifestyle propaganda" that provided audiences with the visually pleasurable experience of an aestheticised rendering of the city.[42] In other words, although some aspects of *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* may have been deemed risky or inappropriate, the overall emphasis of the film is a coherent synthesis of the city's rhythm or essence, based on historical continuity, spatial control and a unified community (*Volk*).

Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt marks a contrast to the material discussed in my earlier chapters, which elaborated on how the radio broadcasts of cultural events like carnival or the Schlageter commemoration included the sounds of large gatherings in both urban and indoor settings. In contrast to these radio broadcasts and mass events, Ruttmann's film significantly reduced the audibility

of the soundscape and diegetic voice in favour of an orchestral score underscoring an image-based representation of the city. Ruttmann's use of music as illustration reflects a prevailing aesthetic of the score as light-hearted accompaniment that reduces musical complexity. The status of sound as "added value," in this case, is underpinned by the idea that neither music nor voice-over should complicate or interfere with the visual narrative organisation. While voice-over was usually used in *Kulturfilm* production to provide narrative information, in *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* it was deemed unnecessary due to the accessible narrative provided by the visuals. The notion during National Socialism that language and visuals only required the musical score to lend "metaphysical significance" (Müller 1941) is contrary to Ruttmann's earlier insistence on the necessity of counterpoint, which precluded a doubling up or repetition of meaning by acoustic and visual elements.

My discussion has drawn on Ruttmann to suggest how experimental uses of sound and acoustic metaphors for meditations on the modern metropolis were reoriented in line with ideological projections onto the city as a site of historical tradition and social harmoniousness. In what follows, this textual analysis of acoustic metaphors will be extended, as I seek to ground my understanding of film sound within the space of cinema exhibition. Here, I will take particular note of how the notion of "rhythmic harmony" in Nazi film texts was extended to the reorganisation of cinema spaces and exhibition practices in the mid-1930s. The ongoing potential of sound as a form of disruption or attentional distraction, however, will be offered as a counter-example to Nazi claims about the cinema as achieving a seamless *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Rhythmic Harmony: Sound as a Controlled Event

In the beginning of this chapter, I drew on Friedrich Kittler's interpretation of the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* as offering a prehistory to amplification and, ultimately, to the sound film. According to this account, the darkened space of the cinema, with its concealment of sound and projection equipment created a medium that could potentially overwhelm the senses of the audience. The predominant use of the concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk* during National Socialism, as I suggested, followed the version whereby music had an amplified role in producing sonic affect, particularly with orchestral score and popular "hit" songs. According to film scholar Lutz Koepnick, the frequent attempts to overwhelm the audience by way of a "cinema of sonic attractions" were successful in reorienting cinematic desire and pleasure according to German culture and identity (2002: 47).[43] Moreover, the *Gesamtkunstwerk* lent aesthetic and political justification to the diverse sounds and musical traditions included under the rubric of "national cinema" under National Socialism (Hake: 2001). However, unlike Wagner's Bayreuth festival – in a single venue and presided over by the composer himself – cinema concerned an industrial enterprise involving multiple authors and media, economic factors and varied reception sites (Paulin 2000: 72, 76; Koepnick 2002: 47).

In what follows, I will focus on the specific space of the cinema and its sound-related exhibition practices of the 1930s and 1940s. The ongoing influence of Wagner, as I will indicate, concerns the conception of the cinema in terms of the *controlled event*. While this compound might seem like a contradiction – since the event is often unpredictable and difficult to control – cinema practices were regulated through increasing standardisation. The cinema context, I argue, was not only invested with the ideal of the unified *Gesamtkunstwerk*, to imply a unified national (musical) culture and people; it sought to also achieve this through *rhythmic harmony*. Rhythmic harmony, as Erica Carter coins the term, concerns the temporal and spatial reordering of cinema experience following 1933 (2004: 84-107). Carter points out that Nazi film critics also drew on the earlier explorations of filmic rhythm in the 1920s. In this earlier understanding, film could represent the urban experience of modernity in terms of counterpoint, a frenetic pace and irregular rhythms. Where rhythm, in the past, had been used to emphasise the shock of the modern and its impact on the individual subject, it was now reformulated as an intrinsic organic element for achieving identification and the experience of belonging to a unified *Volk* community.[44] The reconceptualisation of cinema spectatorship under National Socialism was thus conceived in terms of a cinema of experience that would entertain and dazzle, but also employ a controlled rhythmic pace.

The designation of the cinema as a harmonious, communal experience for the German *Volk* was offered to configure a break from an idea of Weimar cinema as divisive and controversial.[45] However, the notion of a national cinema was not new, and had gained currency in Germany during debates about national markets and import quotas in the 1920s.[46] The cinema space had already developed as a collective experience during this period, particularly with the construction of large cinemas with between one and five thousand seats. The cinema's increasing popularity was, for a large part, based on the bourgeois respectability and cultural distinction attained with plush interiors, comfortable seating and (orchestral) musical performance. The wiring of cinemas with standardised sound equipment during 1930 and 1931, moreover, led to another wave of cinema upgrades. The Apollo Theatre in Düsseldorf, for instance, underwent a full-scale renovation involving sound equipment and acoustic insulation, but also a coloured light installation, and a "modern" streamlined facade and interior.[47]

Indeed, such cinemas were presented to audiences as spaces for experiencing modern technology, design and luxury for a small fee. During the 1930s, then, cinemas were "not just places to show films; they were celebrated as spectacles of consumption in themselves."[48] In other words, it was often large-scale cinemas and their technological novelties that were advertised as much as the films screened. The foregrounding of cinema technology and interiors implies a medium awareness that (to some degree) departs from Wagner's efforts to conceal his uses of technology. In other respects, however, the effort during National Socialism to establish a "correct" time-space staging in cinema programming is highly indebted to the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal. This ideal implied a coordinated and smooth transition between elements, and consequently, an orchestration of spectator emotion. Sound, as I will try to demonstrate now, was identified as a

key factor in maintaining audience attention patterns, but also posed potential risk in terms of an oversaturation or rupture in cinematic experience.

One of the attempts to introduce a principle of controlled "eventness" into the cinema can be found soon after the Nazi takeover, with special screenings and premieres held for a raft of film releases with heroic themes, such as *Blutendes Deutschland* (1932) or *Morgenrot* (1933). These films were in production before January 1933, but were framed during exhibition in terms of national revolution. The exhibition of such films emphasised the cinema as a location for experiencing and simultaneously participating in current affairs, with an interplay between *live* and *mediated* programming, as well as between contemporary events and the historical past. For example, prior to a screening of a historical martyr film, *Der Rebell* (1932), SA and SS groups had marched through the streets of Düsseldorf to the Apollo Theatre (Genandt n.d.). After a party member's prologue praising "national revolution," a newsreel prior to the screening showed a torchlight procession through Düsseldorf for the commemoration of war dead in March 1933.[49] Following the programme, the same units marched out of the cinema and around the inner city of Düsseldorf in formation. Such examples indicate how a continuum was established between political events in the outside world and those screened in the cinema during the first months of 1933, in a similar fashion to the feedback relation between radio and broadcast soundscape discussed in Chapter One. Singing, marching, brass brand music and banners, in particular, were thus common features in reinforcing the activities of the party onscreen, inside the cinema, and in the urban space outside it.[50] Nonetheless, after the initial impulse of the so-called "*Kampfzeit*" (struggle era) films, the Nazi Party leadership became more cautious about endorsing explicit political features.[51] This trend indicated the emergence of a discourse of restraint with regard to the receptivity of cinema audiences to propaganda.

The need for a time-space harmonisation of the cinema under National Socialism was sought in terms of establishing standardised exhibition practices, particularly given the ongoing potential for sound problems in the first years after the sound-on-film transition. There was a strong sense that sound aesthetics were still being developed in 1933, and commentators focused on the importance of getting the sound right. Some of the production problems included the sound of wind in outdoor recordings, post-synchronisation discrepancies, and volume or sound mixing (Lichtveld 1933: 30-5).[52] One complaint was that there was no auditory equivalent of the visual close-up, as it usually involved the cutting out of all other ambient sound from a scene. Indeed, as the author of a 1933 book on sound film advised, audiences were adept at picking up such sound problems, since they could detect synchronisation differences as little as one-twentieth of a second, particularly with the projection of speech and singing.[53] These sound recording problems notwithstanding, a number of reforms were enforced in order to organise the temporal-spatial coordinates of cinema spectatorship and boost attendance figures.[54]

One of the main interventions in the temporal ordering of the programme was based on keeping the strict order of the newsreel, *Kulturfilm* and main feature. In keeping with the Wagnerian notion of structural unity, there was a determined ef-

fort for film sound to help create a sense of an organic whole in cinema programming, rather than a piecemeal sequence of various cinematic events. In the case of newsreel production, Joseph Goebbels reinforced the discourse of restraint, insisting that this genre should not be employed to "always beat the drums. [...] [Then] the public will slowly get used to sound and then fail to hear it" (quoted in Hoffmann 1996: 193).[55] The success of the newsreel is conceived here in terms of the audience's limited listening attention for repetitive sounds. While the newsreel after 1933 remained primarily a vehicle for showcasing the sound and images of the state, this observation does indicate a concern with restraint in its narrative composition.

Hans Weidemann, vice president of the Reich Film Chamber, also conceded in late 1935 that there were new efforts to change the tone of the German newsreel. In the past, Weidemann claimed, newsreels were characterised by long titles, repetitive texts, wordy commentary and sedate music. Now, rather than give unnecessary explanation, the images of "an event somewhere, such as a celebration or in an old city" would be accompanied by a single, enthusiastic statement: "That is the beauty of Germany!" (*So schön ist Deutschland!*) ("Die Erneuerung" 1935). An overloading of cinema audiences could be avoided, as Weidemann suggests, as long as voice-over and text did not repeat what was already conveyed by the newsreel images. The article not only puts forward a caution about maintaining listener attention, but also indicates the necessity for the perception of structural unity between the various filmic elements.

The argument about sonic restraint and correct temporal pacing can also be found in *Kulturfilm* productions that experimented with new sonic elements. A 1935 film made by the National Socialist welfare organisation NSV tried to reintroduce the Greek chorus (*Sprechchor*) in order to offer effective narrative commentary in mass scenes.[56] This attempt to re-establish dramatic elements within the film diegesis reflects the more general organisation of the cinema according to a "dramaturgical" concept (Hake 2001: 71; Carter 2004: 89). According to this understanding, the organisation of the cinema programme would be similar to the experience of the mass rally, which gradually built up suspense over the course of several hours. In other words, the notion of the controlled event within large gatherings or theatre performance was extended to the cinema space.

The role of sound in the cinema was not only considered within the film soundtrack itself, but also as a tool for setting a favourable mood and maintaining audience attention within the cinema space. I will stress that the perceived need to condition the cinema with sound demonstrates an overlap between ideological and commercial impulses to present the cinema as a controlled space as well as a spectacle of consumption.[57] Put another way, the cinema space itself was not only subject to government ordinances and coercion, but was also motivated by commercial profit-making. For this reason, I am interested in how a discourse of restraint about film sound had its counterpart in cinema advertising and sonic marketing strategies.[58]

One of the main ways identified for bridging potential gaps between the different parts of the programme was to play gramophone records or even radio broadcasts over the cinema speaker system. A 1935 article in *Film-Kurier* em-

phasised the importance in using sound to condition the space of the theatre for the audience. The critic suggested that music be played in the intermission or at the start of the programme (while the lights were still on).[59] Slides without their own speech record were described as "dead" advertising images, since the audience had grown to perceive sound as an "essential part" of the cinema experience ("Schallplatte" 1935: n. pag.). The gramophone record is, consequently, cited as an important part of the programme. The projectionist or theatre owner can play film music from upcoming features with image slides or can make microphone announcements as preview advertising (*Vorpropaganda*) for the cinema schedule. [60] The actions of the cinema employee are described as follows:

> He places the record, so to say, as a musical flea in the ear of the audience. [...] The effect is remarkable: once they have heard the music from a new film on one or more times, and know the main melody, it will appeal to them more easily – by immediately jumping from the film into the ear, it will now be recognised more consciously [by the audience].[61]

This description puts forward a parasitic concept of how hit songs can circulate and promote new films, not unlike that of the "ear worm" (*Ohrwurm*). The ear worm usually refers to a melody that has a catchy or memorable quality (Sacks, 2007; Goodman 2008). Whether this catchy tune is consciously listened to or not, songs from upcoming features could be used to favourably condition the cinema space before and between the main programme elements. The use of gramophone records under National Socialism comprised an "indirect" marketing method, since almost all commercial advertising was banned from the cinema in 1934 and from radio in 1936.[62] Yet, this example indicates how acoustic marketing strategies in this period reflect a significant overlap between commercial concerns and ideological discourses about a spectatorship based on the cinema as controlled event.[63]

In keeping with the ideal of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the use of records in the cinema is described in the *Film-Kurier* article as essential for the smooth transition between programme elements. The projectionist is also encouraged to install a switch in the booth, so that the records can be easily announced to the audience by microphone. The projectionist should be attuned to sound quality and realise that the same stack of records can not be played repeatedly, as

> scratched, old, worn-out records will have the opposite effect than one intends: they will quickly drive the audience out of the cinema. There has to be variety, with something new always being offered. ("Schallplatte" 1935)

In other words, the role of gramophone records in the cinema is central to its functioning and should not be perceived as a "superfluous additional element" (*unwesentliches Nebenbei*). The ultimate effect of presenting mediated music and voice over the microphone is that it enhances the liveness and thus the eventness of the cinema space. This is also suggested by the critic's final comment that the end result of gramophone playing is more like that of a musical "concert," which would give the public an incentive to come early to the cinema.[64]

This issue not only reflects on the use of sound technologies for marketing and conditioning the space of the cinema. It also highlights the designation of the projectionist as a key figure in ensuring easy transitions between elements and ultimately, "rhythmic harmony." The projectionist was thereby cast as an important agent in achieving a coherent, harmonious programme for cinema audiences during National Socialism. A 1941 instruction handbook for film professionals also emphasises the role of the projectionist in the success of the film programme. According to the handbook, the projectionist should be mindful of volume control and use a double gramophone turntable for the correct fading in and out of records, microphone voice and radio (Rutenberg and Strödecke 1941). Once again, the projectionist is urged to show restraint by choosing "appropriate" (*sinngemäß*) records for the programme and to avoid the overstimulation of the audience (135). One of the skills that this beginner's handbook tries to impart to projectionists is the ability to *hear* the cause of technical problems, thus emphasising the importance of listening skills for detecting problems quickly.[65]

The stress on the importance of the film projectionist does not only suggest empty rhetoric or a justification of a relatively new profession. These examples also establish the projectionist as a figure of control within the organisation of the cinema. The projectionist is offered here as a masculine figure, not unlike the discourses surrounding the sound engineer (*Tonmeister*) and the theatre manager in the same period.[66] The predominant understanding of the projectionist as a multi-tasker helped to sustain the idea that the cinema programme could be staged like a synaesthetic *Gesamtkunstwerk*. According to this understanding, an experience of rhythmic harmony in the cinema could be established through the projectionist's careful staging of acoustic and visual elements. Indeed, the concept of the projectionist as all-hearing and managing the smooth progression of the cinema programme is, again, underpinned by a Wagnerian concept of the unified theatrical space.

The investment in the cinema space in terms of *Gesamtkunstwerk* discourses and the gathering of national *Volk* community were given new impetus with the outbreak of World War II in 1939. The earlier fears of audience overstimulation were overruled as the theme of military victory dominated newsreel programming and a new raft of political films. The newsreel doubled in length, but remained as silent film footage with commentary and music added in postproduction.[67] Bombastic sounds were played throughout the newsreel, including the campaign theme songs from *Sondermeldungen* that I introduced in Chapter Three.[68] The heightened emphasis on sonic events in the cinema is also suggested by the attempt to merge the respective public spheres of radio and cinema. The transmission of radio broadcasts in the cinema had occurred occasionally in the 1930s, as a way to situate the cinema as participating in a live event of national congregation. This national concept of the cinema space, moreover, was further politicised as "Aryan" during the 1930s, particularly following the banning of Jews from cinema screenings from 1938 onwards.[69]

The resurgence in *Gesamtkunstwerk* discourses during World War II can also be traced to the commercial uses of colour film in German cinema.[70] Between 1941 and 1944, in a period when most major German cities were subject to air

raid campaigns, a number of films reinvoked the "symphony principle" I discussed earlier with regard to Ruttmann. These films returned to the possibility of harmonising the city as in the pre-war period, as represented in the cinematic interplay of sound and image. The motif of the rhythm and melody of the city is variously approached in *Zwei in einer grossen Stadt* (1942), *Die Goldene Stadt* (1942), *Großstadtmelodie* (1943), along with the post-war release *Symphonie einer Weltstadt* (1943/53).[71] Even though the reality of bombed-out cities offered a stark contrast, these films primarily depicted the urban environment of the pre-war years, when the city was still unharmed. They reinstated the postcard aesthetic I discussed earlier, with a visually controlled presentation of the cityscape and a prominent use of panorama shots.

The notion of the symphonic or melodic was extended to sound more generally for a 1944 cultural film titled *Wunder des Klanges*. This title refers to the "magic" of sound and the listening experience. A reviewer noted that the film offers a particular achievement in liberating film sound from the image, as the composition was written before the filming took place. Sound, in this film, is not dictating the image, but rather the two interact as equal agents: "the image supports the music and lends it visual life" ("Musik" 1944). The film, in other words, tries to invest sound and its visible effects with positive associations. The necessity for recuperating sound as a positive category in the cinema can be attributed to its disruptive potential during war, when (outdoor) sounds were difficult to manipulate in accordance with an ideal of the controlled event. In the case of urban cinemas, unexpected or disruptive sounds included special (*Sondermeldungen*) or emergency (*Drahtfunk*) broadcasts, air raid sirens and bomb attacks.[72] There may also have been a shift in attitude towards the darkened space of the cinema, which had been conceived as a site conducive to national fantasy. As I suggested in Chapter Three, the experience of being in the dark, now compulsory due to the "blackout" policy and air raids, had gained negative associations. The usually-darkened cinema, now interrupted by alarm sounds, was also a violable and potentially unsafe place.

The status of sound as a form of disruption or attentional distraction during World War II would thus suggest a counter-example to continued Nazi claims about the cinema as *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Even though cinema attendance levels remained high throughout 1942 and 1943, various accounts suggest a growing reluctance to seeing war-related footage in the cinema. In response to audiences avoiding the newsreels, a "locked-door" policy was introduced in order to ensure that audiences remained inside for the entire programme.[73] Following the release of newsreels about Stalingrad in February 1943, the newsreel became an "object of ridicule" (Hoffmann 1996: 232). In other words, even if the films of these last war years created colourful synaesthetic spectacles, the exhibition conditions reflected a less than ideal environment for this reception. In addition to increased work hours and reduced leisure time, wartime conditions also obstructed the mass consumption that much German filmmaking had appealed to during the 1930s. Cinema may have still involved the consumption of spectacle and desire, but war sounds also disrupted attention patterns and the cinema as a unified space. In cities like Düsseldorf, the cinema did not even really exist as a public

space after 1943, and most (although not all) cinemas were subject to closures in the last war years (Schäfer 1982: 38). Thus, even though the city films of the early 1940s reinvoked the symphony principle, this representation was nothing less than virtual when set against the intrusive sounds of the wartime soundscape.

In other words, the cinema space was initially conceived as a site for rhythmic harmony and the congregation of the German *Volksgemeinschaft*, aided by sound practices that could create smooth transitions and modulate audience attention. Sound, as I have argued, created the risk of disruption, particularly when set against the sonic background of air attacks and sirens in World War II. The rupturing of the illusion that sound and image are unified, a process termed "synchresis" by Chion, implies an increased medium sensitivity (1994: 63-71). It is this relation of sounds to the audience's heightened awareness of the cinematic medium that I will continue to explore in the next section, from the perspective of contemporary documentaries about National Socialism. While 1930s films like *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* subjugated the soundtrack as a supportive element, I will investigate how audiovisual rhythm and a film soundtrack without voice-over can be mobilised to critique Nazi aesthetics and Wagnerian notions of audience absorption.

Synchronising the Nazi Era?

So far, I have stressed that the claims made during National Socialism about the cinema as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* were not unambiguously achieved, particularly when set against the practicalities of the exhibition context. Indeed, as Lutz Koepnick has emphasised, Nazi film culture "was far less unified than its ideologues wanted" (2002: 47). Nonetheless, a totalising notion of Nazi film aesthetics has continued to the present day, with a tendency to take such claims at face value, particularly those from party leaders and propagandists.[74] In this section, I will reflect on the audiovisual legacy of the Nazi era for the present by analysing a contemporary documentary film. I seek to understand how cinema can construct a critique of the ongoing use of "synchronisation" as a metaphor for totalitarianism, and of the established formulas used for recycling audiovisual footage in the post-war era. The case for these reflections is the German film *Hitler's Hit Parade* (2003), directed by Oliver Axer, which is structured around twenty-five songs from the Nazi period.[75]

The opening credits of *Hitler's Hit Parade* show a revolving copper bust of Adolf Hitler before the title appears overlaid on the images. Hitler is thus positioned as the responsible party or agent of this song selection and, by association, the protagonist of this compilation film. The songs are the driving force of the film and are played out consecutively for their full length, which creates, as I will later discuss, a jukebox-like playlist. Each song has its own accompanying visual sequence and stylised on-screen title, which are separated by short interludes. The visual material is initially engaged to suit the theme of each song sequence, giving the twenty-five parts an episodic structure not unlike a television series. The images also alternate between colour and black-and-white footage, and between

amateur, propaganda and feature film material. These transitions, along with movement between close-ups and long shots, produce both a changing depth of focus and point of view. The various compilations of sound and image shift in intensity from frantically upbeat sequences to those that wind down to an almost tedious, slow pace.

Given the amplified role of the soundtrack in *Hitler's Hit Parade*, my specific interest here concerns the agency of sound as a (rhythmic) medium within the cinema. I will begin by considering how this film questions sound and image relations in the cinema, with a particular focus on its construction around a principle of sonic continuity. This will raise a second, related consideration of how the film posits the relationship between listening and viewing. In this respect, I will contend that the film's effectiveness depends on this foregrounding of audiovisual perception in terms of perceptual dissonances and a shifting continuum of attention. Where Walther Ruttmann used the "symphony" as a structural device, in this case it is the jukebox selection: as a "hit parade" of twenty-five songs that draw attention to musical sound and rhythm as critical frameworks for the compilation of archival audio or visual material.[76] Finally, I will consider how the broader attempt to reveal the materiality of recorded sound and image not only foregrounds its medial qualities but might also offer film sound as a critical historiographic frame.[77]

Hitler's Hit Parade immediately sets up a principle of musical continuity that is very rare for either feature or documentary films. According to other existing scholarship, the fragmented soundtrack serves an ideological function, since it conceals the context of music production and confines the role of music to illustration and thematic support (Adorno and Eisler 1994; Kassabian 2001: 15-41). As Claudia Gorbman suggests, film music usually adheres to the following conventions of classical Hollywood cinema: music must be subordinated to narrative form; music must be subordinated to voice; music must not enter at certain points, such as at the same time as the entrance of a voice; and music's mood must be appropriate to the scene (1987: 73-80; Reay 2004: 33-4). These protocols reveal an established hierarchy in the classical cinema soundtrack. In line with this hierarchy, Gorbman emphasises that film music is by definition successful when it is unnoticed or "inaudible." This image-sound hierarchy also influences the production process, where film soundtrack is an afterthought for many directors and only developed during post-production editing.

The soundtrack in *Hitler's Hit Parade* is not a form of accompaniment but rather a foundational element that provides the basis (or bass line) for the film's structure. This is also a departure from typical documentary soundtracks. Television-style documentaries in particular have maintained conventions such as voice-overs, "talking head" interviews, standardised sound effects and incidental musical themes (Ruoff 1993; Corner 2002: 357). As John Corner argues, when documentaries employ long shots and dispense with voice-overs, music is "providing us with the time to *look* properly, giving us a framework in which to gaze and think" (365). This observation is made in reference to experimental documentaries, but it maintains the position that sound remains an additional rather than intrinsic filmic element. By contrast, *Hitler's Hit Parade* challenges

these established conceptions of documentary sound, since the twenty-five hit songs are neither fully contained within the logic of Wagnerian *leitmotiv* nor rendered secondary to dialogue or image. There is no voice-over in the entire film, although brief snippets of dialogue can be heard in the short interludes between song sequences. In place of a "voice of God" narration, the on-screen titles for each song indicate a thematic topic around which the image sequences are clustered.[78]

In fact, music's usual "supporting" role in smoothing over visual discontinuities is taken to the opposite extreme in the first thirty minutes of *Hitler's Hit Parade*. Since the images are cut to the sonic rhythms, there is a cartoon-like stylisation in which all of the movements of characters and objects are in perfect synchronisation to the music. This synchronisation is suggestive of Nazi Germany as an efficient well-oiled machine, and it alludes to the policy of *Gleichschaltung* (social organisation). In fact, the German word for sound synchronisation (*Gleichlauf*) bears a linguistic similarity to that of *Gleichschaltung*. Moreover, the "Mickey-mousing" effect of synchronisation ridicules the aspirations of Nazi film aesthetics for a *Gesamtkunstwerk* principle of unity, with music as a redemptive and climactic emotional force.[79] I have precisely stressed the fragility of this ideal in the previous sections. *Hitler's Hit Parade* also satirises the contemporary genre of historical documentary more generally, which tends to reduce human actors to puppet-like characterisations. The broader tendency of such documentaries is to sketch out the "big picture" with a limited number of historical actors and a reliance on the image as the repository of historical reality. In most cases, therefore, the metaphors of orchestration and synchronisation are offered as synonymous with the social organisation of the masses during Nazism.

For the first ten song sequences, the escapist idealism underpinning the Nazi worldview can be found in the frenetic optimism of the songs, visual composition and title texts. For "A Country in Bloom," colour footage of young people working in the fields, children playing and girls' synchronised dancing is coordinated to the rhythm of the upbeat musical song "Music, Music, Music!" Iconic hit songs like this one, sung by musical star Marika Rökk, alternate with vocal and instrumental songs, not all of which would be necessarily known to a contemporary audience. Two other early sequences, "Fast and Modern" and "New Life," depict modern design and consumer goods with footage of blimps, racing cars, radios, household appliances, photography, champagne bottles, smiling couples and babies.[80] These visual compositions are in tune with the sentimental hit songs they accompany, "Darling, What Will Become of Us?" and "It's Only Love."

Intermittent sound effects, which borrow from vaudeville or cartoon conventions, also work to ridicule or exaggerate the on-screen action. In the fifth song sequence, "Fine *Führer*," footage of Adolf Hitler appears for the first time on screen. He is shown joking with other uniformed party officials, greeting people and signing autographs. In this sequence, sound effects are used for the first time in the film, creating added comic effect when Hitler is shown ripping red tape at an opening or kissing women at a holiday house. Adding to these slapstick scenes are multiple repetitions of Hitler smoothing his hair with one hand, walking with dogs or trying to fetch a child who runs away from him. Shortly after

this sequence, Hitler is depicted as a father figure and benevolent leader in a sequence titled "We Belong to You." This scene is intercut with footage of diligent Hitler Youth members combing their hair, making their beds and embarking on adventure missions accompanied by the song "You Are In All My Dreams." In other words, the "star" status attributed here to Hitler cleverly alludes to Nazi portrayals of Hitler as an "artist" and "architect" of the nation, as well as a political leader (Michaud 2004; Kershaw 1987). This star-like status is not only a reference to Hitler's popularity during Nazism, but also suggests his ubiquitous presence in the post-war genre of (television) historical documentaries.

The overall ethos established in the first ten sequences of songs is that of German nation-building and a determined optimism for a new era. Against the framework of sonic continuity, the short interludes offset the smooth synchronised flow of the song sequences. Since there are songs of around three minutes separating each interlude, they heighten the audience's awareness for what is briefly said or shown. These offbeat interludes include two women discussing German culture and a sequence glorifying trees as the symbol of the "eternal nation." In contrast to the initial representations of light entertainment and an idealised worldview, these interludes become increasingly disturbing as the film progresses. In a later interlude, a Nazi doctor measures the dimensions of a child's head, and in another a giggly woman threatens to report a man to the secret police because her brother is "in the party."

The apparent unity of text, sound and image in the first part of *Hitler's Hit Parade* is thus disrupted by an increasing number of interludes and sequences with explicit references to Nazi persecution and racist ideology. In a sequence titled "The People's Entertainment," the audience first sees a series of clips from circus grounds, theme parks, picnics and a dance. A short soundbite is heard: "This is great! This is fun!" These first scenes appear unassuming when set against the hit song "As Beautiful as Today" until a scene of public humiliation unfolds. A young couple is paraded through a town with a brass band playing, while onlookers stare, point and laugh. The boy and girl are being punished for the so-called crime of *Rassenschande* (racial disgrace).[81] In this public spectacle, their hair is shaved off and they are forced to wear placards around their necks. This puzzling scene is then abruptly succeeded by footage of fairground games, one of which involves throwing quoits on a map of Europe. In placing an act of violence amidst leisure scenes, a kind of slippage takes place. The overall effect is a critique of a Nazi concept of "fun" entertainment that profits from the suffering and humiliation of others, and the disparity between forms of escapist entertainment and repression in social life is emphasised by the contrast between sound and image. This strategy thus confronts the aporias of cultural practices like carnival, whereby, as I have emphasised in Chapter Two, rites of humiliation started to resemble those of the carnival festival.

The quoits game also provides a visual cue for the mobilisation of Germany for war and the imminent occupation of western Europe. A short black-and-white interlude appears where a woman tells a friend about her new boyfriend and how well he can dance. This exchange, which is taken from a feature film, is intercut with amateur colour footage of a high-ranking uniformed soldier waving to the

camera from his open-roofed automobile. This sequence is given the on-screen title "…And Tomorrow the Entire World,"[82] which accompanies the 1941 song "This Will Be an Everlasting Spring." The mixture of amateur and propaganda footage depicts German soldiers parachuting into France, riding on tanks and in trains, eating grapes, drinking wine, relaxing and smoking cigars. The invasion of France in 1940 is thus portrayed as a holiday where soldiers could enjoy the spoils of occupation. This sentiment turns sour when the song sequence draws to a close with depictions of soldiers stealing a pig and a gypsy woman dancing half naked. The abrupt ending to the "everlasting spring" is stark colour footage of the bloodied faces of unidentified dead soldiers, closing with a close-up of a wedding ring on a man's hand.

The frequent disjunctions between sound and image are not only unsettling, but this particular song sequence encourages the audience to engage in a questioning process made more acute by the act of listening without a voice-over narration. The ambiguity of its content thus invites reflection on the origin of this footage, the conditions of its production and its intended audience. Not surprisingly, this amateur colour footage was not seen by the German public as it may have compromised enthusiasm for the invasion of France, which was glorified in campaign "documentary" films like *Westwall* (1939).[83] There is also a strong element of intertextuality in this sequence, as the same scenes of German soldiers eating grapes and smoking were used in the BBC television documentary *The Second World War in Colour* (1999). In this BBC version of an earlier German television documentary, the images perform a wholly different function. The English voice-over maintains a tight chronology of events, creating a certain distance from these images, while the musical score is predominantly used for melodramatic effect.[84]

With this comparison, it becomes clearer how the sonic framework driving *Hitler's Hit Parade* departs from and highlights the predominant classical narrative logic found in such made-for-television history documentaries. Moreover, the sonic continuity of *Hitler's Hit Parade* highlights the temporality of the three-minute songs it employs and the inability of these popular songs to substitute or stand in for historical time. The innovation of the film and its soundtrack is thus based on the use of songs as a continuous formal principle and the noticeable absence of spoken commentary on these sounds and images. I will now shift my analysis from a concern with sound-image relations to audiovisual perception, by employing a concept of embodied cinematic experience to address the significance of audiovisual disjunctions and changes in *Hitler's Hit Parade*. These disjunctions not only highlight the heterogeneity of the visual footage, but they also configure the listening experience as an essential tool for critiquing Nazi cultural production. In doing so, the comic effects generated in the first half of the film are increasingly confronted with the tragic reality of Nazism.

Hitler's Hit Parade encourages radical shifts in audiovisual address and emotional response that remind its audience of their own conditions of listening and viewing. According to Vivian Sobchack (1999), such perceptual oscillations foreground the embodied spectator's experience of the cinematic object. In her conception, home movie, documentary and fictional material are not only reflected in

the content, but rather in the subjective attentional modes and the intersubjective attitude developed between viewer and film. The viewer's extra-textual knowledge can thus promote "documentary consciousness," even during a fictional film. It is in this sense, Sobchack argues, that films are "always modified by our personal and cultural knowledge of an object's existential position as it relates to our own" (1999: 242). Sobchack's phenomenological perspective thus highlights the role of a continuum of attention in acts of spectatorship, although she focuses mainly in this context on visual perception.

In the case of *Hitler's Hit Parade*, the invitation to adopt various attentional modalities provides the basis on which the experience of perceptual dissonance occurs. As the film progresses, it self-consciously accentuates the discontinuities of experience by picking up on the seemingly innocuous titles of hit songs, which often form part of the on-screen titles. These sequences are framed by interludes, such as an anti-Semitic cartoon animation for German children, which points to the circulation of Nazi ideology within popular culture. One significant example appears halfway through the film, when an uncomfortable contrast is made between the treatment of film "stars" and those forced to wear Jewish "stars" on their clothing. Willy Berking's 1944 hit song "A Star Has Fallen from Heaven" is given the on-screen title "The Stars Are Shining." This sequence shows propaganda films and racial profiling of Jews along with amateur footage of Jewish men and women staring back at a fixed camera recording an urban street setting.

The result of such editing is a perceptual disjunction between the visual images as well as between these images and the soundtrack. These uncomfortable parallels recur during the subsequent sequences. In the sequence "Entertaining Weekend," the upbeat tempo of a Peter Kreuder swing hit accompanies scenes of Germans on holiday waiting at train stations and a sign saying that the train is "comfortable and fast." These scenes are immediately contrasted with propaganda footage of Theresienstadt, which portrays Jews supposedly enjoying leisure activities such as reading, playing soccer and performing classical music.[85] The audience's awareness that Theresienstadt was, in fact, a concentration camp heightens the sense of suffering for those depicted on screen. This scene is immediately followed by an interlude derived from a feature film, where an actress claims that she can't live without her fur coats.

The increasing gap between popular culture or propaganda representations and the broader social reality of National Socialism continues to dominate the remainder of the film, with the loose chronology indicating wartime Germany. The final *Durchhalteappelle* (appeals to hold out) propaganda are suggested by on-screen titles like "Everything Will Be Okay," although such reassurances are perceptually interrupted by sound effects of sirens and images of blackouts, fires, bombed cities, homeless and dead civilians on the street. Similarly, the male singer of the 1941 song "When the Lights Shine Again" optimistically opines that soon they will go out dancing again (once the war is over), a sentiment undermined by the devastation shown on screen.[86] These sequences offer a striking resemblance to the sonic interruptions to the cinema that I discussed in the previous section, since cultural forms such as popular cinema maintained that the social sphere, in particular the urban city, was still a safe and ordered realm.

The internal contradictions foregrounded in the second half of *Hitler's Hit Parade* encourage critical reflection on the basis of audiovisual counterpoint, the avant-garde strategy I introduced earlier. During an interlude set in a concert hall, the voice of Joseph Goebbels is heard praising Germans as a "people of music" (*das Musikvolk der Welt*).[87] This interlude leads into a sequence titled "What Moves Your Heart?," which is attributed to the slow orchestral song "If the Weekend Were to End on Sunday." The on-screen audience is shown with wistful, sentimental expressions while listening to the slow music. These scenes are followed by footage of Jews forced to leave their homes, empty their belongings and wait on station platforms. The sequence is immediately followed by another, titled "Millions Travel with 'German Rail.'" This overwhelmingly positive propaganda slogan appears distasteful when contrasted with the forced train journeys of Jews. Most interestingly, however, this sequence repeats the previous song in the upbeat tempo of a dance song, with images of wheels turning, a coal room and advertising footage glorifying new train design. The symbolic sound of a train whistle, a commonly-used convention for Nazi train deportations and the Holocaust, is accompanied by its visual equivalent of train tracks leading into the distance.

When the first sequence asks the pointed question "What Moves Your Heart?," a sentimentality for music and the glorification of modern technology is set against the Nazi acts of violence and exclusions of otherness. This question is directed at the theatre audience depicted on-screen and is simultaneously posed to the contemporary audience, which is invited to consider its usual narrative expectations and rehearsed emotional responses to images of Nazi horror.[88] Once the sound effect of a whistle is heard and a train is visualised, the audience expects to be shown further footage of where the Jews are taken. However, the upbeat jazzy re-versioning of the song is accompanied by images of trains passing through rolling hills and over bridges, with German passengers enjoying a comfortable journey and looking out the window.[89] Such a visual representation creates a radical disconnect in the audience's imagination of the forced transport of Jews to eastern Europe. The ultimate effect of such perceptual dissonances, using two versions of the same song, is to confound and challenge audience expectations.

By alerting audiences to their usual responses to documentary conventions, these scenes contribute to a growing sense of disquiet. Indeed, *Hitler's Hit Parade* highlights its own mediality and tries to displace some of the aspirations of much 1930s cinema to a seamless *Gesamtkunstwerk* by way of smooth transitions and reduced ambiguity. The film depends on eliciting contradictory reactions for unsettling its audience. This is the ambiguity inherent in the film, since its comic juxtapositions often induce laughter, but are contrasted by jolting reminders of the historical context of Nazism. Popular song is important for these perceptual dissonances and emotional counterpoint, since it facilitates the rise and fall in attention patterns. The resulting sense of mood control with "light" popular music, similar to the contemporary genre of Muzak, provides the sonic framework for a shifting continuum of attention in the film.[90] The shifts in attention occur in various ways, such as when popular music slips between its off-screen and on-screen

functions and is sometimes fully synchronised with the images, as in the case of songs by Marika Rökk and Zarah Leander. These shifts are enhanced by changes in visual attention between colour and black-and-white footage or in the shifts between home movies, documentary and fiction films. It is in these ways that *Hitler's Hit Parade* mounts its critique on the level of embodied perception, and transcends the boundary between counterpoint and parallelism.

As *Hitler's Hit Parade* draws to a close, it is ostensibly the end of World War II in 1945. Using the early Nazi propaganda slogan and film title, "Germany Awake!" as an on-screen title, it alludes to the idea of Germans awaking out of fascism or even how popular song helped to put a population into a musical trance. After being forcibly taken to see a concentration camp, German people are shown crying and running outside, with Allied soldiers in the background. The sequence includes footage of emaciated prisoners and ends with a small boy crying and staring back at the camera, wearing a label designating him as a Polish prisoner. The sound of a gramophone needle finishing and running off the record is heard, accompanied by a black screen for ten seconds. These crackling sounds figure like the noise or interference of acoustic recording and playback, which encourages the audience to attend to the materiality of sound reproduction. The story has ended and, it would seem, the Nazi song machine has stopped. After this sort interlude, however, yet another hit song begins as the credits begin. This suggests that these songs cannot be contained in the past, not least due to the ongoing circulation of certain songs in the present day.

The ending of the film only confirms that the selection of these twenty-five songs is somewhat like a jukebox. While the twenty-five songs are ostensibly from the same period, they do not follow a strict chronological sequence. As for jukeboxes, they have a limited number of songs that can be selected, yet their sequence is open to change. The songs can be cued up, played out in full and selected to play again. The jukebox almost always involves an act of selection by one listener – who is usually also a paying customer – but it can also be set on random play. Both the possibility of a random selection and the implied allusions to historical contingency mark a difference from the postcard album aesthetic in Ruttmann's later films. *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt*, as I have shown, kept its historical chronology and cyclical rhythms firmly in place. The symphony metaphor, too, while influential for the counterpunctal rhythms of *Die Sinfonie der Großstadt*, was later invoked for films dominated by a score as supportive musical illustration.

In this case, the presentation of a "hit parade" might be understood as belonging to Adolf Hitler between 1933 and 1945. It is in this sense that the jukebox structure alludes to the notion of Nazi cultural production as a song machine, which is mechanically programmed to follow a sequence of song selections.[91] The function of the jukebox as a sound technology for staging a "hit parade" not only reminds the audience of its own construction and acts of selection, but it also insists on the limits of revealing the past when using visual and audio material. In alerting the audience to their participation in the production of "prosthetic" media memories, the documentary truth claims associated with archival material are put under scrutiny.[92]

Conclusion

The broader attempt to reveal the materiality of recorded sound in *Hitler's Hit Parade* implicates popular music and "hit parades" as agents of mood control, but it also foregrounds the act of recontextualising archival material in the digital era. This historical awareness is prompted by the perceptual dissonances and shifts in audiovisual response during the twenty-five song sequences. Moreover, the highly-charged references prompted by the film highlight the act of creating fixed historical chronologies and causalities with regard to National Socialism. Popular song offers the temporal framework and facilitates the audiovisual experience of rhythm as a means for reactivating an engagement with questions of historical representation and cultural memory. An engagement with the past in this way fully reinstates film sound as a "meaning-making practice" and highlights musical sound as partaking in social relations (Kassabian 2001: 54). As such, the film contributes to the deconstruction of cinema as a historical source and social practice. *Hitler's Hit Parade* silences the diegetic sounds of the visual track, with the exceptions of the interludes and two musical film scenes. However, this is not a simple silencing: this strategy has the function of redirecting the audience's attention to the songs and their lyrics, with the occasional use of sound effect as a kind of acoustic "punctum" disrupting the overall sonic continuity.[93] Moreover, by resisting the truth claims of documentary, there is also a confrontation with myths of media transparency. This marks an important departure from documentaries that employ a seamless rendering of footage that stabilises a divide between the Nazi past and the present, and implicitly draw on Wagnerian notions that presupposed cinema as enabling the audience's unmediated access to a unified, total work of art.

In this chapter, I have endeavoured to show how Richard Wagner's nineteenth-century notion of music-theatre as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* was reconceived and appropriated for silent and sound film in Germany. The idea of a total, synaesthetic experience – as my analysis of film examples, discourses and exhibition practice has outlined – gained particular momentum during Nazism. The broad use of the term *Gesamtkunstwerk*, moreover, affirms Lutz Koepnick's observation that it was a catch-all term, serving as a "compromise between high art and popular taste, romanticism and twentieth-century modernism, autonomous art and the popular" (2002: 10). I have indicated the ongoing tension between such cultural concepts during Nazism through Walther Ruttmann's use of rhythm and acoustic metaphors during the 1920s and 1930s, which I have traced in terms of a general shift from a "symphonic" to "postcard" aesthetics. Indeed, Ruttmann's earlier work expressed both a fascination with the sensory dimensions to the modern city and a certain ambivalence about its technical mechanisation and sensory overstimulation. The subsequent understanding of the city and its sounds after 1933, however, reflected a different aesthetic and ideological tension: namely, the aestheticisation of modernity during Nazism as both a recourse to the city as a site of technological progress as well as sentiments of *Heimat* and *Volk* community. This tension was inflected in the cinema space itself, which was similarly invested as a site of modern technological advancement and attractions, as well as for community integration and leisure.

"Rhythmic harmony," as represented by both film narratives and cinema exhibition practices, therefore, constituted a significant cultural mode that continued to take its cues about technological innovation and national utopia from Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This ideal, which depends on a self-contained, purpose-built theatrical space, could not be maintained under the conditions of war. Even though cinemas took measures to further condition the cinema as spectacle with (louder) sound and colour film, the supposed medial neutrality and audience attention was broken by the uncontrollable sound of war outside. Put differently, while Kittler establishes Wagner's resonant sonic effects as precursors for the sensorial overwhelming of audiences in the darkened space of the cinema, I have argued that this medium transparency was rarely sustained during Nazism.

Afterword: Echoes of the Past

> "The memories are coming back to me as I talk about them now and they've been buried inside me for a long time. The sounds are now ringing in my ears."
>
> "Even today I can still hear the sirens. […] The impact and explosions are still perceptible now. Mainly because of the fear, the anxiousness of the adults."
>
> "After the war, it took months before I stopped waking up terrified, and no longer ran into the cellar if I heard engine sounds."
>
> "No, we didn't have jazz. That was not considered 'proper music.' […] In June 1945 I went to a birthday party where this music was played: Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller. That was 'Freedom!' It was the first time I had feeling of being free."[1]

In the previous chapter, I examined the case of the documentary film *Hitler's Hit Parade* with regard to present-day difficulties in remembering and representing the Nazi past. While the film uses an unbroken sequence of (mainly sentimental) hit songs from the 1930s and 1940s, I argued that this continuous soundtrack provided a critical frame for considering the recycling of visual images and film footage from the Nazi era. Rather than suggest that these songs offer a stable historical chronology, I have shown that *Hitler's Hit Parade* foregrounds the act of selection and narrative organisation of archival image and sound. In doing so, it also configures a confrontation with the truth claims of the documentary genre and the "prosthetic" media memories of those viewers who themselves do not remember the Nazi period, but have developed accumulated forms of visual memory through popular cultural representations of history (Landsberg 2004: 28). The central role given to melodies and lyrics in the film might seem an unusual strategy, since such popular songs are often conceived as encouraging normative accounts of cultural memory and even a nostalgic interpretation of past eras and events.[2] However, since the manner with which contemporary audiences usually "know" the past is primarily facilitated by the visual, the film offers these songs as a narrative framework that self-consciously draw attention to our mediated acts of listening and viewing.

Recorded sound in *Hitler's Hit Parade* did not only offer a straightforward memento, but might be said to perform *echoes* of the past in the present. In this context, it is important to establish that sound (as echo) tends towards an indexical, rather than an iconographic relationship to remembering. Rather than fixing

a determined linear narrative or image, sound can be drawn upon to prompt certain moods or feelings, and thus differs strikingly from the unaltered and exact reproduction of all heard sounds as per Canetti's exaggerated earwitness. As an echo sounds out, it usually reflects off different surfaces, causing it to lose momentum or pick up extra information. As such, the echo allows for the alterations produced by its surroundings. This is one of the reasons why the auditory constitution of self (as Echo) has been suggested as a counterpoint to the (visual) Narcissus. In Gayatri Spivak's account of this myth, the reiterations of Narcissus' speech by Echo can change the original meaning, independently of her intentions.[3] When taken in terms of subject construction and identity formation – in this case of the earwitness – this myth allows for such components concerned with individual agency in relation to others. Historian Joan W. Scott, too, notes how the metaphor of echo foregrounds selectivity, due to their "delayed returns of sound" (2001: 292). While this selectivity can be used to create a sense of continuity and belonging, the echo is not static and provides room for change. "An echo," as Scott elaborates, "spans large gaps of space (sound reverberates between distant points) and time (echoes aren't instantaneous), but it also creates gaps of meaning and intelligibility" (291). It is in this return, by means of repetition, that alterations and changes are made. In an earlier article, Scott (1991) has also argued that scholars should be careful not to treat experience as a privileged category that exists outside of discourse.[4] Instead, Scott invites historians to examine the *production* of sensory perception, and, consequently, both the individual and social dimensions to experience.[5]

Correspondingly, while present-day recollections by earwitnesses might seem to call upon *individual* experiences, it is important to keep in mind that sounds – contrary to popular assumption – are not necessarily immediate and intimate.[6] Those who grew up during National Socialism were conditioned and encouraged to perceive auditory experience in social and collective terms.[7] Nazi propaganda discourses played a significant role in shaping attitudes about auditory perception, and Germans were consistently positioned as earwitnesses participating in and belonging to a *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community), as I have shown in the previous chapters. One of the important related discourses about sound concerned the music and sound created by groups seen as outside the acceptable social order. Such discourses contributed to a dichotomised view of sounds, delineated as harmonious, intimate and socially acceptable on the one hand, and degenerate, chaotic and discordant on the other. During World War II, fear of listening or being heard by others intensified, as I have shown in my examination of "*Feind hört mit*" campaigns in Chapter Three. At the same time, public discourses and cultural representations were also influential in emphasising the braveness and unity of community in the face of Allied "terror attacks."[8] It would seem that the post-war characterisation of wartime sounds as memorable is at least partially constituted by the public discourse about Allied bombings, along with post-war representations that have employed the "sonic icons" of sirens to connote air attacks (Flinn 2004: 4; Hillman 2005: 33).

Recollections in the present thus not only reflect a temporal interval, but also a politics of memory. In the case of Germany, it is worthwhile to note the acoustic

metaphors used when contrasting the "silence" of the immediate post-war decades to the so-called memory "boom" since the 1980s. In the 1970s, psychologists Alexander and Margarethe Mitscherlich coined the phrase "the inability to mourn," arguing that Germans had collectively "repressed" their Nazi past and their secret attachment to Hitler (1975). However, despite the popularity of this explanation, German society has not necessarily remained silent about the Nazi period during the past sixty years. Among others, historian Michael L. Hughes has shown how a remembrance process continued from the late 1940s onwards, but asserts that Germans often drew on pre-existing Nazi discourses for their role as victims, which minimised "culpability for the war that their sacrifice and solidarity had helped make possible" (2000: 205).[9] Similarly, Robert G. Moeller (2001) has argued that the prominent public discourses about prisoners of war and German expellees in the early post-war period should be characterised in terms of a "selective remembering" rather than complete silence. By the 1980s, alongside concerns with *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past), a growing number of scholars recognised an emerging "memory boom" in relation to Germany's Nazi past.[10] These discussions were controversial, particularly in the wake of accusations of revisionism and the *Historikerstreit* (Historians' Debate) about interpreting the place of the Holocaust in Germany's larger historical narrative.[11] In the decade following the 1990 reunification of Germany, another trend emerged in public discourses concerning the acknowledgement of German civilian suffering during World War II.[12]

These recent developments in German public memory debates and popular discourses were critically investigated in Welzer, Moller and Tschuggnall's 2002 publication *Opa war kein Nazi* (My Grandpa was not a Nazi). A team of oral history researchers conducted interviews across three generations of German families, in order to explore how how personal experience during National Socialism had been absorbed into "normal" family narratives. To document this process, the researchers developed an interview methodology where they showed their participants film sequences from ten amateur films and three propaganda films. The use of visual materials was vouched for as a useful strategy for involving children and grandchildren, who primarily experience National Socialism as mediated through popular culture and stories. This process of negotiating family memories about the Nazi period was described in terms of a "virtual family photo album" (14).[13] The researchers' preconception that photos and films are a neutral method for encouraging a process of remembering is not only visualist, but may overlook the selectiveness or manipulation within these cultural artefacts, as I demonstrated in the case of *Hitler's Hit Parade* (2003).[14] Nonetheless, one of the significant findings was that the family narratives overwhelmingly centred on the material and personal losses caused by the bombing of German cities, heightening the sense of Germans being victims of "war, manipulation, war imprisonment, deprivation and adversity" (16).[15] The influence of institutional and popular cultural narratives in oral history interviews was prominent, given that family members drew on films as illustrations, comparisons and sometimes as distortions of their family stories.

The significance of cultural representations about the past, and the social negotiation of autobiographical and family memory also recall the notion of the echo. Indeed, the echo has been invoked in one of the more recent accounts to grapple with the multitude of subject positions and perspectives during National Socialism. German author Walter Kempowski has become well-known for his critical oral history projects that, as he put it, tried to listen to the "echoes of terror" in present-day German society.[16] Kempowski published a ten-volume "collective diary" titled *Das Echolot* (1993-2005) – the main title of the book translates roughly as "Sonar" or "Echo-Sounder." Collected from thousands of letters, diaries, personal documents and photos, the title reflects a sounding out of the depths, divergences and multiplicity of individual experiences in the last years of the Nazi regime (1941-1945).

It is clear that Kempowski's version of the echo challenges the notion that there could be any unified account of the Nazi era. His collective "diary" suggests that echoes reflect off different surfaces, as the past is recalled in the present. While doing so, they can be subject to interferences, or perhaps a fading out and a forgetting. It is this last aspect, forgetting, that Kempowski seeks to highlight in *Echolot*. Just as there are many voices working to create the cultural norms and established narrative about National Socialism, attention must be paid to the role of forgetting, to unheard voices, to the evasion of responsibility, or the various desires for a useable past. *Echolot* offers a comprehensive, if not exhaustive response to the task of negotiating collective memory and the memory boom, with an echo-sounder that tries to get beyond the so-called "noise" of official discourses (Confino and Fritzsche 2002). Literature scholar Susanne Vees-Gulani (2003) has praised Kempowski's approach, yet she notes that his goal of objectivity is at times problematic. In particular, the use of extracts from key figures like Hitler and Goebbels might imply some possibility for explaining the course of events, and that victims' voices are virtually absent (with the exception of Victor Klemperer). When foregrounding German experiences of aerial bombing, particularly those cases of trauma and suffering, Vees-Gulani emphasises that such accounts need to be placed in a direct relation to German military aggression and the initiation of area bombing on Guernica, Rotterdam and English cities (2003: 2-4, 7). Even when they themselves were markedly traumatised by exposure to the air war, Victor Klemperer and other Jewish-Germans directly affected saw the attacks as a necessity for ending the war and the terror of the Nazi regime.

In this vein, an important critical literary voice has emerged in the work of Dieter Forte. This author, who was born in Düsseldorf and lived through the aerial war (*Bombenkrieg*), rejects a nostalgic type of mourning. As a child, Forte suffered from muteness and stuttering due to the fear caused by the bombings of Düsseldorf. He argues that the trauma that he and others underwent must be recognised, as a means of acknowledging the "silent victims" of the war years. However, what is more important for Forte is that Germans should not overlook the violence, repression and culpabilities of the Nazi period.[17] And, for Forte, a shared notion of the past that excludes Auschwitz also reflects an "abnormality." Commenting on his semi-autobiographical novel, *In der Erinnerung* (1998), Forte explains:

> If we can only see ourselves as victims then we have a completely different understanding of the war and the mass killing of Jews, as a direct result of Nazism, and with respect to the Allied air war on the German population.[18]

In Forte's view, the emergence of a discourse about the *Bombenkrieg* from a German perspective is permissible on the condition that it does not involve relativisation and that one does not forget why the air attacks on German cities occurred. In this way, Forte's work emphasises the necessity to prevent amnesia by returning to a painful past, yet remaining critical of that era. Ultimately, then, this call for critical modes of remembering reminds scholars to consider how present-day memory dynamics frame contemporary earwitness recollection.

Formulated against the background of these contemporary debates, *Nazi Soundscapes* has revealed the utterly intersubjective nature of auditory experience, which is crucial for implicating the listener in the world and exposing his or her agency through attention patterns. The ethical implication of listening, which was my departure point with Canetti's account of the earwitness, remained a central issue in my case studies. Listening provides a potential source for developing knowledge, concern about others, and for enabling observation and witnessing. In the course of this study, which has shifted gradually from how sounds were heard to how they are represented and remembered, I have stressed how listening subjects during National Socialism partook in certain aporias, silences and "blindspots." As such, this study has necessarily confronted prevalent discourses of belonging or national community with simultaneous acts of exclusion, whether in subtle manifestations or organised rites of violence. Shifting away from previous notions of totalitarian control, the study foregrounds the sense of continuity provided by existing national traditions and cultural rituals, along with the role of consumption in relation to consent, complicity and violence.

In other words, this study makes a strategic intervention in current scholarly debates about how National Socialist ideology and propaganda were communicated and negotiated in a modernized public sphere. By studying the soundscape, I have drawn attention to the cultural dynamics involved with mediated sound, listening and urban space across the Weimar and Nazi periods. Through my case studies, I have proposed a nuanced approach to the soundscape, and have shown how sound-related concepts can be used as fruitful tools of analysis for the historical study of cultural and political patterns. These terms were not only singular elements within the Düsseldorf soundscape, but provided a conceptual method for organising my reflections about specific case studies of the Schlageter myth and commemorative forms, urban carnival rites, the wartime city, the sound film and cinema exhibition. These case studies reflect on a diversity of media forms, and thus revealed the truly audiovisual nature of Nazi propaganda and specified its relation to multiple sensory registers.

The process of engaging sound-based concepts, such as resonance, noise and rhythm, as a point of departure and return sometimes produced unanticipated results. In the case of carnival, for example, the persistent counter-culture discourse around this festival initially suggested an anti-authoritarian space, if not outright resistance to National Socialism. Upon closer examination of this event, its sonic

rituals and radio broadcasts, I found its cultural status to be more ambiguous in both the Weimar and Nazi eras, and taken up by both avant-garde artists and cultural conservatives. This re-reading, based on sound recordings and archival research, provided an understanding of how the Düsseldorf carnival under National Socialism was gradually refashioned into a nationally and racially-defined people's festival (*Volksfestival*) whose "noisy energy" facilitated anti-Semitic expressions and even violence. These attempts to appropriate and absorb festival noise, as I have shown, thereby challenge Jacques Attali's opposition between the Festival (noise) and the Norm (silence).

On a more general level, this study has detailed how various manifestations of sound – whether music, voice, silence or noise – were conceived as amenable tools for political appropriation. In some cases, this appropriation borrowed from existing sonic rituals and music, whereas in other cases I have delineated the emergence of new sonic practices and ritual forms. In particular, I have sought out the continuities and changes in the uses of sound under National Socialism, and with it, the prevalent tensions about sound in contemporary discourses and cultural practices. Furthermore, this study has investigated the implication of sound in terror, surveillance and exclusionary practices. With these guiding insights, I have sought to redress certain visualist assumptions about the exertion of social control and discipline, along with the solely visual basis for racism and discrimination. In order to trace these (sometimes elusive) forms of social control, I have taken the soundscape or acoustic environment to be a dynamic context for individual listeners, which also mediates their interaction with each other (Truax 1984/2001). Listening attention was positioned as an important aspect to the analysis of the soundscape, since it reveals ongoing tensions between the body's physiological capabilities and the cultural patterns informing listening experience. This focus on attention has helped to understand the role of listening habits in the meanings and significance ascribed to the Düsseldorf soundscape. Nonetheless, while certain insights were adopted from Truax and others, I also redressed the assumptions in soundscape theory about modern sound as being necessarily distracting and dulling to the senses. While mediated sound is an agent of modernity, there is not a causal link to confusion, let alone "schizophonia" (Schafer 1977/1994).

A final key finding of this study concerns the role of radio and other technologies, such as microphone-loudspeaker systems. In contrast to most studies of radio, I have vouched for the necessity of grounding radio programming within the soundscape at large. In the case of Chapter Three, I show how radio propaganda – like the *Sondermeldungen* – was systematically placed in the context of larger acoustic interventions in the everyday routines of wartime life in Germany between 1939 and 1945. As such, the medium of radio – and the corresponding fantasy of imagined national community – is positioned in direct relation to the success of siren systems and safety routines in Düsseldorf. In other words, I have acknowledged the attractiveness in employing amplified sound for political purposes, given its potential contribution to collective mood and atmosphere, whether in city streets, the workplace or domestic environment. Yet, I have also pinpointed the difficulties and labour involved in establishing acoustic domi-

nance with mediated sound. A series of case examples – whether the use of fanfares and campaign songs on radio, church bells, sirens, or newsreel soundtracks – have revealed the tension between control and excess in Nazi-era attempts to employ mediated sound for political effect. Such examples have not only raised issues of amplification, repetition and sound quality, but also highlighted ongoing uncertainties during National Socialism concerning the "controlled event" and the risk of oversaturation for listening subjects (as jeopardising their engagement as earwitnesses).

With such tensions in mind, I have tried to make it patent that, just as there is not one single soundscape to be studied by the researcher, in the case of listening, there are also always "competing or co-existing 'auditory regimes'" (Lacey 2000b: 279). Perhaps it is the transience of sound that makes it so interesting for cultural analysis, as an object that is structurally defined by change and mediation. Indeed, sound, as Steven Connor remarks, always "involves the sense of something happening, here and now; but the very intensity of that here and now happening derives from the fact that it is volatile, always passing away" (1997b: n. pag.). The nature of sound as event means that it is malleable and mediated by its surroundings, but it can also be unpredictable and work against the intentions of those seeking to use it. Although the historical soundscape cannot be recovered in its entirety, its study raises pertinent issues about the wider implications of sound and listening in dictatorial regimes, and against the background of violence, persecution and war. By attending to various aspects concerned with the interplay of modern auditory experience, (mediated) sound and related cultural practices, this study has insisted on sound as a medium that itself participates in social and spatial organisation, and provides a valuable heuristic tool for re-examining the historical past.

Notes

Introduction

1 "*Der Volksempfänger war dafür da, um die Menschen auch akustisch im Griff zu haben*" (Kurt K., b. 1928); "*Das ging viel um Heimat und Kämpfen und Treue und 'Wir sind stark' [...] Das war alles über: Deutschland als Größtes und das müssen wir wissen. Dann wurden die Fenster aufgemacht und wir schmetterten diese Lieder*" (Jenny E., b. 1923); "*Wenn man keinen Besuch erwartete und es klopfte jemand (oder schellte), dann hatte man ein ungutes Gefühl: 'Was jetzt? Wo war ich gestern? Was habe ich gesagt, was habe ich getan?'*" (Renate S., b. 1928); "*Es gab einen Luftschutzwart, der mehrere Häuser unter sich hatte. [...] Sie gingen durch die Straßen und haben 'Licht aus!' gesagt*" (Jenny E., b. 1923).

2 For an extended reflection on these interviews in the context of debates about German personal and cultural memories of National Socialism, and on oral history methods, see Birdsall (2009). The average birth year of interviewees was 1928, with an average age of eleven when World War II began in 1939. For an oral history study with older participants (and on a much larger scale), see Johnson and Reuband (2005).

3 In his own autobiographical works, Canetti sought to highlight both the selectivity of remembering and the amplification of certain memories over time. See Canetti (1977, 1980, 1985, 2005).

4 Schafer's own definition is somewhat ambiguous as he offers the term as any part of the sonic environment, as well as compositions of this environment. More recently, scholars have gravitated towards Alain Corbin's notion of an "auditory landscape" or "landscape of sound" (*paysage sonore*) (1998: ix-xi).

5 Schafer's recourse to the earwitness is intrinsic to his efforts to raise consciousness about the threat posed by industrial urban sounds to both the acoustic environment and listening skills; I will return to these issues later in this introduction.

6 On the problem of sound scholars projecting themselves or popular mythologies onto the past, see Bruce R. Smith (2004: 36), Jonathan Sterne (2003: 19).

7 Indeed, as theorist Shoshana Felman has observed, eyewitness testimony has legal recognition, and is categorically distinguished from that which is heard (as "hearsay") (1992: 207). However, the predominant notion of "testimony" as bearing witness, she also notes, usually takes a spoken or written form, and involves a listener or reader. See also John Durham Peters (2001) on (media) witnessing and discourses concerning the (un)reliability of witnesses.

8 This view is reflected in a broader tendency of 1960s media and communications scholars, who saw a parallel between medieval oral culture and the experience of "secondary" orality with the advent of radio (Winthrop-Young and Wutz 1999: xi-xiii).

9 On noise as technological disturbance, see Campbell (2006: 67-95), Kittler (1999). The notion of the Nazi regime as having complete control or as "totalitarian" was frequently asserted in the first post-war decades (see, for instance, Arendt 1951). Another influential trend was comprised by psychohistorical and psychoanalytic explanations of National Socialism's emergence (Fromm 1969; Reich 1970; Theweleit 1977-8). While terror and coercion were key aspects of Nazi political practice, recent archival-based research has drawn attention to complicity and consent amongst the German population. See, for instance, the debates about "ordinary Germans" in Gellately 1993; Mallmann and Paul 1994; Johnson 2000.

10 As a result of marginalisation, repression and exclusion, a number of communities

often retreated to personal networks or cultural organisations. See, for example, Düwell (1985) on the active role of Jewish cultural organisations in Berlin and the Rhine-Ruhr during the early 1930s.

11 See also Moores (1993: 70-116). I would like to thank Alec Badenoch for bringing this article to my attention.

12 For specific studies of Berlin in terms of visuality and textuality, see Peter Fritzsche (1996), Joachim Schlör (1998) or Janet Ward (2000). Although I am not aware of extensive soundscape research on Berlin itself, a 2006 dissertation by Yaron Jean examines the broader historical period 1914-1945 (see Jean 2008).

13 Religion – as well as economic standing and voting habits of the city inhabitants – also reflected more diversity than in the nineteenth century, when those in the Rhineland were still predominantly Catholic. Nonetheless, the strong identification with the Rhineland and a distinctive regional accent belied the significance of Düsseldorf's proximity to neighbouring countries and that of a number of historical occupations by the French in the 1800s. The urban expansion of the city is also tied up with its rapid population growth. In the early 1800s, Düsseldorf had some 20,000 inhabitants, which rose to 200,000 in the early 1900s and to around 500,000 in the 1930s. For population statistics, see "Verwaltungsbericht der Stadt Düsseldorf" [StaD] for the years 1930, 1931-2, 1933-5 and 1945-9.

14 For the contemporary recognition of various forms of urban sound and noise in the German context, see, for instance, Birkefeld and Jung (1994), Braun (1998), Zeller (2002).

15 "*Frische Herringe! Kauft frische Herringe!*" Interview with Jenny E. (b. 1923).

16 "*Eisen und Papier, alles sammeln wir!*" Interview with Helmut P. (b. 1934).

17 Interview with Helmut P. (b. 1934).

18 See Johnson (2008b: 50-4). For avant-garde responses to war noise, in the case of Italian Futurists Luigi Russolo and F.T. Marinetti, see Kahn (1992, 1999: 56-67).

19 See Fernand Braudel (1949/1972) for an elaboration on *longue durée*, which, in his understanding, goes beyond the individual or social measurement of long-term change. In Braudel's account, this change is that of geological or climactic change, but I employ it here for a more general sense of periodisation and gradual change over time.

20 My articulation of this distinction and its methodological implications is indebted to Bruce Johnson's first three chapters in Johnson and Cloonan (2008: 13-63, here 49). It is important to note in this context that radio was by no means restricted to urban areas, and had a significant impact in rural Germany in the 1920s and 1930s (see Cebulla 2004).

21 For a critique of Berman's account and periodisation, see Osborne (1995: 4-9). See also Kern (1981).

22 See also Adorno and Horkheimer (2002) on the relationship of National Socialism to modernity and the Enlightenment project.

23 See also Zitelmann and Prinz (1994), Frese and Prinz (1996), Nitschke, Ritter, Peukert and vom Bruch (1990).

24 See, for instance, the proposal made by Bertolt Brecht for developing a radical version of radio as a two-way communication medium (1932/1993). For the significant influence of radio broadcasting on literary modernism, see Cohen, Coyle and Lewty (2009).

25 Arnheim was also a perceptual psychologist and his *Radio: An Art of Sound* (1933/1972) is often cited as the first scholarly and theoretical work on the question of radio (Åberg 1999; Douglas 1999: 156-60). Arnheim observes that through the "blind" medium of radio, the listener gains a new set of listening skills, which assist in "sharpening acoustic powers of observation" (39). However, he also suggests that the creative potential of radio was limited far into its first decade by its frequent use as a "mere relaying-apparatus" for live events, such as opera, theatre, cabaret and sporting matches.

26 See, for instance, Theodor Adorno, "A Social Critique of Music" (1945/1993: 273, 276). For Adorno's more extended, nuanced elaboration of this view, see his other essays on radio and music in *Current of Music* (2009).

27 Arnheim acknowledges that the broadcast model means that the radio consumer must always be a listener and cannot answer. He expresses hope in the utopian, generative potential of the radio medium, yet still endorses radio as a government-regulated medium of high culture, which he contrasts to the "bad taste" of commercially-driven cinema (273). See Peter Jelavich (2006) for a discussion of how those involved in Weimar radio tended to programme high art genres, such as op-

era, classical music and traditional theatre repertoire.

28 For more on the historical opposition of music and noise, see Peters (2004: 184).

29 Furthermore, we are reminded to pay attention to *mis*reading and *mis*hearing as productive strategies within the histories of medicine, science and technology. On this point, see also Campbell (2006), Kittler (1999).

30 For important exceptions, see Voloshinov (1976) on the dynamic between inner and outer speech, Jacques Lacan (2001) on voice and subjectivity, as well as Samoan Barish (1975) and Joachim Küchenoff (1996). Freud's student Theodor Reik posited that the psychoanalytic ear (or "third ear") can "hear voices from within the self that are otherwise not audible because they are drowned out by the noise of our conscious thought processes" (1948: 146-7).

31 Michael Hagner places this shift as occurring earlier, citing the 1800s as a key period in the development of new conceptions about attention in experiential psychology and psychophysics in Germany (2003).

32 Freud "Recommendations to Physicians" (116), qtd in Crary (1999: 368). See also Ronell (1991) regarding the intersubjective and ethical implications of telephonic exchange.

33 Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1965: 134-6), qtd in Crary (1999: 368).

34 Freud, *Origins of Psycho-analysis* (1954: 417), cited in Crary (1999: 25).

35 While Benjamin's own views on sound reproduction technologies are ambivalent (Koepnick 2004), the use of auditory metaphors has been revisited by literature scholar Gerhard Richter (2000). Richter emphasises that the language use in *Berlin Chronicle* (1932), for instance, requires "a reading that is attuned to the body's relation to noise, from street traffic to telephones and beyond. It stages Benjamin's sustained emphasis on the material and technological conditions that come to affect the subject's corpus" (165). In other words, sound technologies such as the telephone provided a specifically modern training ground for the auditory generation of subjectivity.

36 See Lessing (1908, 1909) and Simmel (1992; 1997). In terms of sound, the noise abatement movements in Europe and North America rallied against the noises of traffic, transport, industrial production and sound technology, and called for restraint and quiet in everyday life. While this was only a small movement, rendered to the margins with the onset of World War I, it suggests to us how middle-class intellectuals were struggling with the changing conditions of modern urban life, and the different criteria for listening and discernment (Baron 1982: 172).

37 All page numbers refer to the second edition (1994).

38 Interestingly, similar discourses about workplace fatigue emerged in Germany and Britain during the 1930s and 1940s, which often led to light music and radio broadcasts being played in factories to maintain production efficiency. See Bijsterveld (2008: 82-8), as well as Jones (2005); Korczinski and Jones (2006); Robertson, Korczinski and Pickering (2007). For an example of how similar concerns were articulated during National Socialism, see Bergius (1939).

39 See, for example, Wrightson (2000) for a comprehensive overview of acoustic ecology. See also Epstein (2000) on acoustic ecology as an "interdiscipline," and Järviluoma, Uimonen, Vikman and Kytö (2009b: 224-81) on qualitative empirical research in this field.

40 Schafer establishes four categories for analysing sound: *acoustics* (physical characteristics); *psychoacoustics* (how they are perceived); *semiotics and semantics* (function and meaning); and *aesthetics* (emotional and affective qualities) (1977/1994: 133). The first two categories, acoustics and psychoacoustics, are conflated in a discussion of "physical characteristics." When it comes to the third category of semiotics, Schafer provides an extensive set of entries under four types of semiotic sound (natural sounds, human sounds, sounds and society, mechanical sounds). The order of this list reveals his hierarchy (in descending order), which favours natural sounds. Finally, the analytical category of "aesthetic qualities" avoids any engagement with the emotional or affective dimensions to sound, with Schafer conceding only that this is "the hardest of all types of classification."

41 Truax's emphasis on the *environment* is twofold. Firstly, the concept of the environment is used to refer to the social context of sound phenomena as "essential for understanding the meaning of any messages" (11). In other words, sounds only gain meaning within the context of

their surroundings. Secondly, the notion of environment is essential to the ecological agenda of the soundscape movement, which rests on notions of restoring equilibrium and harmony.

42 I should clarify here that in Truax's understanding, "background listening" comprises one of several possible subcategories between the broader concept of distracted listening, which can also potentially encompass ambient modes of listening and the intermediate "listening-in-readiness."

43 Schafer's understanding of analysis ventures towards the qualitative and perceptive, but ultimately remains somewhat preoccupied with quantitative methods and aesthetic standards. He clearly favours natural sounds over mechanical sounds, and situates acoustic experience as either healing or alienating. This is most evident in Schafer's privileging of concentrated listening. Likewise, in Truax's discussion of music composition, he ultimately valorises the autonomous listener, who ideally experiences a music that "demands involvement, music that we cannot passively consume but which requires us, even as listeners, to construct its meaning" (1992: 385).

44 This loss of spatial or temporal referents is situated as a negative attribute, which is why Schafer explicitly wants to maintain the "nervous" and pathological associations of the word schizophonia. Significantly, Schafer does not date the advent of schizophonia with telegraphy from the 1840s, but several decades later with the popular dissemination of telephone, radio and gramophone. He thus pinpoints the "era of schizophonia" as starting with the invention of the telephone in 1876 by Alexander Graham Bell and the invention of the gramophone in 1877 by Charles Cross and Thomas Edison (90).

45 See also Arkette (2004) and Kelman (2010) for critical evaluation of the contributions (and shortcomings) of soundscape theory and its conception of the modern city. Schafer's criticism of sound detached from its referents bears a striking similarity to Adorno's critique of music commodification as concealing the labour of the musicians producing the music (2001). For Schafer, the uniqueness of located sound were challenged by the temporal storage and spatial dissemination of mechanical reproduction, and led – if we follow his argumentation – to a Benjaminian loss of aura, which undermined earlier distinctions between mass art and high culture. In the case of Benjamin, as Lutz Koepnick has argued, sound was excluded from his theory of modernity, film and the aestheticisation of politics. Yet Koepnick sees in Benjamin's silence a "symptom of repression consequent to salient anxieties about the role of the acoustical in the modern world" (2004: 228).

46 In this attempt to reveal the damaging effects of audio technology, Schafer asserts radio as the main cause of everyday noise irritation, drastic community change and political oppression. It is due to radio, Schafer argues, that the "easy-listening" genre of Muzak was made possible (1977/1994: 91, 272).

47 See Campbell on Marinetti's "wireless imagination" concept (2006: 67-95), and Sterne (2003) for a similar discussion of sound telegraphy operators. Susan Douglas has conceptualised early wireless listening or "DXing" in 1920s America as a mode of "exploratory listening" (1999: 55-82).

48 McLuhan also exerted some influence on Schafer, who espouses a singular notion of "modern man," who is alienated and disconnected due to the "imperialistic" nature of modern noise pollution (1977/1994: 3). This bears a striking similarity to the periodisations in McLuhan's work (such as "Typographical Man"), which argued for a renewed appreciation of the auditory (1960/1997). Schafer and McLuhan knew each other at the University of Toronto in the 1950s and Schafer's article "McLuhan and Acoustic Space" (1985) confirms the confluences between their respective work. See also George Steiner's critique of McLuhan for his recourse to myth as a heuristic tool (1963).

49 See, for example, Peter Jelavich's discussion of crystal detector sets in the 1920s (2006: 74).

50 Likewise, the unwillingness to approach the full possibilities of interpreting sound demonstrates characteristics of the "sound apologism" that Matthias Rieger detects in most musicology scholarship (2003: 193). Thus, in attempting to rehabilitate the modern soundscape from noise pollution, soundscape theorists jeopardise their advocacy for an openness to all sounds. For the efforts of recent soundscape scholars to engage in qualitative empirical research about listening modalities, see the collected articles

in Järviluoma and Wagstaff (2002) and Järviluoma, Kytö, Uimonen and Vikman (2009a).

51 The issue of correspondences between the senses – including neurological disorders like synaesthesia – has been investigated at length by Richard Cytowic (2002) and Oliver Sacks (1998, 2007). In turn, it is often through cases of sensory deprivation, when one sensory channel is denied (as in blindness) that we can seek to understand the interrelated status of our multiple sensory registers. For a discussion of blindness in terms of hearing and tactility, see Rodaway (1994).

52 On the role of embodied perception in the context of radio reception, see Cazeaux (2005).

53 Importantly, the phenomenological approach should be seen as supplementary rather than in opposition to semiotic perspectives on sound. It is not that phenomenology suggests a rejection of language, but rather that it criticises a Cartesian approach where language is denied as an embodied and dynamic (auditory) process. Merleau-Ponty's own work was heavily influenced by linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. As a result, his phenomenological theory also emphasises the embeddedness of experience in linguistic-like structures, insofar as the body produces systems of symbolic meaning. In its habitual features, the body uses "its own parts as a general system of symbols for the world, and through which we can, consequently, 'be at home in' that world, 'understand' it and find significance in it" (1945/2002: 275).

54 It should be noted that unlike many of his contemporaries, Ihde does not provide a negative account of electroacoustic technology: "[B]y living with electronic instruments our experience of listening is being transformed, and included in this transformation are the ideas we have about the world and ourselves." Sound technology is interpreted by Ihde as prompting new modes of listening and extending the range of hearing (4-5).

55 For further discussions on the nature of sources, historiographic approaches and the possibilities of sensory history, see Howes (1991), Classen (1993), Burke (1993), Garrioch (2003), Smith (2007), Müller (2011). A number of collections devoted to sound and sound studies have also appeared, such as Bull and Back (2003), Drobnick (2004), Erlmann (2004), Smith (2004), Bernius, Kemper and Oehler (2006), Deacon and Damousi (2007), Schulze (2008), Birdsall and Enns (2008), Lichau, Tkaczyk and Wolf (2009), Morat, Bartlitz and Kirsch (2011), Schedel and Uroskie (2011), Pinch and Bijsterveld (2011).

56 For other recent cultural histories of sound, listening and the voice, see Wenzel (1994), Göttert (1998), Kahn (1999), Rée (1999), Connor (2000), Meyer-Kalkus (2001), Picker (2003), Rath (2003), Blesser and Salter (2006), Hirschkind (2006), Gethmann (2006), Szendy (2008), Kittler, Macho and Weigel (2008), Jarvilüoma, Kytö, Uimonen and Vikman (2009a) and Erlmann (2010).

57 For some of the studies of radio, music and musicology in Weimar and National Socialism, most of which concentrate on political and institutional histories, see, for instance, Diller (1980), Drechsler (1988), Steinweis (1993), Levi (1994), Potter (1998).

58 The commonly-employed "soundwalk" method, for instance, involves a process that reflects on the researcher's own experience as well as the physical nature of the landscape, scientific findings and the subjective responses of other listeners (Järviluoma and Wagstaff 2002).

Notes to Chapter 1

1 Part of Schlageter's appeal was his youthfulness, since he was twenty-eight at the time of his death. See, for instance, Radek (1923).

2 Fischer (2003: 2-3). Following Germany's inability to meet the extensive financial reparations outlined in the Versailles Treaty of 1919, French military troops occupied Düsseldorf, Duisburg and the surrounding areas in 1921. French and Belgian forces occupied the rest of the entire Ruhr-Rhine region in 1923, and it was only under significant international pressure and the "Dawes Plan" that the controversial occupation came to an end in mid-1925. The train targeted by Schlageter was taking goods from the industrial Ruhr area for the confiscation by the French military occupiers, as part of their reparations demands following World War I.

3 Thomas Kühne notes that the figure of "the soldier" is distinguished from other modern institutions due to the requirement to be prepared to kill and to die at all times (1999: 346).

4 "Von Schlageter-Denken zu Hitler-Tat." *Volksparole* 29 May 1933, qtd in Koshar (1998: 181).

5 Two instructive studies on the Schlageter myth include Fuhrmeister (2004) and Baird (1990). The former focuses predominantly on visual-textual phenomena, while the latter has some discussion of songs about Schlageter.

6 Modern buildings with streamlined facades are more reflective than older buildings, which often diffract sound signals (Augoyard and Torgue 2005: 104-5).

7 Ihde divides "inner speech" up into two further subcategories of "thinking as language" and "thinking in language," terms taken from Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *The Phenomenology of Perception* (1945/2002).

8 On the gendered dimensions to the relationship between voice and subject formation, see Silverman (1988: 1-41).

9 See McLuhan (1962: 59); McLuhan and Powers (1989). For the critique of McLuhan linking of listening and passivity within recent sound studies, see, for instance, Schmidt (2000) and Sterne (2003).

10 This concern with the politics of the body is most commonly associated with the work of historian Michel Foucault, who introduced the term "biopolitics" to account for a mode of government or a set of techniques that involve pervasive mechanisms of control over subjects' bodies (1978, 1980).

11 The term "affirmative resonance" was originally employed by media scholar Cornelia Epping-Jäger (2004a) in a discussion about sound technology during Nazism, but she does not theorise it in detail. For the mediality of "*Führerstimmen*" (political leaders' voices), see also Schmölders (2008).

12 See, for instance, "resonance" in Webster's *Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* (1986).

13 Interview from March 1933, qtd in Diller (1980: 62).

14 The Nazi doctrine regarding mass propaganda and mass psychology is most vigorously asserted in Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1933/1969), written while in prison during 1923.

15 For two specific analyses of the visual dimensions to Nazi propaganda – including leaflets, posters, streetlamps, flags and other symbols – see Herding and Mittig (1975) and Thöne (1979).

16 See the first section of *Mein Kampf* (1933/1969), where Hitler also mentions Schlageter as an important hero for the Nazi movement.

17 See Benjamin (1936/1999b: 234-5). For a critical response to this account of the politics of fascist spectacle, see Adorno (1935-8/1977), and later, Jay (1992) and Koepnick (1999).

18 Stefan Grossmann, "Gegen die Redewut." *Vossische Zeitung* 15. Nov 1918, qtd in Fritzsche (1998: 100). See also Nolan (1981) and Tobin (1985) for accounts of Düsseldorf during World War I, with regard to mounting class tensions and subsequent revolutionary activities in the city streets. Indeed, it has been noted that World War I played an important role in politicising youth, who were agitated with nationalistic phrases, hate speeches and convincing promises (Hüttenberger 1988: 437; Reulecke 1995).

19 The groups operating in urban contexts included the *Stahlhelm* and *Sturmabteilung* (SA), which was associated with the National Socialists; the *Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold*, which was established in 1924 and was made up of groups supporting the Republic, such as the Social Democrats and centre parties; the *Roter Frontkämpferbund* (RFB), which was established by the German Communist Party (KPD) in 1924, which also set up the *Antifaschistische Junge Garde* and *Kampfbund gegen den Faschismus* in 1929.

20 The KPD itself did not fully endorse individual or gang violence. Rosenhaft explains that this position was due to a preference for mass (workplace) action and protest (1983: 26). This meant that in many cases, communist streetfighters were acting against the wishes of party leaders.

21 "*Schlagt die Nazis, wo ihr sie trefft!*" or "*Schlagt die Faschisten*" (Rosenhaft 1983: 161).

22 For communists and the working class more generally, there was a strong suspicion that the police were in cohorts with right-wing groups, who they sometimes accompanied for marches through working-class neighbourhoods. For examples from Düsseldorf in 1926, see Hüttenberger (1989: 438-9).

23 This song, written by Wessel in 1930, argued more emphatically for a Nazi-style of German nationalism, with its lyrics emphasising the "determined footsteps"

of SA troops marching in file through the city streets, fighting for freedom and remembering fallen party members. The first national song, "*Das Deutschlandlied*," had been used as an unofficial anthem from 1870 onwards. The music was composed by Franz Josef Haydn (1841). Although the song was often played as a national anthem between 1870 and 1914, it was not until 1922 that it was officially named as the German anthem. On the politics surrounding the German national anthem, see Hermand (2002).

24 The gravity of such activity could range from looking for pamphlets and posters, attacking newsstands with enemy papers or conducting searches on potential suspects (for armbands, badges or weapons) (Rosenhaft 1983: 142-3). Indeed this patrolling of the street is indicative of broader changes occurring within the Communist Party and its constituency. The rising unemployment rates following the inflation bust of 1924 resulted in new party recruits being more likely to be unemployed or younger (due to high youth unemployment). With the move of the proletariat from the factory to the street, much agitation arose around labour exchanges and welfare offices.

25 Düsseldorf theatre director Wolfgang Langhoff was involved in "*Nordwest ran*," which was mainly directed against the activities of the right-wing parties, making them particularly hated by the Nazis. One of the members was Hilarius "Larry" Gilges, a German of African descent. Due to his involvement, and mixed-racial background, Gilges was immediately targeted following the Nazi takeover and was beaten to death by SA men in early 1933 (Riemenschneider 1987: 201-3; 2001: 131-3). Langhoff was later taken to the Börgermoor concentration camp, in 1933, where he wrote the well-known German resistance song "Börgermoor soldiers" (Rischbieter 2000: 103-8; Meiszies 1992).

26 The members would travel in a truck to a town or neighbourhood and act out a scene, or perform a full play in a worker's hall. These plays were often quite dogmatic with characterisations based on stereotypes such as the noble worker against the greedy capitalist. Due to bans on official demonstrations, Agit-Prop groups sometimes conducted activities similar to the Communist Party's "*Blitz*" style of demonstration, where groups would descend on an area, but would disperse and regroup elsewhere if the police arrived. See Seelbach (1989: 251-9); Rosenhaft (1983: 39).

27 This also led to increased caution amongst theatre owners about hiring out venues to communist groups (Seelbach 1989: 176-7). Despite official bans on public marches in 1932, at least one incident occurred in Düsseldorf in November 1932 when SA troops and military bands rendered police "helpless." For a sympathetic account of this event, which cites the central role played by the Horst Wessel song and the "Germany Awake!" slogan, see "Ein grosser" (1934).

28 The SS (*Schutzstaffel*) was the name given to the elite paramilitary group that developed out of the SA during the 1920s, under the direction of Heinrich Himmler.

29 Hanns Ludin, *SA-marschierendes Volk* (1939), qtd in Campbell (1993: 662).

30 See Hoffmann and Berchtold (1932). The film is sometimes referred to as "Hitler's Flight over Germany." For the (visual) marketing of Hitler as a brand product in the 1920s and 1930s, see Behrenbeck (1996b).

31 *Völkischer Beobachter* (15 July 1932), qtd in Paul (1992: 198). Hitler and other leading figures were banned from radio broadcasts until at least after the reformed radio laws of 1932. When appearing in Düsseldorf for the first time in mid-February 1932, the predominant experience was of Hitler's "mediated" voice since the speech for 8,000 people in the Maschinenhalle was transmitted into the adjacent Tonhalle for at least a further 15,000 listeners. Hitler had made an earlier appearance, on 26 January 1932, inside a closed gathering for key industrialists and public figures at the Industrie-Club Düsseldorf. After an unsuccessful radio recording in a studio in this same period, all subsequent speeches were given from sizeable public events (see Schabrod 1978: 12; Ackermann 2006; Hagen 2006). For an account of Hitler's emergence as a "media phenomenon," see Fulda (2010).

32 When describing the popular phenomenon of *Schlagerlied* (hit song) in the same period, Brian Currid summarises this trend as the emergence of a "commercial mode of national fantasy." In Currid's engaging analysis of *Schlager* music, films and star actors, he ultimately deduces that the circulation and multiple

cultural functions of the *Schlager* result in a politics that is "radically undecidable" and escapes clear-cut distinctions between music as either resistance or domination (2000: 175).

33 The company Siemens & Halske launched their "*Großlautsprecher-Auto*" in 1927, yet their use in election campaigns only appears to have occurred from 1932 onwards (Göttert 1998: 446-7). See also Epping-Jäger (2004b: 58-60)

34 In 1932, Berlin Communists developed the "*Drei Pfeile*" (three arrows) symbol in response to the Nazi swastika. Commenting on this development, Goebbels complained that the left had stolen their propaganda strategies: "we have worn our badges for twelve years. […] We have used the 'Heil Hitler' greeting for twelve years; now they raise their hand and say 'Freedom'" (Joseph Goebbels, *Revolution der Deutschen* [1933: 103], in Paul [1992: 178]).

35 See *Völkische Beobachter* (30/31 Dec. 1928), qtd in Paul (1992: 140). Historian E.P. Thompson cites these practices as drawing on pre-existing practices of humiliation and blackmail from the early modern period known as *Katzenmusik* (1991: 524, 531). See my following chapter for an extended reflection on this issue.

36 Already in March 1933, "*Ostjuden*" were having their citizenship revoked (if it had been granted during the Weimar years) and their work rights curtailed. Many were forced to apply for short-term extensions, while others experienced repeated attacks on their businesses and defamation in the press and on radio. See Sparing (2000: 219-25).

37 In Düsseldorf, the first months following the regime change were marked by a wave of violent murders of those with left-wing politics and raids of working-class neighbourhoods. Hundreds of communists and SPD members were searched and detained, and many were subjected to torture and death in SA cellars around the city. See, for example, Bösken (1997: 82-4); Schabrod (1978: 12-5, 25).

38 These special occasions included Adolf Hitler's birthday, official party days, 9 May (National Day of Labor) and 9 November (a day of mourning party members who died in the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch in Munich).

39 F.H. Woweries, *NS-Feierstunden: Ein Hilfsbuch für Parteistellen, SA, SS, HJ, NSBO* (1932: 21), qtd in Paul (1992: 130).

40 For a similar discussion in relation to communist China in the 1930s and 1940s, see Hung (1996: 903-5), and in early-twentieth-century Britain, see Revill (2000).

41 Musicologists have warned against the overemphasis on the role of lyrics, particularly in the case of pop(ular) music (see, for instance, Simon Frith [1996]). Where possible, I will draw attention to the sonic and rhythmic qualities of songs in performance, and not only the musical genre and lyrics.

42 The Schlageter Memorial Association was right-wing in orientation and many of its members also belonged to the Nazi Party. Another example of a dedicated song is the marching song "*Schlageter-Nationalmarsch*," written by Paul Boeddinghaus in 1923, and usually set to the music of "*Ich hatt' einem Kameraden.*" See the 1933 recording in the German national archive, as listed in Gillum and Wyrschöwy (2000: 122).

43 The location of Schlageter's death was the Golzheimer Heath, an empty area of land near the Nord-Friedhof (cemetery), and near the banks of the River Rhine in the northern part of Düsseldorf.

44 "*Das Lied vom 'Verlorenen Haufen.*'" Original German lyrics:
1. *Rhein, Ruhr und Pfalz. Und – Gefängnisnacht./Urteil und Kerker! Verstört, verwacht –/Golzheimer Heide. Schlageters Tod./Leuchtende Lohe. – Morgenrot!/Weisst Du es noch?*
2. *Des Dritten Reiches erster Soldat!/ Dir gilt die Treue! Denn du warst Tat./ Du bist das Reich. Du bist Nation./Bist Deutschlands Glaube, Volkes Sohn.*
This excerpt is from Otto Paust, "Deutsche Verse," cited in full in Glombowski (1934: 443-4). I would like to thank Jay Baird for providing me with this reference and the English translation (see also Baird 1990: 13).

45 1. *Bei dumpfen Trommelwirbel/zu Benrath an dem Rhein,/da ging ein blühend Leben/um jähen Tode ein./Albert Schlageter, deutscher Held,/Franzosenwut hat dich gefällt,/Du starbst für Deutschland Ehre.*
2. *Man liess dich niederknien/Aus Niedertracht und Tücke,/Den Wunsch aufrecht zu sterben,/Wies man mit Hohn zurück./ Zwölf Schüsse krachten alsogleich,/Kameraden, wisst im deutschen Reich,/Hier fiel ein Offizier, ein deutscher Offizier.*

3. *Mit Schmerzzerrissenem Herzen/Und stillverhaltner Wut,/Sahn wir dein Leben enden/Und fliessen teures Blut./Dein ungebrochner Mannesstolz/Blieb fest wie deutsches Eichen-/Holz, im starken Heldentum.*

4. *Deutscher Andreas Hofer,/Du Perle deutscher Treu,/Dein Glanz kann nie verblassen,/wird immer werden neu./All Deutschland schwört, trotz aller Not,/ Zum Dank für den Mätyrertod:/Die Rache sie ist mein!*

These lyrics can be found in a file on the Schlageter memorial museum collection [BA (Berlin) R/8038 (document 267)]. See also listing for a recording of this "*Schlageter Lied*" (date unknown) in the German national radio archive in Gillum and Wyrschöwy (2000: 122).

46 See BA (Berlin) R/8038 (documents 1 to 19).

47 The items from the early 1920s sought by the team members, many of whom joined a committee for a permanent Schlageter Memorial Museum in 1934, included flags, photos, badges and witness reports.

48 There were some negotiations with Düsseldorf city administration regarding the site for the proposed memorial, but the SPD opposed its construction. Eventually, the council gave a portion of Nordfriedhof, but would not pay any of the expenses (Boehm 1956).

49 See correspondence in 1927 between German Chancellor Marx, Rhine Province Governor Dr Horion, and Schlageter committee members Dr Wilms-Posen and Constans Hilmersdorff (BA [Berlin] R43 I/834 Fiche II [47-57]). Part of the fragility of diplomatic relations was due to German foreign minister Stresemann's emphasis on regaining Germany's lost colonies from Britain and France. See Murphy (1997), in particular chapter 9, on how geopolitical thinking influenced Weimar era politics.

50 The event was held several days prior to the anniversary on 26 May, since it was a public holiday long weekend for Whitsun, which would allow more people to travel to Golzheim (Knauff 1995: 180).

51 The main participating groups named by the organisers were the *Stahlhelm, Offiziervereine* and *Kriegervereine* (soldier and returned soldier organisations), *Jungdeutscher Orden* (a youth organisation formed in 1920) and the *Cartellverband der katholischen deutschen Studentenschaft* (Catholic student organisation).

52 First the *Kriegsverein* would enter through Gate Z and take their place in Ring C (One), leaving the stairways clear. After them, the *Jungdeutsche Orden* would enter the same way and take their place in Ring C (Three). Next, the *Stahlhelm* entered through Gate Y in rows of eight to take their position in Ring C (Two). Schlageter's family and battalion comrades were to gather at the steps near Gate Z and follow the political leaders into the restricted A area. Honoured guests and press members were placed in Ring B (Three and Four), in order to have a clear view of the cross, while the other student and officer groups took their places in Ring B (One and Two).

53 Figures ranged from 25,000 to 50,000 to 80,000 or 90,000. See, for instance, Ausschuss (1931); Weidenhaupt (1979, 1982).

54 Dr Robert Lehr was a member of the DNVP (*Deutschnationale Volkspartei*), which was dissolved by the Nazis in 1933. Lehr, who had been appointed mayor in 1924, was also thrown out of office in 1933. Dr Karl Jarres was the German interior minister between 1923 and 1925, and was jailed for a short period due to his opposition to the Ruhr authorities occupying Duisburg. As conservative member of the DVP (*Deutsche Volkspartei*), Jarres was discharged from his official duties in 1933.

55 See documentation in StaD III/739 (document 81); Knauff (1995: 181). Cuno served as chancellor between 1922 and 1923, in a left-centre coalition, and is best known for his declaration for "passive resistance" against the Ruhr occupation.

56 See photograph, circa 1928, in StaD XXIII/1362 [document 6, photo number 105-600-002]. In 1933, a newspaper photo story special asserted that on 16 March 1929 communists had destroyed the first memorial construction at the site of Schlageter's death ("Die neue" 1933: 8).

57 Michael Knauff has emphasised that the 1931 and 1933 Schlageter commemorative events were very similar in their appeal to Schlageter's spirit, both with an emphasis on the role of youth and the strong reliance on Christian symbolism and traditional hymns (1995: 191). For a comparative approach to Weimar and Nazi commemoration practices, see Behrenbeck (1996a; 1998).

58 "*das Gefühl der schicksalhaften Verbundenheit der neuen Volksgemeinschaft.*"

See Rudolf Wolters, "Die Bauten des Dritten Reiches," in *Deutscher Wille, Aufbau und Wehr – Jahrbuch* (1937), qtd in Schäfers (2001: 119).

59 For the differences in acoustical resonance between city streets and open spaces, see Augoyard and Torgue (2005: 104-5).

60 The committee named the groups involved in the 1931 event as the *Kriegervereine*, *Stahlhelm*, NSDAP, *Jungdeutsche*, *Studentische Korporationen*, *bergbauliche Vereine*, *Schutzvereine*. This is a broader cross-section of the (conservative-oriented) political spectrum than is usually acknowledged in source material (von Burgsdorff 1931).

61 Fuhrmeister also notes that all Schlageter memorials realised in 1933 and 1934 across Germany reflected a 1920s modernist architectural style (1998: 67-71).

62 The prize committee included Albert Rosenberg, Baldur von Schirach, Gauleiter Friedrich Karl Florian, Düsseldorf Regierungspräsident Carl Christian Schmid, Mayor Hans Wagenführ, Professor Grund (Düsseldorf architect), Albert Speer (architect), Düsseldorf Kunstdezernat Ebel and Düsseldorf Gaupropagandaleiter Hermann Brouwers. See "Stadtbauliches Neuland" (1934).

63 *Schaffendes Volk* was given the English title "A Nation at Work" in publicity material. For more on Göring and the "Four Year Plan," see Evans (2005: 322-411).

64 It would also be necessary, this author asserted, that both the "heroic" and "tragic" aspects to Schlageter's story would resonate within this site. See "Ein Schlageter-Forum" (1934: n. pag.).

65 "Ein Besuch" (1934: n. pag.). See also Stefanie Schäfers (2001) for a detailed examination of the *Schaffendes Volk* exhibition. Schäfer outlines tensions between various organising parties, along with the event's economic, aesthetic and propaganda dimensions.

66 See also "Das Düsseldorfer" (1934).

67 See *Schaffendes Volk* brochure with English, German and French descriptions (1937: n. pag.). The visitor statistics were cited in the film *Reichsausstellung "Schaffendes Volk" Düsseldorf 1937* (1937) produced by Reichsbund der Deutschen Beamten e.V. [BA (Filmarchiv)].

68 The electrics company AEG was involved in creating light and water shows, and the Magnetophone was on display at their stand in the "Elektroindustrie" pavilion ("Die AEG" 1937).

69 Dr Richard Grün, Handelskammer Düsseldorf, also complained about the supposedly commercial nature of the events and their publicity as typical of the "liberalist state before the [Nazi takeover]" (*liberalistischen Staaten vor dem Umbruch geschaffen wurde*). In internal correspondence, the Düsseldorf Propaganda department defended its marketing of the exhibition, noting that the Nazi movement was not against advertising or publicity strategies. In their defence, the press service also noted that Düsseldorf was already an "*Ausstellungsstadt*" and "*Kunststadt*" and had held large exhibitions in 1836, 1856, 1880, 1902, 1904, 1911 and 1926. See Grün (1935); Memo (1935); Memo (1936); "Rede" (1936).

70 The Schlageter committee, too, quickly sought to align itself with the Nazi regime in 1933 and asked Hitler to be the patron of the memorial site. Following the 1933 memorial events, they too were "reorganised" and dissolved in June 1933 (Cornebise 1976: 8).

71 As I noted earlier, Walter Benjamin has argued for the radical opposition between Communist and National Socialist aesthetic-political strategies, although these strategies may be said to perform a similar function in performing shared identity and struggling to occupy urban space.

72 A thirty-minute broadcast of these events, as recorded in the archive directory (1929-1936) of the national radio company RRG, reveal that emphasis was placed on original sound recordings of the procession to Unter den Linden, which was then interspersed with announcer "listener reports," vox pop interviews (with a metal worker, a student, SA member, Stahlhelm member and a foreign correspondent) and speeches by ministers Hermann Göring and Joseph Goebbels. See description in *Schallaufnahmen der Reichs-Rundfunk GmbH* (1936: 32).

73 For more on acoustics and electroacoustic experimentation, particularly for large events during National Socialism, see Donhauser (2007).

74 Those present in the *Deutsches Theater* (Berlin) included Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, prominent propagandist Albert Rosenberg, Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick, and Defence Minister Werner von Blomberg, along with writers Emil Strauss and Wilhelm Schäfer, and conductors Wilhelm Furtwängler and Max von Schillings (Rühle 2002: 61).

75 Hanns Johst was a former soldier and playwright, who sought to strike a chord with the Nazi interpretation of the Schlageter myth. The play is dedicated to Adolf Hitler and Johst's subsequent popularity within the Nazi Party resulted in an appointment as the president of the Reich Chamber of Literature in 1935. The Schlageter play is dominated by a conflict between generations, with the younger characters, such as the young August, exclaiming that "we young people, who stand by Schlageter do not stand by him because he is the last soldier of the world war, but because he is the first soldier of the Third Reich!!!" (see Johst 1933: 85, qtd in Mosse 1966: 118). The portrayal of Schlageter as a New Man also included a stylised "German girl" character as Schlageter's sweetheart (Alexandra). This portrayal had ideological undertones, and, as one reviewer noted, was suggestive of a new generation of young women who were "independent, honest, brave" ("Schlageter" 1933).

76 "*Deutschland! Ein letztes Wort! Ein Wunsch! Befehl! Deutschland!!! Erwache! Entflamme!! Entbrenne!! Brenn' ungeheuer!! Und ihr… Gebt Feuer!!*" (Johst 1933: 135). It should be noted that this recording is from the radio play version, in which the final words differ slightly from the theatre performance.

77 Indeed, philosopher Martin Heidegger also emphasised to his Freiburg students that they should be inspired by Schlageter (himself a former student at Freiburg University) due to his patriotic self-sacrifice and his belief in "the future awakening of the *Volk*" (1933/1938: 96).

78 See, for example, the reviews that observe this theme, some of which also express certain criticisms of Johst's play (Diebold 1933; "Hans Johsts" 1933; "Im grossen" 1933).

79 *Die freudlose Gasse* (The Joyless Street, 1925), directed by G.W. Pabst, was part of the "street film" genre in this period. See, for instance, Sutcliffe (1984) on this genre.

80 Due to the large numbers of visitors registered to attend the event, Düsseldorf residents were asked to provide free accommodation, and there were donations of food and tobacco goods from large companies in the local area (See Hüttenberger 1989: 480).

81 Cuomo gives other examples of propagandistic radio plays from 1933, such as "*Nacht der Toten*" or "*Deutsche Passion*." The former, as he points out, dramatises the attempted Munich coup in November 1923 with a sound montage of the German and French national anthems, gunshot sounds, the Horst Wessel song, along with slogans, catchphrases and references to the World War I "stab in the back" myth (51). This example, I would argue, testifies to early attempts to employ song and sound effects in radio for political effect. Not only dramatised histories, but also fiction-based radio genres played a significant role in communicating Nazi ideology and appealing to listeners (Döhl 1992).

82 "*Sein Tod war ein flammendes Zeichen für das Wiedererwachen des deutschen Volkes,*" censorship card no. 33506, issued on 22 March 1933 by Film-Prüfstelle Berlin [BA-Filmarchiv].

83 "*Hört Ihr die Toten mahnen?*"

84 See Fuhrmeister (2004: 7-8). This exhibition also established a firm historical narrative about Schlageter, divided in four parts: The bloody end to World War I; Schlageter fighting in the Baltic region; Schlageter fighting in Oberschlesien; Schlageter fighting in the Ruhr and Rhine area. In 1934, an exhibition titled "*Kampf der NSDAP*" also included an expanded exhibition space (*Schlageter Halle*) displayed Schlageter's story and souvenirs from his life and his comrades. See StaD XXIII/739 (document 77); Ernst (n.d., circa May 1934).

85 Friedrich Bubenden, ed., *Deutschland muss leben: Gesammelte Briefe von Albert Leo Schlageter* (1934), qtd in Mosse (1966: 112-6).

86 "Programm," *Die Werag (Westdeutschlands Heimat-Funkzeitschrift)* 21 May 1933: 33. School principals were given guidelines to make a speech prior to the broadcast, which should be staged as a special celebration.

87 Inge Scholl, "To Be Part of a Movement!" (excerpt from *Die weisse Rose* [1961: 10-5], rpt in Mosse (1966: 271-4, here 271).

88 See Paul Rothmund, *Albert Leo Schlageter 1923-1983: Der erste Soldat des 3. Reiches? Der Wanderer ins Nichts? Eine typische deutsche Verlegenheit? Ein Held?* (1983: 1), cited in Fuhrmeister (2004: 6).

89 See letter dated 8 May 1933, from Interior Minister Frick to Hermann Göring (Frick 1933a). The letter includes a programme with the official events planned for the Schlageter commemoration.

90 This quote was published a few days later in the newspaper *Der Angriff*, 29 May 1933, cited in Baird (1990: 37).

91 "*Kameraden. Deutsche Männer und Frauen. [...] Da fehlten einige hier hieraus zu dieser Stelle und dieser Stelle war vergessen, war verschüttet, sowie das Andenken und das Opfer an Schlageter, vergessen und scheinbar verschüttet war. Und dieser wenigen Männer, alte Bewährte, durch Kampf erprobte, SA-Leute, die scharrten damals mit ihren Händen, mit ihren Nägeln, erneut die Stelle hier, und schaufelten erneut im deutschen Volke das Gedenken und das Bekenntnis zu diesem Mann, zu diesem Toten. Kameraden, das Leben ist schwer, das Sterben ist gewaltig.*" (Deulig-Tonwoche, DTW nr. 74. (1933) [BA-Filmarchiv]). For another, slightly different version printed on the cover of the *Düsseldorfer Tageblatt* 29 May 1933, see Fuhrmeister (1998: 65).

92 Several prominent areas in the inner city had already been given new names in April 1933. One side of the *Königsallee* was renamed *Albert-Leo-Schlageter-Allee*, while the *Corneliusplatz* was renamed *Albert-Leo-Schlageter-Platz* until 1945. Two other central locations were renamed as *Adolf-Hitler-Strasse* and *Adolf-Hitler-Platz* (Klemfeld 1996: 31).

93 The official party event beginning at 5pm inside the stadium included a sports and horse-riding display, musical accompaniment and party speeches.

94 See *Die Werag (Westdeutschlands Heimat-Funkzeitschrift)* 28 May 1933: 12.

95 See "*Die Schlageterfeiern*" (1933: 7); Memo (1933).

96 Just prior to the Schlageter festival in 1933, Hitler accepted the invitation to become patron of the Schlageter committee. In internal correspondence of 8 May 1933, it appears that Hitler had confirmed his attendance. However, a letter to the chancellery, on 19 May 1933, supports Hitler's decision not to attend the event. The writer suggests that Hitler's attendance might give foreign observers the wrong idea about his "peace intentions" and that the planned events might not suit his "modest, unostentatious character" (*schlichten, bescheidenen Charakter des Herrn Reichskanzlers*). See Frick (1933a); "Letter" (1933). It is instructive to note that these deliberations occurred just prior to the Protection of National Symbols Law, passed on 19 May 1933 (Betts 2004). This concern about casting Hitler in an appropriate light thus led to restrictions on the circulation of his image, but this case study has not revealed such restrictions in attempts to use sound to appeal to both the general public and party members. During the period of the Schlageter commemorations, Goebbels gave a pre-election speech in Danzig, while Hitler gave a speech in the Munich party headquarters (*Schallaufnahmen* 1936: 401).

97 The last Schlageter commemorative event seems to have occurred amidst the jubilation of Germany's military victories and invasions in May 1940.

98 There had already been several attempts to electroacoustically record and transmit the Cologne cathedral bells in 1924, and a microphone and loudspeaker system was installed in the cathedral interior in 1927. The symbolism of the bells was established for the west German radio station at the withdrawal of French troops (*Befreiungsfeier*) on 31 January 1926. This celebration was given undue significance as a syndicated media event, although it was later recalled that there were problems with outdoor broadcasting techniques (Göttert 1998: 426-9; Eckert 1943: 23-4, 233).

99 In late March 1938, there was a similar preparation for elections on 10 April, with large billboard posters pasted on street corners and houses. A week before the election, Joseph Goebbels gave a speech in Düsseldorf, which was simultaneously broadcast around the city via thirty public loudspeakers (*Fernsprechern*). The day before the election, Saturday, 9 April, a two-minute silence was held at midday, followed by sirens wailing (*Sirenengeheul*) and church bell chimes. Hitler gave a ninety-minute radio speech that evening followed by the "*Niederländische Dankgebet.*" Once the election results were released the following evening, there were bell chimes, large firework displays on the Rhine banks and music groups all over the city celebrating the 99 per cent win (Herzfeld 1982: 93-7).

100 Julian Henriques develops the concept of sonic dominance in relation to the Reggae Sound System in Jamaica (2003: 451-3). I use power here less in terms of his description of a dynamic and creative activity, but rather to designate authoritarian power relations and practices of body politics in urban environments.

Notes to Chapter 2

1 *Karneval* emerged from pagan rituals celebrating the end of the winter (see Burke 1978; Davis 1975). In the German Rhineland, the carnival season officially opens on 11 November and its high point lasts around one week prior to the first day of Lent (Ash Wednesday) in late February.

2 Bakhtin's analysis focuses on the central role of the grotesque image of the body in medieval folk culture and speech. According to Bakhtin's concept of "grotesque realism," the body took on a collective and universal form, as the "growing, and continually renewed body of the people" (1968: 22-5). Grotesque imagery thus affirmed cyclical processes of death and birth, degradation and renewal. By contrast, he argues, the Renaissance ushered in a private and individualised understanding of the body. For more on medieval carnivals leading to revolt, see Le Roy Ladurie (1979); Davis (1978).

3 Bakhtin is often accused of maintaining a too-strict opposition between popular and official culture. See, for example, Gurevich (1988: 176-85, 208-9). To his credit, Bakhtin does observe interchange between the popular and official, noting that "medieval laughter is directed at the same object as medieval seriousness" (1968: 88).

4 Indeed, his analysis tends to privilege verbal, visual and gestural sign systems in Rabelais' texts (Pomoroska 1968: x). There is some slippage as marketplace and carnival sounds are overwhelmingly situated as language, sometimes described as "images," which are analysed according to their semiotic, symbolic or communicative import (see Bakhtin 1968: 195).

5 Writing in the 1970s, Attali was reacting against traditional approaches to music as an abstract art and historicist models of music history. Instead, he vouches for a new historiography that would also influence the future, bringing about a new era of reflexive "composition" and communication.

6 In these societies, as Attali notes, we also find "the same concern for controlling music – the implicit or explicit channeler of violence, the regulator of society" (13). Drawing on Breughel, Attali identifies four distinct époques in the economic relationships between society and music: Festival (ritual), Masks (representation power), Penitents (repetition), Round Dance (composition). Put simply, Festival refers to the sacrificial ritual of the medieval era; Representation is the containment of ritual in closed spaces like concert halls; Repetition is the commodification of sound with sound technologies; and Composition is projected as a future development involving new forms of sociality and non-commercial interaction with musical forms (19, 31-2).

7 I will discuss surveillance in more depth in Chapter Three. In this context, it is relevant to note that Bakhtin's utopian understanding of carnival is often treated as a reaction to his own era. Philosopher Simon Critchley, for instance, calls Bakhtin's account of unofficial culture "an implied critique of the official culture and hierarchy of Stalinism and its aesthetics of socialist realism" (2002: 83).

8 The collective concept of the body, too, was displaced by an individual understanding of the body as a complete whole. Attali aligns this development with the rise of the musical concept of harmony. He argues that around 1800, the European bourgeoisie had created an "ideology of scientific harmony" in which "dissonances (conflicts and struggles) are forbidden, unless they are merely marginal and highlight the quality of the channelizing order" (1985: 61). See also Stallybrass and White (1986) on how bourgeois culture limited the place of transgression and the carnivalesque, which, they argue, were subsumed into bourgeois forms of hysteria.

9 On the bourgeois underpinnings of German anti-noise movements in the first decades of the twentieth century, see Baron (1982), Bijsterveld (2001).

10 1. *Wie wor dat fröher doch so schwer,/Als alles trok so hin und her,/Dat hätt jetzt endlich obgehöt./Wä nit will, kritt wat ob die Pöt./Och he bei uns im Karneval,/Do ging dich dat mit Knall und Fall,/Mer hant jetzt wieder neue Mot,/Und alles sing dat Leed vom Hot:*

[Refrain:] *Alles onger ene Hot, sonne schöne Hot/Dä steht doch jedem jot!/Wenn dä Kop och noch so dick,/Grad för dicke Köp ist hä besonder schick. [Bei der Wiederholung schunkeln]*

2. *Et Griesche sökt schon zwanzig Johr/Ne jonge Mann mit schwarze Hor./Hä muss och Pfeffermönzkes hann,/Damit mer dovon lewe kann./Vor allem muss er rasserein/und stolz ob sinne Stammbaum sein./Et Griet sengt laut in sinner Not:/Ach wör ich onger ene Hot.*

"*Alles onger ene Hot*" (1934), lyrics by Max Boosen, president of the Vereingte Düsseldorfer Karnevalgesellschaften (Hüttenberger 1989: 459). The lyrics can be found in "Zugprogramm" (1934) [ULB Düsseldorf].

11 This material can be seen in the compilation video *Es rauscht der Rhein* (1951), which includes films of Rose Monday parades made by Düsseldorf cinema manager Fritz Genandt from the late 1920s through to the 1930s. The footage also includes a man with a blackened face dancing for the camera, with parade visitors laughing at his appearance and behaviour.

12 The caption for the photo claims that all carnival events in Düsseldorf were held under the banner of KdF (Friedrich 1934: 24). See also a photo of WHW signs in parades from 1939 in StaD photo collection.

13 For a study of the *Winterhilfe* programme and the KdF more generally, see Baranowski (2004). After the extravagant Rose Monday parade, a presentation of the newly-appointed Prince Carnival and Princess Venetia in the Düsseldorf concert hall also included the presence of high-ranking members of the party, the city council and government who were met with loud cheers. See also Heister 1935: 30; Czwoydzinski (1937: 47); Houben (1999: 90).

14 The "Women's Carnival Day" (*Weiberfastnacht*) is on the first Thursday of the carnival long weekend. For anxieties about inappropriate behaviour between men and women, see Czwoydzinski (1930: 66); "Düsseldorfs Karnevalsonntag" (1932).

15 Victor Klemperer's diary entry for 1 March 1938 notes that Hitler had taken part in carnival celebrations in Berlin (1995: 398).

16 This suggests a concern about the (over) use of party symbols and visual images, and an uncertainty about carnival's status in relation to the regime. On the Protection of National Symbols Law, passed on 19 May 1933, due to the frequent use of party symbols in consumer goods following the Nazi takeover. See Betts (2004: 34); Berghoff (1999: 92-3).

17 By contrast, Bakhtin notes that when Rabelais observes forms of sexual licence there is "no moral condemnation" (1968: 313).

18 In the 2008 WDR documentary *Heil Hitler und Alaaf* it is revealed that Cologne comedian Karl Hüpper was put under surveillance and banned from public speech (*Sprechverbot*), due to his critical washtub speeches.

19 See also Max Weber's emphasis on the market square as central to the (political) public sphere in the medieval era (Chapter Seven in Weber 1956); Bahrdt 1974: 58-95).

20 "*…die unmittelbarer Eindrücke des vorbeiziehenden Zuges geschildert und gleichzeitig seine Geräusche, besonders seine Musik durch das Mikrophon aufgenommen werden. Dadurch entsteht eine Art akustischer Film*" (*Die Werag* 25 Feb. 1927: 27). See Schrage (2000: 221-65) for how the concept of "acoustic film" compares with contemporary debates over radio culture and experimentation in the mid-1920s.

21 "*Wir haben schon einmal von dem Kölner Karneval gehört, aber, dass dort so viel Humor daheim ist, haben wir nicht geahnt, und [wir waren] bis zum letzten Klatscher [...] bei Ihnen*" (Letter from Cilla K. and Marianne S. Hagenberg. *Die Werag* [*Westdeutschlands Heimat-Funkzeitschrift*] 19 Jan. 1928: 253).

22 In the Rhineland, the 1928 carnival season was declared a success, with seventy thousand regional and foreign visitors joining locals to celebrate the Rose Monday parade and broadcasts from guild sittings. The carnival broadcast slot ran for over three hours, twice as long as the previous year, and included a short carnival-themed concert by the station's small orchestra as an "Intermezzo" between parade events.

23 In 1928, a float titled "the Press" in the Düsseldorf Rose Monday parade included a man personifying a radio set: dressed in a box with dials and receivers (*Es rauscht* 1951). Interestingly, one of the other floats this year was titled the "Machine Human" in reference to Fritz Lang's *Metropolis* (1929). The embodiment of radio icons as part of carnival fantasy can also be found the following year, with a man dressed as the Langenberg transmission tower, with its structure painted on his white jumpsuit. In addition to wearing a sign saying "Caution High Voltage!," he had an antenna attached to his head ("Der Langenberger" 1929).

24 The broadcast *Büttenreden* showed strong similarities to (radio) comedy and

variety segments, with their emphasis on wordplay and the build-up to a punchline at the end of each stanza.

25 The Frankfurt radio station (*Südwestdeutsche Rundfunk Dienst A.G.* or *Sürag*), for example, was more preoccupied with pressing social issues, with programme titles such as "Protective Police and the Public in Street Disturbances" replacing its syndication of carnival programmes (*Die Werag* 26 Jan. 1930: 31). This type of programme might be seen as an exception given the sense that Weimar radio excluded political affairs, or only discussed such issues when they were no longer topical (Hagen 2005: 79-80). For an argument for the ongoing social relevance of *Karneval* radio programming, see Tasiemka (1930).

26 In 1930, the President of the German Reich somewhat relaxed the ban on gathering and processions in public space, yet those celebrating carnival were forbidden to carry any kinds of sticks or hard objects, and children under the age of fourteen were not allowed to participate in any carnival events. By 1931, the Düsseldorf District President had placed a police ban on wearing face masks, make-up and costumes, along with throwing confetti and streamers. See Klersch (1938; 1961: 173); Jeggle (1972: 42); Bauman and Link (1994: 31-4); Bösken (1997: 74).

27 "*die naziotischen Hoppeditze des Oberjecken Goebbels*" ("Düsseldorfs Karnevalsonntag" 1932). "*Jecken*" means "crazies" or "clowns" and usually refers to all those who celebrate carnival. In this context, the "Oberjeck" would imply that Goebbels is the leader of all the crazy people.

28 See the cover image titled "Sabotage" (Paul Scheurich) in *Simplicissimus* 37.47 (19 Feb. 1933).

29 See Dymion (1930). In July 1932, Chancellor von Papen approved extensive radio that resulted in increased state ownership and unprecedented control over regional radio stations. Adelheid von Saldern (2004) has suggested that by 1933, radio was already firmly under state control, with an increased presence of right-wing and conservative members in radio station management boards and the growing National Socialist radio group that lobbied against stations.

30 According to the catalogues of the German national radio archive (Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv), this broadcast is the sole remaining audio recording of a broadcast from either carnival sittings or street parades in the period prior to 1945.

31 The performer speaks in prose of auditioning for an operetta film and makes jokes about popular films and cinema advertising, before suggesting several titles for film hit songs (*Tonfilmschlager*). The audience can be heard laughing at this satirised account of popular female aspirations for becoming an opera singer or film star. Even though male cross-dressing in carnival had been banned in Cologne by 1937, yet Düsseldorf brochures show it still to be current practice in 1939 (Prinzengard 1939: 3).

32 By around 1939, German radio stations began using magnetic tape recorders, such as the Magnetophone, which aided their ability for mixing pre-recorded sound sources. See, for instance, the propaganda film *Rundfunk im Kriege* (1944), which gives a stylistic depiction of how stations were using tape equipment in outdoor and studio recording. See also photos in *Handbuch des Deutschen Rundfunks 1939/40* (Weinbrenner 1939: 208-9); Timper (1990: 22-3).

33 "*Heute Abend soll zeigen, dass der Düsseldorfer Karneval volksverbunden ist. [...] Dass hier Wurzel echt im Volke ist. Und dass auch her hier jetzt zur Beginn der Karnevalsaison, die wurde so hoch gehen. Wir werden einen zweiten Teil, einen Ausschnitt aus dem ganzen deutschen Karneval erleben. Die Gäste aus dem ganzen Reich sind ja zur Tagung in Düsseldorf erschienen: aus München, aus Mainz, aus Wien, aus Köln, aus Münster, aus Aachen sind sie da. Wir werden im zweiten Teil eine bunte Reihe fröhliche Überraschungen miterleben.*"

34 "*Ja liebe Hörer, Sie merkten schon an der Musik, dass dieser Streifzug durch den deutschen Karneval nur gedacht ist. Das ist die 'Berliner Luft, Luft Luft.' [...] Die Berliner haben echten Berliner Humor mitgebracht, eine Botschaft überbracht nach Düsseldorf, und dann haben die uns ihre Spezialitäten mitgebracht – die Berliner Weiße, Berliner Pfannkuchen und nun erklingt es hier 'In Mainz am schönen Rhein.' Vorher war Wien zu Gast bei uns in Düsseldorf. Das spielte die Musik 'Wien bleibt Wien.'*"

35 "*Und Afrika und Kameroon,/Die haben auch einen Sender nun,/Ringsingen Deutschland, Schwarze Brüder/'Nach der Heimat möchte' ich wieder.*'"

36 For the treatment of black Germans during Nazism, see Oguntoye (1997), Lusane (2002), Martin and Alozo (2004).

37 "*U.S.A., das gelobte Land./Amerika, die neue Welt./Sie ist ein großes Rosen-Feld./ Dort duften Blumen, Süß und Lind,/die in Deutschland längst verduftet sind.*"

38 In a television interview, historian Max-Leo Schwering observed that guild sittings in the late 1930s were dominated by party members (See *Heil Hitler und Alaaf* 2008).

39 "*Und nun schließ ich mit Helau./Grüß Euch noch vom M.C.V./Hakt Euch unter, Hakt Euch ein,/Gott schütze die Reden, am deutschen Rhein,/Immer lustig wollen wir sein. Helau!*"

40 See, for instance, Spickhoff (1929b; 1938; 1951); Czwoydzinski (1951); Klersch (1961); Morgenbrod (1986). This discourse has continued to the present day, particularly in self-published guild histories. Several videos made by the fundraising organisation Förderverein Düsseldorf Karneval e.V. (available for visitors to the Haus des Karnevals museum, Düsseldorf) reproduce this discourse and a spokesperson for the organisation (Hille Erwin) argues for the need to preserve carnival as a "cultural treasure" (*Kulturgut*).

41 It should be noted that these three points refer respectively to Attali's categories of music and sociality: ritual, representation and repetition. The fourth historical stage that Attali anticipated was that of composition, which would herald new social relations and interaction with music (20).

42 Despite the difficulties in hosting a public carnival season, there were various balls and dance events, with large numbers of people also flocking to cabarets, bars and halls. From the mid-1920s onwards, costume parties gained increasing popularity in the Rhineland, particularly with the rag balls organised by progressive artist and worker groups (Zepter 1997).

43 "*Jazz ist Revolution. Jazz is Auflehnung. Jazz ist Verhöhnung des Alten. Wenn […] der olle Schubert im 'Dreimäderlhaus' seinen Walzer dreht – dann steht dieser Niggerboy respektlos in der Ecke und macht sein Schlagzeug bereit, mit dem er alles auseinanderhaut. Jazz ist Revolte. […] Er treibt es auf die Spitze, bringt das Feiste zum Platzen und haut in Scherben, was übrig bleibt! Wir grüßen dich, Jazz! – Pängpäng – Quinquii.*" (H. Sch., *Rheinische Zeitung* 11 Feb. 1929, qtd in Zepter 1997: 409).

44 "*Banjos klingen, Saxophone jauchzen, Jazz peitscht das Tempo der Zeit. Fort mit den Sorgen des Alltags.*" See *Simplicissimus* 24 Jan. 1927: 573.

45 The German fascination with American popular music and dance style, however, did predate the emergence of jazz. On the import of American "hits" in the period around 1900, see Ritzel (2001).

46 The float included the sign "Oh League of Nations, as you are called, won't you flimflam Germany after all?" (*Oh Völkerbund, wie du geheissen, wirst du nicht Deutschland doch be – schummeln?*) (Brog 2000: 196). Brog gives a number of similar examples from parades in 1929 and 1930.

47 German unification was achieved under Otto von Bismarck, who, after initial reluctance, endorsed the colonial project in the form of protectorates (*Schutzgebiete*) in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific. After Bismarck's forced resignation in 1890, Emperor Wilhelm II encouraged increased aggression in German colonialism through to 1918.

48 For the ongoing legacy of German colonial violence for affected communities, such as the Herero in contemporary Namibia, see Hoffmann (2005).

49 See Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop (1998: 20). Even when ethnic people were presented as "wild" and "uncivilised," they were simultaneously contained as colonised subjects. Contemporary scholars justified these displays as enabling an understanding of lives and customs of other cultures. On this basis, linguists, anthropologists and ethnographers studied these people's cultural objects and conducted quasi-racial studies (Oettermann 1992: 99). See also essays on the role of German colonialism in pre- and post-WWI visual culture in Langbehn (2010).

50 See Campt (2003: 325); Campt, Grosse and Lemke-Munoz de Faria (1998: 209-14). Almost the entire German political spectrum mourned the loss of colonies in the 1920s. In the introduction to *The Imperialist Imagination*, the editors noted that in 1920, an overwhelming majority of Reichstag members voted in opposition to the loss of colonies stipulated by the Versailles Treaty in 1919 (Friedrichsmeyer, Lennox and Zantop 1998: 16).

51 Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book* (1961: 189), qtd in Nelson (1970: 626).

52 "*Kolonien erwarten Euch,*" (photo from 20 Feb. 1939 in StaD photo collection).

53 The concerns articulated by those involved in carnival guilds were loosely associated with Rhenish *Heimat* and historic preservation associations. At least in the case of Düsseldorf, many leading members of carnival guild organisations were also involved in *Heimat* preservation and historical research as well as facilitating carnival radio broadcasts and tourism.

54 In this context, it is important to note that the various cultural practices under the banner of "*Heimat* movements" were themselves a reaction to the challenges of modern industrialisation and urbanisation. As Boa and Palfreyman (2000) point out, particularly in the 1920s, there was a renewed investment in myths of German tradition and the need for various forms of *Heimat* preservation. A more progressive concept of Rhenish history and identity can be found in the work of Dr Hans Stein, who created programmes for *Werag* about the social history of the Rhenish *Heimat*, with particular attention to the history of workers' movements and communist thinking (see Schuhmacher 1997).

55 "*die Geschichte des Karnevalsliedes wird so zur Geschichte des Karnevals selbst*" (1929: 14).

56 "*Wie kein anderes Fest, gibt der Karneval Gelegenheit, die Heimat zu besingen, ja zu verherrlichen. So etwas ist immer an der Kippe zur Peinlichkeit. Es kann in Sentimentalität zertriefen und es kann zu chauvinistischem Gegröle verkommen*" (Oelsner 2004: 92).

57 "*[E]s sei selbstverständlich, dass man sich auf dem Bodem des alten Heimatfestes einmütig und einträchtig zusammenfinde, und es müsse der mit dem rheinischen Volkscharakter zutiefst verbundene Karneval demnächst wieder aufleben*" (Czwoydzinski 1937: 44).

58 Hans Apffelstadt, "Volk und Heimat," qtd in Koshar (1998: 170-1).

59 See, for example, Müller (1930a, 1930b, 1937). For an example of carnival research within the discipline of Volkskunde, see Spamer (1934, 1935, 1936).

60 This act of subsuming dialect into the national frame was often used to increase the appeal of radio broadcasts with the voice of the "everyman" in their programming. This strategy was used in Leni Riefenstahl's 1935 film *Triumph des Willens* (Triumph of the Will), which was commissioned by Hitler to document the annual Nazi Party rallies in Nuremberg. A group of workers are asked where they come from. One by one these individuals reply that they are from Friesland, Bavaria, Kaiserstuhl, Pomerania, Königsberg, Silesia, from the North Coast, Dresden, the Danube, the Rhineland and the Saar, before their leader shouts "*Ein Volk, ein Führer, ein Reich! Deutschland!*" (One people, one Leader, one Empire! Germany!). These performative devices demonstrate an attempt to integrate a range of accents and local identities within the national framework.

61 For Heimat discourse and programming in immediate post-war radio, see Badenoch (2008: 26-33, 162-218), and in post-war carnival songs, Ritzel (1998). *Heimat* novel and film genres enjoyed resurgent popularity in the instability of the immediate post-World War II period and afterwards. By the mid-1950s they accounted for over half of the films made in Germany.

62 Sally Saul, for instance, was a member of the "Aachener Karnevalverein" in the 1900s and his brother Siegfried delivered *Büttenreden* for this guild (Ondrichová 2000: 10). Albert Herzfeld, a converted Jew whose diary I cited in Chapter One, was a long-term member of the Malkasten, as had been his uncle, brother and father-in-law in the 1900s and 1910s (Weidenhaupt 1982: 8, 11, 21).

63 The concept of "*Kulturbolschewismus*" was frequently used in reference to so-called "degenerate" art forms (see Doerr and Michael 2002: 252).

64 See, for instance, Koznizky-Gendler (2000: 27); Suchy (1990: 42); Griese (1997).

65 Following defeat in World War I and the subsequent signing of the Versailles Treaty, Jews were blamed, as part of the "stab in the back" myth, with the conspiracy that politicians had let the German people down by admitting defeat. Critics of the Versailles Treaty, and the Weimar Republic more generally, placed undue emphasis on the role of Jews in these processes and their involvement in industrial capital. Despite a commonly-held notion that the Rhineland was less anti-Semitic than other regions in Germany, regional particularities ultimately did not make much difference in the years following 1933. Anti-Semitic discourse intensified in public debate during the 1920s, and there was also an increased interest in the "Jewish question." Significantly, however,

the suppression of right-wing activity in the Rhineland by the French occupiers did mean that the NSDAP was slower to begin in Düsseldorf. The NSDAP still only had around 160 members in 1929, although these numbers increased substantially in subsequent years (Kauders 1996: 50-5, 80-2, 104, 142).

66 Indeed, the carnival floats more or less depict the changing status of Jews in Germany. I have followed Wolfgang Benz's framework here, which notes three main phases in the treatment of Jews until 1939: from 1933 onwards, defamation and humiliation; after 1935, loss of legal rights and racial segregation; from 1938, the destruction of economic existence through the "Aryanisation" of business and other curtailments (2001: 53-4).

67 For other parade floats that used imagery of Jews leaving for Palestine, with moving vans, closed-down shops and exaggerated anatomy, see Friess-Reimann (1978: 113), Brog (2000: 234). By 1939, out of the twenty-four floats presented at Villingen carnival in southern Germany, only three were without any kind of political reference. One float showed a pyramid of Jews with a printing press producing newspapers and bottles of poison (Jeggle 1972: 45).

68 The float was designed by Franz Brantszky under the direction of Thomas Liessem and Karl Umbreit. After the war, historical accounts by guild members such as Liessem and Klersch denied involvement in these parade designs, despite evidence showing that Liessem was the president of the committee that chose the designs (see Brog 2000: 232-6).

69 The Nazi-German dictionary, for instance, defines *mauscheln* as "To speak German with a Jewish accent, gestures, and syntax" (Doerr and Michael 2002: 273). The exact origin of the word is unclear, but dictionaries from the early 1700s cite "*Mauschel*" as a work tool as well as a mocking of Jews. See Johann Heinrich Zelder (1739: 217), cited in Althaus (2002: 10).

70 "*die neuen Machthaber und ihre Mitläufer [imitierten] den jüdischen Gesprächston und zitierten jiddische Lehnwörter, um Juden dadurch umso entschiedener aus der Gemeinschaft des Volks ausgrenzen zu können*."

71 These rhetorics of masking and disguise have a noticeable parallel to carnival. Bakhtin argues that in the modern era, particularly after romanticism, the mask "acquires other meanings alien to its primitive nature; now the mask hides something, keeps a secret, deceives." (1991: 40). As a result of this shift, Bakhtin notes, the act of masking is put in contrast to "unmasking" as revealing the truth. Indeed, the portrayal of Jewish language as being in disguise is thus linked to a broader post-romantic discourse that designates the mask as suspicious.

72 Gilman stresses that it is the predominance of Christianity that influences notions of Jewish difference, with stereotypes of the Jew as being supranational and as "possessing all languages or no language at all" (1991: 11-2).

73 Adorno and Horkheimer are advocating what they later explain to be a theory that explains anti-Semitism in terms of false projection, noting that to some degree "all perception is projection." They go on to cite the "physiological theory of perception" – as one that considers the world of perception to be a reflection – and note that Schopenhauer and Helmholtz insist on the "intermeshed relationship of subject and object" (2002: 155).

74 The potential for Hitler's speaking style and delivery to be seen as humorous gibberish was revealed by Charlie Chaplin in *The Great Dictator* (1940).

75 For example, there were a number of forced "Jew parades" in the west-German cities of Duisburg and Oberhausen in 1933 (Wildt 2007: 119-20). For the relationship of charivari practices to carnival music in the twentieth century, see Mowitt (2002).

76 "*Das 'Volksrecht', das die lokalen NSDAP-Gruppen in ihren Aktionen gegen die jüdischen Bürger praktizierten, hatte seine Mimikry-Form in der volkstümlichen Ehrengerichtsbarkeit […] gefunden*" (2007: 369).

77 See NS-Bericht number 1683, *Bericht für Februar 1936 ("Gesamtübersicht über die politische Lage")*, Stapostelle Regierungsbezirk Düsseldorf, 12 Mar. 1936: 2 [BA R58/3044a].

78 Among others, Wolf and Engelhardt suggest that the representation of market women by men was ended in 1935 due to a fear of homosexuality and transvestitism. This led to the creation of the *Tanzmariechen* dance girls, who are now a central feature of guild sitting performances (2002: 23-4).

79 This was the beginning of what was termed the "*Polenaktion*" (Poland Action) in late October 1938, with almost four hundred people in Düsseldorf and an estimated eighteen thousand Jews nationwide forcibly deported and taken to the German-Polish border (Sparing 2000: 223-5). What makes Herzfeld's diaries so interesting is that, although he had retreated into the private sphere, his entries reveal how he acquired and deciphered information through various media, word of mouth and his immediate surroundings. Herzfeld and his wife were deported to Theresienstadt in January 1942, and he died just over a year later, at the age of seventy-seven (Weidenhaupt 1982: 11).

80 In response to the forced deportation of his parents, Hershel Grynspan shot German embassy worker Ernst vom Rath. When vom Rath died on 9 November, also a national holiday (*Totenehrung*) under Nazism, the party leadership informed regional leaders that "spontaneous action" against Jews would be tolerated as revenge for vom Rath's death. The resulting pogrom occurred across Germany, beginning in the evening of 9 November. Düsseldorf was one of the first cities to begin the reprisals, with bands of SA men violently attacking Jewish shops and homes.

81 Herzfeld's daughter, Leonore Mannchen, recalled in 1981 that Herzfeld had heard a voice during the night say "Let's leave him alone [in peace], he was my wartime unit leader" (Weidenhaupt 1982: 124).

82 Scholars have found it difficult to explain the intensity of hatred and aggression that occurred in the pogrom. One explanation given by Michael Wildt is there was a "venting" of societal tension due to the looming threat of war (2007: 318). Meanwhile Peter Hüttenberger's reasoning for the disproportionate outburst of anger in west Germany in 1938 is that Düsseldorf district leader Florian and district propaganda leader Brouwers were probably eager to show their enthusiasm following the public "Esch scandal" the previous year. Florian, as Hüttenberger suggests, might have thus seen an opportunity to raise his profile in the Nazi leadership or return to the fighting spirit of the party's early years (1989: 615-6).

83 Indeed, Jewish interview testimonies about the 1938 pogrom frequently begin with the phrase "I heard." See interview with Walter Philipson (1982), qtd in Wildt (2007: 325); Moritz Mayer, Erinnerungsbericht, masch., 1939, Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Record Group 033/80, qtd in Wildt (332).

84 See Max-Leo Schwering's interview for the WDR television documentary *Heil Hitler and Alaaf!* (2008).

85 The striking contrast between commemorations of the pogrom (9 November), St Martin's Day (10 November) and the begin to the carnival season (11 November) remain painfully apparent in the present day. See, for instance, photos documenting the participation of Düsseldorf Lord Mayor Dirk Elbers in all three events (See "Erinnerung" 2011; "Martinslampen" 2011; "Um 11.11" 2011).

86 Bauman corroborates the reading of the pogrom as mob violence – as a "pre-modern form of social engineering" – but he distinguishes this from the modern, exterminatory anti-Semitism that emerged during World War II. See the essays in Paucker (1986), along with Paul and Mallman (1995) and Gellately (1993, 2001) for an elaboration of the stark contrast in experience between the predominantly "normal" existence of most Germans and the forms of persecution, violence and fear encountered by Jews, in particular.

87 One similarity between *Rassenschande* processions and the 1938 pogrom was that the police always took the Jewish victims into custody rather than the perpetrators. This suggests the idea that the presence of Jews was disturbing the peace (Wildt 2007: 372). Adorno and Horkheimer made a similar observation: "In being made aware," they wrote in 1944, "through his very difference from the Jew, of the humanity they have in common, the rooted Gentile is overcome by a feeling of something antithetical and alien" (2002: 152).

88 "*Im Radio ununterbrochene Judenhetze. In unsinnigster, in würdelosester Weise. Gestern besondere Erbitterung, weil die Amerikaner die Insel Martinique besetzen wollen. [...] Mauschelndes Gespräch zweier Juden darüber, was sie werden machen für Geschäfte hier und anderwärts, überall in der Welt, auf Kosten der Gojim*" (Klemperer 1995: 372-3).

89 *Berliner Illustrierte*, 5 Jan. 1942, qtd in Althaus (2002: 9). Moreover, such associations of Jews with "*mauscheln*" were reinforced in dictionaries, children's books and newspapers. Althaus notes that "*mauscheln*" in recent decades has

been used by students, by Social Democrat politicians and in everyday usage to refer to "something unclear, secretive and not allowed" (*etwas Undeutliches, Heimliches und Unerlaubtes*) (2002: 416).

90 "*Jeder kann mittun, dabei sein, ohne als einzelner Verantwortung oder Führung zu übernehmen. Auch der Feigste darf schlagen, stossen, Gewalt antun, ohne vor der Gegenwehr des Opfer Angst zu haben*" (2007: 372).

91 Merziger gives examples from the official SS magazines *Schwarze Korps* and *Brennessel*, which modelled themselves on bourgeois satirical periodicals like *Simplicissimus*.

92 For a less critical interpretation of the 1937 motto, from the perspective of an official carnival guild history, see Houben (1999: 97).

93 Merziger suggests that the claim of jokes as a form of anti-regime resistance during Nazism is essentially a strategy of self-vindication (289). A similar trend can be seen in organised carnival guilds, which have tried to assert their "resistance" to the Nazi centralisation of carnival. In the case of Düsseldorf, these claims are usually made with reference to the sham trial and execution of former carnival president Leo Statz in 1943 (Moll 1997). While the circumstances of Statz's death were calculated and unjust, Statz himself was very involved in the official organisation of carnival under Nazism until 1939. Two isolated examples of anti-regime responses to carnival in Düsseldorf include the unsuccesful attempt of a communist youth group to distribute flyers at the 1935 Rose Monday parade and a satirical newspaper with caricatures of the Rose Monday parades produced by persecuted artist Karl Schwesig in 1938, with Goebbels depicted as a carnival prince (see Schabrod 1978: 73; Remmert and Barth 1984: 77-80).

Notes to Chapter 3

1 It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of special announcements broadcast during the war. The Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv (German national radio archives) has catalogued almost 150 *Sondermeldungen*. I estimate that three to four hundred special announcements went to air between 1939 and 1945.

2 There is some limited discussion of *Sondermeldungen* in Kris and Speier (1944); Gombrich (1970); Scheel (1970); Schwipps and Goebel (1971); Hale (1975: 11-2); Prieberg (1982: 339); Trommler (2004: 71); Falkenburg (2005: 80-2).

3 I am thus arguing for the specific relationship between radio-listening experiences and the urban soundscape. Even though recent research has sought to elaborate on the role of radio in rural communities (Cebulla 2004), my analysis will stress the particularity of urban soundscapes during World War II, in this case that of Düsseldorf.

4 Anderson's theorisation of the relationship between imagination, nation and language, and his opposition of nationalism to racism, has resulted in a number of critiques. See, for instance, Marc Redfield (1999: 71).

5 The scholars most commonly associated with the view of a "great divide" between literacy and orality are Walter Ong (1982), Marshall McLuhan (1964), Eric Havelock (1986). For a discussion of contemporary responses to this trend, see Winthrop-Young and Wutz (1999).

6 My account is indebted to Stuart Elden's analysis of Foucault's essays and university lectures in the period he was working on *Discipline and Punish* (1977). What follows draws on some of the key arguments from Elden's 2003 essay "Plague, Panopticon, Police." See also Elden (2001) and Wood (2003).

7 In the case of Anderson, his understanding of printing, its circulation of ideas and the contribution to a broader culture of literacy, is situated in Marxist terms as participating in capitalist market relations. For Foucault, the primary influence of Marxist analysis concerns the ways that the stress on public health, hygiene and a normative idea of the body are underpinned by the desire for work productivity and capitalist gain.

8 Anderson's argument that the nation replaced religion as a model of community togetherness is indebted to the (Marxist-influenced) work of Marc Bloch (1961) and Lucien Febvre (Febvre and Martin 1976). See Anderson (1991: 12-9, 37-65).

9 The latest news information was generally released on radio and Goebbels often read out texts that were printed in papers the following day. The Ministry of Propaganda also instructed major newspapers on the main daily news agenda to be followed. See, for instance, Duchkowitsch, Hansjell and Semrad (2004).

10 Speech by Goebbels at the 1933 National Radio Exhibition (*Rundfunkausstellung*) in Berlin, qtd in Bergmeier and Lotz (1997: 6).

11 Despite the repeated emphasis on the notion of a united community of German radio listeners, very few programmes were broadcast nationally in the first five years of the Nazi regime. Prior to World War II, 52.7 per cent of news broadcasts, 48.3 percent of musical programes, 14.9 per cent of lectures and 11 per cent of literary broadcasts were nationally linked (Kris and Speier 1944: 54).

12 The same can be said of cinema, particularly the ongoing presence of American feature films, musicals, cartoons and newsreels in German cinemas, until at least the war period. For the influence of American film aesthetics on German films during National Socialism, see Koepnick (2002: particularly 1-49, 99-134). For a comparative analysis of US, British and German promotional culture and nationalist propaganda, see Lacey (2002).

13 For more details of Jürgen Habermas' analysis of the emergence of the post-Enlightenment public sphere, see Habermas (1974, 1982); for a critique, see Negt and Kluge (1993).

14 German-language radio programming in the 1930s was primarily directed at ethnic Germans or migrants living abroad, and pandered to the idea of reincorporating these people into the German nation. See, for example, Schwipps and Goebel (1971: 45-54).

15 Hensle (2003: 307-18); "Der Rundfunk" (1939). In addition to the ban on radio ownership and listening, Victor Klemperer also notes that telephone use was forbidden in August 1940 (1995a: 545).

16 Helmut P. (b. 1934), personal interview, 11 Mar. 2004.

17 This can be dated back to the origins of wireless and its early civilian uses by former World War I soldiers and (predominantly) male tinkers (*Bastler*). For the military origins and uses of (sound) technologies in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, see Kittler (1999) and Hagen (1991, particularly 247-57).

18 Not all female listeners adopted focused listening positions, as radio was used by some as background music while they performed daytime household tasks. Despite the destabilising intrusion of radio in the private sphere, *Frauenfunk* programmes emphasised to individual housewives that they too were united as a community of women listeners (Lacey 2000a: 49-57).

19 The association of the *Volksempfänger* with the presence of the state within the private space is underscored by the slang description of the receiver in anthropomorphic terms as "*Goebbels Schnauze*" (Goebbel's snout). See, for instance, Steinacker (2003: 16).

20 This could also be, in part, due to a somewhat simplistic understanding of radio reception. For an example of a rudimentary sender (mouth) – receiver (ear) model for radio, see Henning (1934: 149). For an account of the similar theorisation of television as enabling an "experiential community" of ethnically German spectators, see Heins (2011).

21 It has sometimes been suggested that the outbreak of World War II itself was intertwined with that of radio as a "front," not least due to the German premise for their invasion of Poland: a (fabricated) Polish attack on an ethnic German radio station in Gleiwitz (Milev 2001: 84; Pinkau and Weber 2004: 27).

22 Günter W. (b. 1935), personal interview, 19 Apr. 2004.

23 "*Es fühlte sich wirklich an als ob man mit allem anderen Teil von etwas war. Wenn im Radio Soldaten aus verschiedenen Regionen Lieder-Wünsche äußerten, war es als ob jeder ein Vater hat, der im Krieg kämpft, als ob wir alle gleich wären.*" See Ursula S. (b. 1928), personal interview, 28 Apr. 2004.

24 See, for instance, Bathrick (1997); Koch (2003); Reichel (2006: 193-4). The notion of the programme as a "bridge" enabling unified community was also popularised in the highly successful film *Wunschkonzert* (Request Concert), released during the German victories of early 1940. See, for example, Goedecke and Krug (1940: 26); "Brücke" (1940); "Wunschkonzert" (1940). The film sets a love story against historical events from the 1936 Olympics through to the Western campaign. Music, on the *Wunschkonzert* radio programme, reunites the couple when separated by war, but also operates as an intermedial agent for the experience of national culture. As a weekly radio programme, feature film and gramophone record release, *Wunschkonzert* capitalised on its imaginative appeal in both the visual and auditory registers.

25 Paddy Scannell has elaborated on the dynamic between "dailyness" and "event-

ness," focusing in particular on large-scale radio events during the mid-1920s and the consequent shift in listening and broadcasting attitudes in Britain (1996: 75-92, 144-70).

26 The pronunciation in national news bulletins and in *Sondermeldungen* was usually *Hochdeutsch* (High German), and read out by the voices of male announcers. There was more differentiation of voices in the party leadership itself, since Joseph Goebbels spoke with inflections of Rhineland *Plattdeutsch* while Adolf Hitler had a marked Austrian accent.

27 Often the *Sondermeldungen* concluded with a shorter summary, so that listeners who tuned in too late could still hear the victory announcement (Boelcke, 1966: 369).

28 Hans Fritzsche, 3 Dec. 1940, qtd in Kris and Speier (1944: 62, my emphasis). Fritzsche worked within the Nazi Propaganda Ministry for the national *Deutschlandsender* station in Berlin, where among other duties, he announced the daily front reports.

29 For the various uses of the "*Wacht am Rhein*" song to affirm ethnic Germanness and assert the Rhine as the guarantor of the nation's western border, see Bohlman (1994, particularly 6-7) and my discussion in Chapter One.

30 "[...]/du Rhein bleibst deutsch/[...]/die Fahnen flattern hoch im Wind/am Rhein, am Rhein am deutschen Rhein. [...]"

31 The "*Englandlied*" premiered during a *Wunschkonzert* broadcast in October 1939.

32 "*Unsre Flagge und die wehet auf dem Maste/Sie verkündet unsres Reiches Macht*" (written by Hermann Löns).

33 "*Denn wir fahren gegen Engeland/Gegen Engeland. Ahoy!*"

34 The theme songs of *Sondermeldungen* also appeared in weekly newsreels and in campaign "documentary" films such as *Sieg der Westen*. See, for instance, Miltner (1940); "Die neue Wochenschau" (1940); Eckert (1941: 74-6) Vogelsang (1990: 13).

35 Joseph Goebbels, qtd in Schmölders (1997: 683). My translation.

36 The "*Fallschirmjägermarsch*" (Song of the parachute fighters), for instance, was a direct reference to the present victory in France, where Hitler is symbolically positioned as reclaiming Germany's honour. The "*Fallschirmjägermarsch*" calls for God to "protect our precious and beloved Fatherland" and endorses defensive militarism to the listener because "When Germany is threatened we only know/how to fight, to win, to die our deaths."

37 "*Da ward, kaum begonnen/Die Schlacht schon gewonnen/Du Gott, warst ja mit uns/Der Sieg, er war Dein/Herr, mach uns frei!*" (written by Karl Budde, 1897).

38 "*Ich bin dein Schöpfer, bin Weisheit und Güte*" (music by Ludwig van Beethoven, opus 48, no. 1-6, 1803).

39 "*Gedenket eurer Väter!/Gedenkt der großen Zeit/Da Deutschlands gutes Ritterschwert/Gesiegt in jedem Streit!*" The melody was written by Hugo Person (1850) and the lyrics by Ludwig Bauer (1859), before the song was adopted as a nationalist song during World War I.

40 This emphasis on the song lyrics was closer to slogans or the sound bite, which differs from the usual understanding of (popular) song lyrics as often garnering little attention from listeners (Frith 1996). However, in the case of *Sondermeldungen*, the undue stress on the lyrics was essential to their narrative construction and ultimate goal of performing German nationalism.

41 "*Rein und stolz tönet in Süd und Nord/deutscher Sang wieder und deutsches Wort/[…]/Glockenklang kündet des Reiches Ehr',/Hakenkreuz leuchtet vom Fels zum Meer./Brüder, ans Werk, dem Führer treu!*" (written by Oskar Sauer-Homburg, date unknown). One important exception in the use of *Sondermeldungen* occurred following the victories in western Europe, Norway and the Balkans, when the celebration of Hitler's birthday reached unprecedented proportions in 1941. At the end of the day, after a series of radio celebrations, Hitler was presented to the people via a *Sondermeldung*, thus conveying the idea that he himself was synonymous with Germany's military victories (Kris and Speier 1944: 131).

42 See Chapters One and Two on how the Nazi regime drew on the symbolism of the church (with bells) in the wider sonic environment.

43 Despite these changes, the symbolic links between Germany's historical past, religious tradition and present situation were maintained. The format of the *Sondermeldungen* was reorganised to include the two national anthems, one verse of "*Die Himmel rühmen des Ewigen Ehre*" and, after a silent pause, the "*Englandlied*."

44 Referring to the new campaign in Russia, a group of male singers in this song call for "freedom" and to march "Forwards to the east, you fearless army!/Freedom is our goal, victory is our banner!/*Führer*, make your orders! We will follow you!"

45 Despite the repeated rhetorics of liveness, this singing was most likely a recorded playback, particularly as the German national radio (*Reichsrundfunkgesellschaft*) employed magnetic tape techniques during World War II. The desire to maintain a myth of live sound on radio is reflected in the criticism of the publication of a photograph of the vinyl record used to play fanfares in *Sondermeldungen* (Scheel 1970: 146). See, for instance, Engel and Hammar (2006: 4-6); Favre (2007). On the persistent discourses of authenticity and liveness in media culture, see Auslander (1999).

46 The German national radio archive (Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv), Frankfurt, has a number of recordings of sirens and bomb explosions, but the exact date, location and production information are mostly unknown.

47 The organisation of the home front for sirens already occurred with some alarm rehearsals during 1938 and 1939. Already in this period, the local air safety divisions placed emphasis on the importance of *Selbstschutz*, and instructed residents with demonstration nights, posters, window displays and advertising vans (*Werbewagen*). See, for instance, "Was ist eigentlich" (1939); "Bereit sein" (1939); "Die Landesgruppen" (1939).

48 See, for instance, "Entrümpelung" (1939); Steinacker (2003: 19). The fear of gas warfare was a prominent theme in the *Luftschutz* movement of the 1920s and 1930s, due to the use of mustard gas in World War I. Following September 1939, the word "gas" was avoided in most public discourse so as not to create panic among civilians (Schütz 2005: 127).

49 For a description of this lighting device (*Verdunkelungsschalter*), see "Wir wissen Rat" (1939: 698). On other visual camouflage techniques in urban areas, see Deriu (2004).

50 Those stationed in watchtowers relied on visual and auditory observation as well as radar devices for detecting enemy planes. See, for instance, Hampe (1963: 301, 308, 312-3); Trenkle (1981); Devereux (1991: 76-186). In England, a series of "acoustic defence" precautions were also taken in the late 1920s and 1930s, with the establishment of listening posts designed to detect German aircraft, which were later superseded by developments in radar technology. See Scarth (1999) and Ganchrow (2009).

51 The central control offices were usually located in the reinforced basement rooms of each city's central post office (Hampe 1963: 300).

52 See "Geprüft – erprobt" (1939); Friedrich (2002: 375). The sirens were usually attached to the rooftops of houses and apartment buildings, and most likely placed closer together in noisy and high traffic areas.

53 This was particularly the case at the beginning of the war, and as the regulations increased with the regime's announcement of "total war" in 1943. For disputes and questions concerning the authority of the air raid warden, see, for instance, "Wir wissen Rat!" (1943a: 68); "Wir wissen Rat" (1943b: 77); "Wir wissen Rat" (1943c: 138); "Wir wissen Rat" (1943e: 178).

54 See William McNeill (1995) on the mass panic outbreaks as a result of the plague, which civic authorities tried to counteract by channelling "public anxiety into elaborate civil rituals, featuring solemn processionals, through the streets and involving protection from St. Sebastian" (59).

55 For a contrast between 1939-40 and subsequent years, see the chart listing the total number of alarm hours between 1939 and 1944 for Düsseldorf ("Fliegeralarm" ca. 1942).

56 These aeroplanes offered a vivid association with both an acoustic irritation and a literal comparison to a plague of insects posing a threat to the city.

57 See Steinacker (2003: 10). The patient phone lines at hospitals were blocked during air raids as people were eager to share the sounds with others, which led to a complete blocking of personal telephone use in emergency situations (Hampe 1963: 588). One Düsseldorf woman remembered setting the table for a special Sunday breakfast in their cellar, since they knew there would be an air alarm rehearsal (qtd in Steinacker 2003: 10). Part of this novelty was due to the success of the German "*Blitzkrieg*" campaigns in 1939-1940, along with the belief that the war would be over quickly.

58 Günter K. (b. 1933) in Steinacker (2003: 12-3). On the collecting of shrapnel (*Bombensplitter*), see also Hannelore H. (b. 1927), personal interview, 20 Apr. 2004.

59 "*Wenn eine Bombe in der Nähe einschlug, zitterten die Kellerwände … Am schlimmsten war es, wenn plötzlich das Licht ausging und wir nichts mehr sehen konnten. Es war ein bedrückendes Gefühl, vor allem die Frauen haben geweint.*" See Ernst F. Wolter (b. 1935) in Steinacker (2003: 30).

60 "*Und wenn wir so im Keller saßen, das war so unheimlich. Erst war es sehr still. Dann kam ein ganz leises, gleichmäßiges Brummgeräusch. Dann war es todesstill, und dann schlugen die Bomben ein. Das war... das war grauenhaft. Wir knieten auf den Boden und beteten. Meine Mutter betete immer am lautesten. Man hatt' das Gefühl, der Kellerboden hebt sich*" (Charlotte S. [b. 1930], personal interview, 27 Apr. 2004).

61 "*zerriss sie unter dem scherzhaften Stöhnen der Sirenen, Voralarm, Vollalarm, Entwarnung, Voralarm, Vollalarm, Entwarnung gingen ineinander über, so dass manch einer die Orientierung verlor, wahnsinnig wurde, bei Vollalarm aus dem Keller wollte, bei Entwarnung in den Keller stürzte*" (Forte 2004: 135-6).

62 For an illuminating discussion of pain thresholds and definitions of noise by listeners, see Johnson (2008a: 14-26).

63 Although white stripes were painted on pavements to improve orientation, almost all lampposts, traffic lights, commercial advertising, clocks and vehicle lights were initially subject to a complete blackout (Steinacker 2003: 8-9). With time, however, some leniency was allowed, due to traffic accidents and delays. In the case of a confirmed attack, however, all public lighting systems were turned off.

64 Their comments were part of a joint broadcast on 18 January 1940 in Amsterdam (Shirer 1999: 186). Shirer ends the broadcast (for an American public) with the observation: "And tonight is the first time in nearly five months that we haven't fumbled around in the darkness with a flashlight, pulled blackout curtains over the windows and really felt the pressure of the darkness. The fact that there is light, great oceans of it, in Holland is something you at home don't appreciate because you've got it all the time." (192)

65 Nonetheless, fellow correspondent Harry Flannery noted that for the victory celebrations in late June 1940 large radio loudspeakers were installed on the two main promenades in Berlin. There was the build up to each special announcement, he recalled, with indications that it would begin in ten minutes, then in five minutes: "Everyone was forced to stand in silence during the reading. Along the Kurfürstendamm the milling crowds halted and those at cafe tables rose" (Flannery 1942: 262).

66 Shirer also noted on several occasions that he had slept through alarm sirens (1999: 345, 387).

67 Even if the regularity of sirens and air attacks caused civilians to "tune out," it is unlikely that these pervasive sounds ever really became "background" sounds.

68 American and British forces established an "around the clock" bombing of German cities (Hampe 1963: 312).

69 Margaret Grzesik (b. 1936) in Steinacker (2003: 41). During World War II, Cologne had a total of 1,122 alarms, 262 attacks and 1,089 warnings of "public air danger." The most intense period of attacks was during 1944 (Hampe 1963: 318-9).

70 "*Achtung, Achtung, feindliche Bomberverbände sind über […]*" (Steinacker 2003: 16).

71 "*Wir hatten die 'Marta Otto Neun.' [Die Landkarte] lag hinter dem Radio. Das konnte man nicht so einfach [den anderen zeigen]. Aber nachher, das sickerte immer mehr durch, weil man ja hörte und sich überlegte, da mussten wir ja einen ziemlich weiten Weg bis zum ersten Bunker gehen. Ich glaube ganz zum Schluss war das wirklich kein Geheimnis mehr*" (Hannelore H. [b. 1927], personal interview, 27 Apr. 2004).

72 On the use of hand-operated and mobile sirens attached to automobiles, see, for instance, "Wir wissen Rat" (1943d: 158). The internal correspondence of Düsseldorf air protection officers on 14 August 1942 also conceded that mobile alarms were being used to replace five large sirens in the city ("Erfahrungsberichte" 1942: 20).

73 Earlier in the war, local councils had distributed brochures with addresses and information of state emergency services following bomb attacks. Since these offices themselves were also forced to relocate following bomb attacks, the loudspeakers gave the most up-to-date information.

74 "*Dies' Bildnis ist bezaubernd schön*" (Steinacker 2003: 22).

75 Renate Müller (b. 1929) in Steinacker (2003: 16).

76 During the last years of the war, when school lessons were increasingly intermittent or discontinued, rebel youth groups also asserted their presence in inner city streets. There were several non-Hitler Youth groups, such as the *Bündische* Youth and church organisations, which had been officially disbanded and subsumed into the *Hitler-Jugend*, yet tried to keep their independent status. The most prominent were the *Edelweiss* or "*Kittelbach*" Pirates, which, in Düsseldorf, consisted of ten groups with around three hundred youths. But, as Detlev Peukert remarks, even though the youths came from a tradition of working-class protest and had their own dress code, they had no defined ideological programme (1980: 9-10).

77 Letters dated 5 July 1943 and 25 July 1943, qtd in Steinacker (2003: 56).

78 Düsseldorf's 1939 population of around 540,000 people had dwindled to around 292,000 by 1944, with the majority of these people registered as officially homeless (Zimmermann 1995: 21). The reasons for people leaving the city included military service, deportation, the relocation of factories, and the evacuation of school classes (*Kinderlandverschickung*) and mothers with young children.

79 "*eine Stadt, in der Tausende von Menschen in Bunkern und Kellern wohnten, eine Großstadt, in der keine Straßenbahnen fahren konnten, [...] eine Stadt, in der Hunger und Not herrschten, […] eine Stadt, in der primitivste Regeln der Hygiene vielfach nicht mehr beachtet werden konnten, in der die notwendigsten Gebrauchsgegenstände fehlten, und selbst kein Särge mehr für die Toten vorhanden waren.*" (qtd in Matull 1980: 155).

80 For a useful elaboration of the sonic dimensions to the nineteenth-century prison (as "Panauricon"), see Rounthwaite (2008). On the longer history of acoustic surveillance devices, see Zbikowski's "The Listening Ear" (2002)

81 As Foucault recalled: "Our private life was truly threatened. Perhaps that is the reason why I am fascinated by history and by the relationship between personal experience and those events amid which we find ourselves. I think that this is the point of departure of my desire to theorise" (qtd in Mazower 2008). Foucault's theory of power can thus, to some degree, be traced back to this experience of (provisional) military occupation.

82 Foucault, "*Faire vivre est et laisser mourir*," qtd in Milchman and Rosenberg (1998a). Elsewhere, Milchman and Rosenberg (1996, 1998b) adopt Foucault's model of power to analyse Nazism in terms of *inclusion-organisation* (general societal discipline) and *exclusion* (the Holocaust).

83 The term totalitarianism implies the complete regime control over institutions and daily life. The concept was frequently used in the first post-war decades, but its popularity has waned in recent political philosophy and historical scholarship. See, for instance, Arendt (1951); Eckhard (1996); Kershaw and Lewin (1997).

84 See, for instance, Mallmann and Paul (1994: 169-70); Peukert (1987/1993: 124-5).

85 For a statistical analysis of selected Gestapo files from the Düsseldorf administrative region, see Mann (1987). The implications of Mann's unfinished research are explored in Gellately (1993: 152-81).

86 Grote's periodisation extends beyond the 1918 armistice to the French occupation of the Ruhr. The book includes two articles on the fate of Albert Leo Schlageter, positioning him as a victim of treacherous behaviour, due to the suspicion that his involvement in paramilitary activity was reported to the authorities by German spies (1930: 261-85). See Chapter One for my analysis of the Schlageter myth in the post-World War I context.

87 The title of this poster was "Take Care during Conversations: The Enemy Is Listening!" (*Vorsicht bei Gesprächen: Feind hört mit!*") (Grote 1930: 17).

88 The suspicion towards foreigners or those with an accent was highly pronounced, as the Hungarian journalist and author Jósef Nyírö noted during an extended visit to Germany. The *Feind hört mit!* posters were on display in train carriages, and Nyírö noted that no fellow passengers mentioned a single thing about the war in his presence (1942: 311-5).

89 "*Spionage ist eine Form des totalen Kriegs! Sie betrifft uns alle. Es geht dabei nicht nur um die Geheimnisse der Laboratorien und der Waffenschmieden. Ebenso sehr geht es um die Treue, die Verschwiegenheit, die Festigkeit des Herzens./Denn: Nur bei den Schwächen des Einzelnen vermag die feindliche Spionage*

anzusetzen für den Betroffenen bedeutet das ein Leben in ewiger Angst, ein Ende in Unglück und Schande. Für die Nation aber können die Folgen unabsehbar sein, schlimmer als eine verlorene Schlacht!/ Darum: Achtung! Feind hört mit!" The film was directed by Arthur Maria Rabenalt (Terra Film), released with the classification "politically important" (*staatspolitisch wertvoll*) and premiered in September 1940.

90 The "total war" thesis was outlined by former World War I general Ludendorff in the 1920s and early 1930s. However, "total war" measures were only announced during Josef Goebbels' Berlin Sport Palast speech in February 1943 (Goebbels 1943).

91 For the common role of telephones and eavesdropping in cinema narratives (and melodrama, in particular), see Weis (1999).

92 "*In Zukunft wird man […] umsichtiger sein. Jeder Kollege, ist er auch noch so lange im Betrieb, kann ein Spion sein.*"

93 See "Verordnung" (1939); Pinkau and Weber (2004: 26). Michael Hensle has suggested that these warning cards (*Warnzettel*) had limited distribution and impact (2003: 141-3).

94 This practice was noted by, for example, Therese B. (b. 1925), personal interview, 19 Apr. 2004; Charlotte S. (b. 1930), personal interview, 27 Apr. 2004; Leon E. (b. 1929), personal interview, 3 May 2004.

95 While the "tapping" of radio sets was nothing more than a rumour, extensive postal observation paid close attention to any discussion of information sourced from foreign radio stations (Hensle 2003: 179-80).

96 See, for example, the account of listening to foreign radio by Munich newspaper editor and party informant Paulheinz Wantzen (2000). Estimates suggest that at least one million Germans were listening to the BBC's German-language programming in Berlin alone (Diller 1980: 97; Hensle 2003: 320).

97 The restricted admission to public bunkers is revealed in the observation that a boy, who had just turned sixteen, did not dare go into a public bunker due to a sign that said "Men between 16 and 60 years of age should be in the war effort [*Einsatz*]" (Steinacker 203: 31).

98 "*man hat sie gehört, wenn sie kamen*" (Renate S. [b. 1928], personal interview, 22 Apr. 2004). See also Wilhelm M. (b. 1927), personal interview, 23 Apr. 2004.

99 Indeed, civilians had limited access to trains and other modes of transport, although the homeless and refugees often made long-distance journeys (often on foot) to escape the cities or to find family or friends. The regime also arranged an evacuation programme (*Kinderlandverschickung*) for school children and women with young children.

100 For example, miners in Düsseldorf apparently recited a verse addressing British planes: "Dear Tommy, please fly further on your way/Spare us poor miners for today./Fly instead against those people in Berlin/ They're the ones who voted Hitler in" (qtd in Burleigh 2000: 765).

Notes to Chapter 4

1 According to this conception, Wagner's music-drama involved a synaesthetic fusion of visuals, lighting and acoustics, since the intermedial device of the breath unified verbal information, sound and visuals. Kittler criticises Adorno's *In Search of Wagner* (2005) for not being able to appreciate Wagner's invention of sound, or "pure acoustics," as a development no longer contained by a high-art tradition of musical notation and score (1993: 224).

2 I adopt this phrase from Erica Carter (2004: 84-107). For the status of (early) cinema as a public sphere, see Hansen (1990).

3 My source analysis draws largely on articles from the Berlin-based film trade publication *Film-Kurier* (1919-1945). Even though this publication has been criticised for primarily positioning film music as accompaniment (Vogelsang 1990: 26), its articles also foreground ongoing sound problems and multiple discourses concerning the overall place of sound, music and voice in cinema practice.

4 In this context, it is important to note early Futurist notions of "clamorous painting" and "loud sound-painting" in the 1910s, which were contemporaneous to experiments in colour film based on colour-music relations (Strauven 2009: 283-4). The Ginanni-Coradi brothers in Milan used "chromophony" as a synaesthetic principle for the translation of sound into colour and visual rhythms on film. The brothers explicitly rejected Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* concept. However, as Wanda Strauven argues, their conception of a correspondence, if not complemen-

tarity, between the arts suggests a clamorous rendering of the total work of art ideal (2009: 286-8).

5 See Kittler (1999: 170-5, 180-2). For a specific account of early sound film systems – with some cases where the image was dependant on the sound track or timecode – see Michael Wedel's research about Carl Robert Blum's "*Musik-Chronometer*" for synchronisation in the 1920s (1999; 2002; 2007: 69-242). There was also significant exchange between the film, music and electroacoustic industries, particularly in the sound transition years, with the concentration of patent ownership by the Tobis conglomerate (Mühl-Benninghaus 1999: 81-205; Türschman 2001).

6 See Adorno (1952/2005). In response, Slavoj Žižek has argued that the early, revolutionary Wagner was more "proto-fascist" than in his later Bayreuth era (2005: ix). For Wagner's influence on a European "culture of fascism" in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Tambling (1996: 1-30).

7 "*Der Tonfilm muss nicht nur, wie das Drama, mit einer Handlung und dem Wort, sondern auch durch seine Bildwirkung und musikalische Stimmung befriedigen. Die Musik dient dem Film als unentbehrliche Stimmungsuntermalung. Der Tonfilm ist ein Gesamtkunstwerk, so wie es das Musikdrama Wagners ist, das Wort und Musik, Geste und Rhythmik zu einer einheitlichen Aktion verband. Mit dem Gesamtkunstwerk, [...] hat Wagner alle Schichten des Volkses und alle Nationen der Welt erobert*" (1942: 200).

8 Later in this chapter I will explore how dramaturgical notions of the stage were appropriated for the cinema during Nazism.

9 For more discussion of this shift, see Salmi (1988: 61, 188). Müller also includes quotes from Schopenhauer, Kant and Schiller, who influenced Wagner's romanticist understanding of the arts. Indeed, Wagner himself also looked to Plato and the culture of ancient Greece as a blueprint for the unity of the arts.

10 "*Während das Musikdrama festliche Kunst ist, Verkörperung des nationalen Mythos an großen Feiertagen, ist der Film Alltagskost, die populäre Form des Musikdramas. [...] Nur ein Gesamtkunstwerk kann wahre Volkskunst sein. Denn es richtet sich an alle Sinne, ist jedem verständlich und erfordert keine Bildung. Es richtet sich an das Herz und nicht an den Verstand. Für ein Sprechstück braucht man literarische, für eine Symphonie musikalische Bildung. [...] Das Musikdrama wurde so die Volkskunst der Festtage. Der Tonfilm ist die Volkskunst des Alltags, weil er Augen, Ohren, Herz und Sinne befriedigt. Die früheren niedrigen Unterhaltungsformen des Stummfilms, des Tingel-Tangels und der Jahrmärkte boten zu wenig echtes inneres Erlebnis, um wahre Volkskunst zu werden. Erst durch die technische Möglichkeit, Sprechdrama, Oper, Ballett und Symphonie in einer Kunstform auf vollkommene Weise zu vereinigen, hat der Film das Erbe des Theaters angetreten*" (1942: 201).

11 However, it should be noted that Benjamin maintained the possibility that mass-produced cultural forms like film could harbour a critical function. Martin Jay observes that Benjamin's emphasis on a "crisis" of experience first emerged in his 1933 essay titled "Experience and Poverty" (Jay 2006: 329-37).

12 "*Die vollkommenste Verschmelzung von Bild, Wort und Musik ist das Filmdrama. Sein Drehbuch ist die Partitur des Gesamtkunstwerks, in dem die Handlung nach den musikalischen Gesetzen des Taktes und der logischen Stimmführung der Melodie rhythmisch sichtbar gemacht wird. [...] Ebenso wie die Musik durch das sie begleitende Filmbild gesteuert wird, erreicht Wort und Bild durch die sie begleitende Musik eine eindringliche und überzeugende metaphysische Bedeutsamkeit. Was im Musikdrama beabsichtigt war, gelang zur Ganze, als sich die Szenerie zum sich bewegenden und tönenden Filmbild veränderte. So ist das Gesamtkunstwerk ebenso sehr in seiner hohen Form, dem Musikdrama, wie in seiner niedrigen, dem Film, aus dem Geist der Musik geboren*" (203-4).

13 For further definitions of rhythm and a theorisation of its multiple forms, see, for instance, Lefebvre (2004: 5-18).

14 London notes that this symphonic concept in film replaced the classical dramatic organisation of Exposition – Introduction of dramatic conflict – Development – Climax, Dénouement – Conclusion (1936: 71-2). The cinema space itself, as the majority of accounts point out, was rarely "silent." Various forms of musical and spoken accompaniment were practised in the 1900s to 1920s, with intertitles also aiding the audience's "inner speech" and

imagination of spoken dialogue (Altman 1992). One of the main aesthetic objections to the introduction of synchronised sound was not to mediated sound *per se*, but that speech and spoken dialogue would distract from the visual character of screen acting, and were initially perceived as having an "uncanny" quality (Spadoni 2003).

15 See, for instance, Hans Richter's *Alles dreht sich, alles bewegt sich* (1929) or the work of Viking Eggeling, which also explored the symphonic potential of film. While Ruttmann is usually singled out as a pioneer or innovator, my focus is less on his achievement as the first German film sound director or his participation in the European avant-garde. For a fruitful analysis of the latter, see Hagener (2007), and on the contemporaneous activities of the British GPO Film Unit, see Anthony and Mansell (2011).

16 The notion that sound could have an independent status is something Ruttmann went on to explore in his radio play "*Weekend*" (1930), which used sound-on-film techniques to establish a sound-based narrative. See, for instance, Hagen (2004).

17 Working in the wake of public radio broadcasting (from 1923 onwards), Ruttmann's short advertising and experimental films also frequently depicted water ripples and waves as implied sonic effects. Radio waves, too, are visualised in Ruttmann's advertising shorts such as *Spiel der Wellen* (1926) or *Deutsche Rundfunk* (1928). Such acoustic metaphors indicate the appeal of mediated sound in the popular imagination, with persistent associations with radio sound in terms of waves and the "ether." This reflected a broader cultural fascination with "oceanic metaphors" as well as anxieties about the atmosphere as boundless and uncanny (Sconce 2000: 62). On similar investments in electricity in the decades around 1900, see Schivelbusch (1988); Killen (2006).

18 See Meisel (1927a, 1927b, 1927c); McElligott (1999). A similar desire to incorporate the sounds of the city for film scores is suggested by composer Georges Antheil, who employed sirens and phonographs in his 1927 performance of the score for *Ballet Mécanique* (1924) (Kahn 1999: 124-6).

19 "*Für die Momente, in denen der Totalitätseindruck unbedingt erforderlich ist, werden Teile des Orchesters in den Zuschauerraum postiert*" (Meisel (1927b). The film was released with a complete score for 75 musicians dictating the music and acoustic effect to be played simultaneously to the image track. Meisel also prepared a version for a smaller instrumentation. Due to budgeting reasons, the premiere in Berlin only featured 18 musicians (Kahlenberg 1979: 61).

20 For the specific differences between Eisenstein and Eisler's understanding of image-sound relations, see Cook (1998: 57-65). Cook argues that counterpoint merely offers a negation of parallelism. He introduces, instead, terms like difference, contest and complementarity to deal with inter-media relationships of sound and image (113-21).

21 The Ufa (Universum Film AG), while partly government owned, was a commercially-driven business during Nazism, and had relative autonomy until its complete takeover in 1942 (Elsaesser 2000: 397-404).

22 *Blut und Boden*, literally "blood and soil," was an influential concept appropriated by Nazi ideology for asserting the racial and geographical parameters of the German *Volk*. For more discussion of this genre within *Heimat* and *Volk* culture in Germany, see Chapter Two.

23 It should be noted that this very ambivalence was one of the causes for criticism of *Sinfonie der Großstadt*. John Grierson, for instance, writing in the 1930s, argued that the city symphony films were potentially politically dangerous (1933: 138). Grierson's model for "documentary" was that it should be socially informed, with voice-over playing a role in educating the audience. Siegfried Kracauer wrote a review in 1927 that criticised the Berlin film for not taking a clear position towards the situation of workers and the poor (see 1947: 185-7). Ruttmann's response was to stress that filmmaking should, indeed, reflect the "human condition" (*menschlichen Stellungnahme*), rather than slavishly follow an aesthetic principle or *l'art pour l'art* (Ruttmann 1928).

24 This discourse was premised on social unity despite the introduction of the 1935 Nuremberg racial laws, which confirmed a racially-segregated concept of public space and social life by denying a large number of basic rights to Jews and other groups considered as racially other. For more on anti-Semitism and the treatment

of Jews under National Socialism, see, in particular, Chapter Two.

25 "*Dieses Düsseldorf ist für mich ein besonderer Begriff, ein Begriff, den ich mir ersehen, erfühlt, erarbeitet, erlebt habe. Ich habe eine besondere Stadtanschauung von dieser Stadt. [...] Düsseldorf spricht in diesem Film für sich selbst*" ("Kleiner Film" 1935).

26 "Kleiner Film" (1935). This theme of the cameraman's documentary eye, of course, predates the Nazi era and Ruttmann's earlier work was described in relation to Soviet montage and the mutual influence with Dziga Vertov. However, in this context, the notion of the filmmaker as an explorer remoulding the city resonates strongly with Nazi-influenced conceptions of controlling the urban and the artist/statesman as an architect of the people. See Michaud (2004) and my discussion of the Schlageter myth in Chapter One.

27 This stress on mediation (by the filmmaker or director) is a recurring theme, which I will later discuss in relation to the exhibition context for films during Nazism.

28 While these short films were typified by general topics, the predominant Social Darwinism underpinning its depiction of the natural world suggests at least an implicit reflection of Nazi social policies. In the 1935 interview, Ruttmann is presented as someone who was trying to establish an artistic dimension to the *Kulturfilm* genre, which he himself emphasises "does not have the obligation to be boring" ("Kleiner Film" 1935). In other words, Ruttmann called for a new type of *Kulturfilm* that would dispense with the scientific associations of the genre to emphasise film as offering a rendering of the city on the basis of sensory appeal (See also Kauer 1943: 122-4).

29 The trope of cities having an essential quality or flavour which can be revealed by the explorer has a strong precedent in colonial (travel) writing and has, subsequently, underpinned the discourses generated around experience and mass tourism during the twentieth century (see my Chapter Two).

30 The need to downplay the changes brought about by the disruption of Nazi social reorganisation (*Gleichschaltung*) extended to the assassination of leading SA members in 1934. The extent of these social disruptions for all parts of the population has been debated at length. See, for instance, Detlev Peukert's investigation of how many Germans perceived a sense of continuity through the ongoing existence of local associations and activities (Peukert 1987/1993). See also Schäfer (1981), Koshar (1990).

31 The speaker, wearing a nineteenth-century costume and a wig, proclaims to the gathered crowd: "Let us be merry today, so that tomorrow we can be all the wiser" (*Lasst uns heute der Narrheit froh sein, auf dass wir morgen wieder der Weisheit froh sein können*).

32 This scene shows characteristics almost identical to the Ufa newsreels of Düsseldorf carnival I discussed in Chapter Two.

33 See Schlör (1998) for the cultural anxieties in Germany about nighttime activity throughout the 1800s to the 1930s.

34 The bust heads shown are of author Karl Immermann, composer Robert Schumann, painter Peter von Cornelius and playwright Christian Dietrich Grabbe.

35 These postcard-like scenes of Düsseldorf are also not unlike those published by the city's local tourism magazine *Düsseldorfer Woche* during the 1930s, which was predominated by promotions for KdF activities and other party events.

36 See Anon, "Rhythmus der Grossstadt: Zu Liebeneiers Berlin-Film," 18 Aug. 1942, qtd in Vogt (2001: 362).

37 The tension between movement and stasis has also been discussed in relation to the visual aesthetic developed by Leni Riefenstahl in *Triumph des Willens* (Peucker 2007: 49). Ruttmann, incidentally, was commissioned to make a historical prelude for Riefenstahl's film, which was not used in the final-release version. The partial continuation of the earlier "New Objectivity" style has led to suggestions that filmmakers like Ruttmann or Riefenstahl participated in a revised modernism or "Nazi Sachlichkeit" (Fulks 1984).

38 ("Weltaufführung" 1935). This observation suggests that the (amended) symphony principle advocated by Ruttmann is deemed successful in creating a film predicated on visual rhetorics of direct experience of the city as mediated by the director's eye. The film was also seen as a way of promoting Düsseldorf as "the film capital of West Germany": *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt* was given a central place during a three-week industry fair "*Film und Foto*" held in Düsseldorf in 1936 (Amtlicher Führer 1936: 19).

39 Censorship card no. 40685, Berlin Film-Prüfstelle, 15 Nov. 1935.

40 Another removed scene concerned the appearance of the Nazi Party's national emblem of the eagle with a swastika on two occasions. It is difficult to make a definite judgement on why the Nazi symbol was removed from the film. One explanation for why Nazi symbols are absent from all Ruttmann's images of Düsseldorf could be that the party's control of the urban should be a structural given. In the case of the carnival season, Nazi symbols were forcibly removed from public places like cafes (including Hitler's portrait) and party members were sometimes prevented from wearing their uniform to events (see Chapter Two). As mentioned in Chapter Two, bans were enforced on the use of party symbols for advertising or non-official purposes in 1933, following the wide use of official symbols on consumer goods (Betts 2004). In this case, then, the Nazi eagle symbol should not have been depicted as just one of a number of company or entertainment symbols on display.

41 Ruttmann's earlier collaborator Julius Pinschewer produced promotional films for Hamburg, Nuremberg and Görlitz in the 1920s (Amsler 1997: 63-74). In a more general sense, German cinema from its earliest beginnings demonstrated a fascination with the urban, with the first cinema images being of city streets (Vogt 2001).

42 For a discussion of Third Reich cinema in terms of "lifestyle propaganda," see Elsaesser (2000: 383-419). For the pleasure experienced by local audiences in seeing "themselves" on screen, see the discussion of early cinema in Toulmin and Loiperdinger (2005).

43 Koepnick adapts this term from Tom Gunning's account of early cinema as a "cinema of attractions" (Gunning 1987; Strauven 2006).

44 Carter cites Béla Balázs' *Der Geister des Films* (1930), but also Hans Richter and Walther Ruttmann in this context (2004: 96).

45 The new concept of spectatorship reconceived those attending the cinema as the "*Volk*" rather than a public or audience (Munding 1935). Indeed, right-wing attacks on certain cinema screenings had contributed to the heightened politicisation of the cinema space around 1930. Some examples of films attacked with disruptions, shouts and stink bombs included *Im Westen Nichts Neues* (1930), *Berlin Alexanderplatz* (1931), *Kuhle Wampe* (1931/1932). See "Stinkbomben" (1930); Jelavich (2006: 156-66).

46 See Thompson (1985: 148-70); Mulvey (2003). The development of a "German" style and cinema in the 1920s was partially related to the international export market and the attempt to appeal to domestic audiences with local genres (Fehrenbach 1995: 30). Large production companies and cinemas had also suffered profit losses due to the transition to sound, and, as a result, were more inclined to cater to popular themes and genres in the early 1930s. Cinema owners, too, were more cautious due to the dramatic decrease of audience numbers following the economic crisis of the early 1930s. In addition, local government taxes on ticket prices affected 60 to 80 percent of the revenue for cinemas in Düsseldorf and Bonn (Monaco 1973: 46).

47 See, for instance, "Eine Meisterleistung" (1931). Indeed, the Apollo was usually referred to in terms of its size, described as the "Theatre of the 3000 [seats]" ("2 Jahre" 1933). For the second wave of upgrades in the mid to late 1930s, see, for instance, "Modern Tonübertragungsanlage" (1936).

48 Jancovich, Faire and Stubbings (2003: 120). For an account of similar investments in the cinema in North America, see Gomery (1992: 40-56).

49 In the first months of 1933, cinema manager Fritz Genandt filmed a number of events in the city and advertised the screenings with the main programme in his cinemas (see Genandt n.d.). Genandt's amateur footage from the 1910s onwards was occasionally included in the main programme, with events like carnival (see my Chapter Two).

50 Similarly, following the release of *Hitler Junge Quex* in September 1933, every screening in Düsseldorf was shown with *Hitler-Jugend* banners along with brass fanfares and a prologue speech given beforehand (Genandt n.d.). The Cologne regional film office (*Gaufilmstelle*) also began promoting special screenings for youth groups on Sundays, by noting that "the screening itself has to create a true experience and ceremony" (*Die Vorführungen selbst müssen zu einer wahren Erlebnis und Feierstunde ausgestaltet werden*) ("Aus der Propagandaarbeit" 1935).

51 Paul Monaco argues that "After an abortive attempt during the years 1933 and 1934 to gear German film production to

propaganda-riddled features, the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda yielded to market considerations. The German film industry then returned to making films along the lines of those produced before Hitler's coming to power" (1973: 3). Susan Tegel also observes that these early films were more nationalist than National Socialist (2007: 49-73).

52 See, for instance, an article series in *Film-Kurier* in August 1935 ("Die Männer" 1935).

53 Audiences reported being able to tell the difference between synchronised gramophone sound and sound-on-film techniques (Lichtveld 1933: 34-5, 43, 53).

54 Some of these included fixed pricing, discounts for uniformed party members and a ban on the "double bill" programme. The spatial configuration of the cinema was changed to include less differentiation between ticket categories and its implied class division, although uniformed party members were often entitled to more prominent seats (Carter 2004: 93-9).

55 German newsreels, which began using synchronised sound from early 1932, were considered an effective political device given their truth claims as a documentary genre. The newsreels in Germany prior to 1933 included the Deulig-Tonwoche, the Fox Tone and the Ufa-Tonwoche (Hoffmann 1996: 210).

56 While praising this novel attempt to use group voice as a means for collective judgement, the critic argued that the poor sound recording meant that the words remained inaudible or difficult to understand. The film title was *Das ganze Volk muss Wächter sein* (All the People Must Be Guards) ("Sprechchöre" 1935).

57 Linda Schulte-Sasse has made a similar observation about the dual impetus of Third Reich cinema production, given that it was "heavily regulated and heavily profit-oriented" (1996: 4). Cinema production was thus a commercial enterprise catering to popular tastes and themes, and this mandate continued with the increased government regulation after 1933.

58 For instance, Siegfried Seher insisted in early 1933 that the modern advertising film should avoid too many sonic effects (*Effekthascherei*), which can result in the audience becoming "restless or even annoyed" (1933: xxvii). This caution was also expressed by Nazi commentators like Goebbels and Weidemann about the risk of the voice becoming too talkative or difficult to comprehend.

59 In Ufa cinemas, each programme began with the sounds of the Ufa gong, which was a three-tone electroacoustic device installed in the projection room. First the screen would show still slides with advertisements, either with a recorded gramophone announcement or a live microphone announcement from the projection room. Announcements for slides were one of several practices involving both the live and the mediated, with the pre-feature programme or interval sometimes including variety acts in the 1930s. One critic urged that a "light female voice" was suitable for women's clothing and department store, whereas a male baritone was better suited for cigarette and menswear (Uhlig 1933). The gender divisions determining appropriate voices in advertising reflect a wider trend in the conceptualisation of sound recording in sound film production (Lawrence 1991).

60 The advertising film had already appeared in the 1910s, making cinema an explicit training ground for commercial advertising culture. This is evident in the inclusion of short advertising films and film trailers in the cinema programme. By contrast, German radio was a primarily state-regulated organisation from 1923 onwards. For this reason, radio acoustic promotion in the 1920s had mainly occurred through playing songs from gramophone records rather than actual advertising segments. For the historical exchange between radio broadcasting and the film industry in North America, see Hilmes (1990).

61 "*Er setzt die Schallplatte sozusagen als musikalischen Floh ins Ohr des Publikums. [...] Die Wirkung ist bemerkenswert: Jetzt nachdem man die Musik eines neuen Films in einer oder mehreren Proben, die Hauptmelodien schon kennt, spricht sie leichter an, springt aus dem Film sofort ins Gehör und wird nun bewusst aufgenommen*" (n. pag.).

62 See Berghoff (1999: 87), and on the status of advertising and mass consumption more generally, see Wiesen (2011: 63-117). The exceptions to this were the compulsory slides from the NSV welfare organisation included in cinema advertising. During the winter months, the Winter Aid programme (*Winterhilfswerk* or WHW) urged audiences to participate in street collections, give donations, and

change their consumption patterns by only eating a simple meal on Sundays. Collections also took place in the auditorium and cinema owners held free screenings to raise money for the WHW programme (See "Filmtheater" 1935).

63 The commercial listening mode described here is suggestive of a broader aural advertising culture, particularly against the development of the "jingle" in American commercial radio (Chanan 1995: 88). In the American context, the radio jingle often used a small verse or existing tune to encourage customers to buy a product, and emerged in response to the NBC network's refusal to allow "direct" advertising (Taylor 2003).

64 This comment suggests that some audience members did not come for the entire programme, but rather came in the intermission before the main feature.

65 The projectionist was also described elsewhere as needing "a good musical ear and eye in order to ensure image and sound quality" (*gutes musikalisches Gehör und ein gutes Auge zur Aufrechterhaltung der Bild- und Tonqualität*) ("Ein Vorführer" 1935: n. pag.).

66 This is part of a typology of the cinema, which firmly set male managerial roles against stereotypes such as "the girl in the box office." See, for instance, Hark (1994); Gomery (1992). The main difference is that sound engineers were presented as experts, usually with a science or engineering background. Theatre owners and managers were more likely to be impresario types, or even self-styled stars, whose profit-oriented mandate was to make the cinema an attraction regardless of the programme. Indeed, the cinema manager was seen as playing a key role in securing the cinema as a pleasant place, particularly for regular guests who might "no longer ask what is playing" before attending a film. The staff members of cinemas were deemed as essential to the success of establishing a standardised experience of the cinema as a "site of cultural importance" (*Kulturstätte*), as long as they remain helpful and discreet. This argument supports the idea that, in some cases, audiences were preoccupied with cinema experience as an attraction in itself, regardless of the programme ("Schallplatte" 1935; "Ein Wort" 1944).

67 For a description of how voice-over recordings were produced for wartime newsreels, see "Die Stimme" (1943).

68 The bombastic effect was aided by the decision to keep the volume level of newsreels at a continuously high level from start to finish (Vogelsang: 11).

69 See "Verordnung" (1938). The frustration and exclusion felt as a result of this ban is noted in Victor Klemperer's diary entry of 16 August 1942 (1995: 207). Susan Tegel (2007: 113-90) documents how, in the period between 1934 and 1938, few Jewish characters appeared in Third Reich cinema. When Jews did appear in this "*Judenfrei*" cinema, they were often marked by a stereotypical physical appearance and voice. However, Tegel notes an ongoing emphasis on entertainment values during the 1930s, suggesting that Goebbels was "unwilling or unable to force the purged industry to make films that directly reflected the government position on the Jewish Question" (111). It was only after denying Jewish participation in public life and the cinema that they appeared in more stereotypical characterisations from 1939 onwards, in an abstract manner I also discussed in Chapter Two.

70 For the predominant understanding of colour films within the *Gesamtkunstwerk* discourse, see, for instance, Müller (1944).

71 For a close analysis of these films and their "postcard aesthetic," see Vogt (2001: 361-404); Lowry (1998). For the renewed stress on filmic rhythm, see Meyer (1942).

72 Cinemas were encouraged to install special alarm systems or play gramophone records with alarm warnings or instructions to accompany safety information slides ("Warnung" 1939). See also Chapter Three on the broader system of alarms developed for urban air safety precautions.

73 See "Weiter auf dem Wege" (1941); Hake (2001: 74). In the first year of the war, by contrast, the demand for newsreels had led to the opening of a newsreel-only cinema ("Berlin erhält" 1940).

74 For a critical account of how some film studies scholarship until the 1970s was preoccupied by totalising concepts and a binary between entertainment and propaganda, see Hake (2001: 1-22).

75 The German title is *Hitlers Hitparade*, and it has been screened at festivals across Europe, North America and Israel. Following its broadcast on the French-German Arte television channel, the film also

won the prestigious Adolf Grimme Prize in 2005.

76 The notion of a "hit parade" goes against common associations with the Third Reich, particularly given the trend for television documentaries to attribute the possessive form to Hitler in their titles, such as *Hitler's Henchmen*, *Hitler's Generals* and *Hitler's Women*. Indeed, the "hit parade" itself initially seems incongruous and even anachronistic, since this American concept only gained widespread usage in Germany after 1947 (Kämper 2004: 329). While a "hit parade" is aligned with acts of consumption, star culture and popularity, the word "hit" can also denote hitting or beating, just like its German counterpart *Schlager* (see Siegfried Kracauer, qtd in Currid 2006: 111). Meanwhile, the second part of this conjunction, "parade," implies a kind of showcase and forms of spectacle and display. The "hit parade" could thus easily lend itself to imagining Nazism in terms of visual display, yet the film foregrounds the hit song as a form of auditory spectacle and an agent of popularity during a period of highly regulated and censored cultural production. Most of the twenty-five songs included can be categorised as "*verdeutschter Swing*" (Germanised swing) (Bergmeier and Lotz 1997).

77 This recalls historian Hayden White's concept of "historiophoty" to address the agency of the image in understanding the historical past (1988). Whereas White attributes to the visual image the capacity to produce processes of thinking not always possible with written forms of narrative, I will emphasise the role played by sound and musical song as a framework for reflecting on audio-visual presentations of the historical past.

78 Some examples include "*Wir sind bereit!*" (We're Ready!) and "*Freude durch Kraft*" (Joy through Strength). The latter is a reversal of the "*Kraft durch Freude*" work programme, which was involved in an organisational capacity with almost all areas of community and cultural life (Baranowski 2004).

79 For a discussion of Mickey-mousing technique, see Kracauer (1960: 141); Cook (1998: 179).

80 For the complex relationship between fascism and modernity in terms of technology and industrial design respectively, see Herf (1984); Betts (2004: 23-72).

81 This term refers to relationships between Aryans and Jews, who were prosecuted or punished, particularly following the Nuremberg racial laws passed in 1935. See Przyrembel (2003).

82 This title is taken from the song "Today We Have Germany," which includes the lyrics: "Today we have Germany, and tomorrow the entire world."

83 Although described as a documentary at the time, *Westwall* used fake battle re-enactment scenes. Other similar films from this period include *Feuertaufe* (1939/1940) and *Sieg im Westen* (1940/1941). See Hoffmann (2005: 615).

84 See Frances Guerin's "The Energy of Disappearing," which analyses music and voice-over conventions in relation to the BBC version. Guerin also emphasises the contemporary tendency to treat all recycled visual footage from the Nazi period as historical evidence, even when this material is amateur film footage and photography. As a result, such television documentaries manipulate "amateur colour film footage as the foundation for a coherent narrative that wants to repress and forget the historical trauma of the Holocaust" (2004: n. pag.).

85 This footage is taken from the Nazi propaganda film *Theresienstadt: Ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet* (Theresienstadt: A Documentary Film from the Jewish Settlement Area), which is sometimes referred to as *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer Donates a Town to the Jews). For more on this film, see Magry (1992).

86 There is a similar parallel in a later sequence titled "GAS!" The hit song "It Was Always So Nice with You" is contrasted by depictions of warnings against poisonous gas fumes for German civilians and documentation of Zyklon gas and death chambers. The sequence ends with propaganda images of classical sculpture and flames, which the Nazis often used to symbolise rebirth.

87 The film does not only acknowledge that Germans were (historically) regarded and defined as a "people of music," but also implicates them in this affinity with music and, more broadly, in the social rhythms of the period. For characterisations of Germans as a "People of Music," see Applegate and Potter (2002).

88 Among others, Susan Sontag (1973) has warned about the risk of desensitisation or "compassion fatigue" due to the fre-

quent use and recycling of photographic material about Nazi horrors. For contemporary analyses of the aesthetic dimensions to the photography of pain as "beautiful suffering," see also Reinhardt, Edwards and Duganne (2007).

89 This portrayal is not unlike the panoramic train scenes I discussed earlier in terms of Ruttmann's "postcard" aesthetic in *Kleiner Film einer großen Stadt*.

90 See Kassabian (2001); Reay (2004: 31). As an "easy listening" genre, Muzak is significant since it has been credited with the capacity to increase work productivity and retail consumption (Sterne 1997; Lanza 2004).

91 Jukeboxes did not appear in Germany until the early 1950s. In 1934, Hitler announced a decree forbidding the use of coin-operated (music) machines (Segrave 2002: 252-4).

92 Representations of history in popular culture have also contributed to accumulated forms of visual memory, which Alison Landsberg calls "prosthetic memories" (2004). Prosthetic memory, as Landsberg conceives it, is a specific aesthetic experience of the cinema, which constitutes an encounter with "a mass cultural technology of memory that dramatizes or recreates a history he or she did not live" (28). In Landsberg's analysis, these mediated memories are also primarily visual.

93 The notion of the "punctum" was developed by Roland Barthes (1980/1993) in relation to small details in photography that catch the viewer's attention. For an elaboration on sound in cinema as "punctum," see Wedel (2009).

Notes to Afterword

1 "*Jetzt kommen die Erinnerungen zurück, wenn ich darüber spreche. Das war bei mir lange verschüttert. Die Geräusche klingen jetzt in meinem Ohr*" (Gerhard R., b. 1934); "*Im Ohr sind mir bis heute die Sirenen. […] Die Einschläge und Detonationen sind mir heute noch bewusst, vor allem auch durch die Angst – auch durch die Angst der Erwachsenen*" (Hans M., b. 1938); "*Es hat nach dem Krieg noch Monate gedauert bis ich nachts nicht mehr aufschreckte, wenn ich von Motorengeräusche aufwachte, um in den Keller zu rennen*" (Diethild K., b. 1930); "*Nein, wir hatten keinen Jazz. Das war keinen 'richtige Musik'. [...] Im Juni 1945 ging ich zur einer Geburtstagfeier wo diese Musik gespielt wurde. Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller. Das war: 'Freiheit!' Das war das erste Mal, dass ich ein Gefühl von Freiheit empfunden habe*" (Hannelore H., b. 1927). For an extended reflection on this preliminary oral history project, see Birdsall (2009).

2 See, for example, Baumgartner (1992), Kotarba (2002) and the essays in Bijsterveld and van Dijck (2009).

3 See Spivak (1993). In this essay, Spivak presents the canonical myth of Narcissus in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as a basis for confronting Freud's psychoanalytic concept of narcissism with a gender perspective. In revisiting this myth, Spivak performatively re-establishes the status of Echo, whose incomplete repetitions alter the meaning of Narcissus' speech. In particular, this discussion takes issue with scholars and critics who attempt to account for (non-Western) experience with theories developed for another context (such as the Marxist theory of capitalism).

4 As Scott notes, "The study of experience […] must call into question its originary status in historical explanation" (1991: 793). On this issue, see also Nikolas Rose (1996: 130-1).

5 According to Maurice Halbwach's *Collective Memory* (1992), autobiographical memory is also significantly formed by interactions with institutions and social groups (including family, education and the workplace). Personal, autobiographical narratives are thus often developed in relation to social forms of memory that involve group representations or negotiations over a shared past and its commemoration. We might also note that these categories may or may not be aligned with official or public memory (Misztal 2003: 160). In more general terms, Pierre Nora has characterised modernity as marking an obsession with preserving and archiving memory, as well as rendering it in external or represented form (1989).

6 I have noted the prevalence of post-Enlightenment discourses about sound (emotional) vs visual (rational) in previous chapters. See, for instance, my discussion of Foucault in Chapter Three.

7 An illustrative example of attitudes towards auditory experience and mediated sound can be found in Walter Kempowski's *Haben Sie Hitler gesehen?* (1973). One respondent recalled that a neighbour saw her radio as the embodiment of Hitler, and admitted to stroking the radio set affectionately during his speeches (8).

8 See Steinacker (2003) and Zimmermann (2005), as well as my discussion of predominant discourses about Allied air attacks in Chapter Three. See also the recent discussion of sound in relation to memories of World War II in Maier (2010).

9 Hughes refers to Sabine Behrenbeck's work about post-war memorials in West Germany, where the meaning of World War II was altered and represented as "an accident, a tragic fate, a natural catastrophe" (2002: 361).

10 On the memory boom, see, for example, Huyssen (2000); Winter (2001). Already in the late 1950s, Theodor Adorno criticised attempts to "break free" from the past in West Germany, particularly with the use of euphemisms for Nazi violence (like "*Kristallnacht*") or explanations that posited the air war in term of "a balance sheet of guilt […] as though Dresden compensated for Auschwitz" (1998: 89-90). For the so-called trend towards "normalization" since the 1950s, see also Niethammer (2001).

11 An instructive analysis of the *Historikerstreit* can be found in Richard J. Evans (1989) and original documents in Rudolf Augstein (1987). To name a few of the key works on Holocaust remembrance and cultural memory in Germany: Maier (1988); Friedländer (1993); Buruma (1994); Hartman (1994); Niven (2002).

12 Günter Grass's novel *Im Krebsgang* (2002) is sometimes cited as the beginning of a renewed discourse about these narratives of suffering. But the watershed occurred with novelist W.G. Sebald's provocative public lecture in 1997, later published as *Luftkrieg und Literatur*, in which he denounced the fact that "this horrifying chapter of our history has never really crossed the threshold of the national consciousness" (2003: 11). The essay is in a polemical style, yet Sebald is quick to concede that "we actually provoked the annihilation of the cities in which we once lived" (2003: 104). Jörg Friedrich's book *Der Brand* (2002) unleashed a similar media frenzy due to his descriptions of the Allied bombings of German cities as "massacres" and "terror acts." This public discourse has been fuelled by scores of publications that seek to document and critically analyse German experiences of Allied bomb attacks during World War II (see Hage 2003).

13 Elsewhere, Marianne Hirsch has made similar observations in relation to the role that photographs play in family remembering patterns, often as a key element in the process of creating a coherent and happy family memory (1997; 1999). Indeed, we might say that a deconstruction of the visual registers of the Nazi era was part of the efforts to include film footage and visual images in immediate post-war denazification programmes. On the "optical denazification" of Germany, see Brink (1998).

14 It should be noted that most scholars writing about Nazi propaganda films have focused almost exclusively on the visual composition, rather than the workings of the soundtrack. Two notable exceptions are Ben Morgan's "Music in Nazi Film" (2006) and Celia Applegate's "To Be or Not to Be Wagnerian" (2008). See also Koepnick (2002); Flinn (2004); Hillmann (2005).

15 In fact, stories of victimhood accounted for fifty percent of comments made by interviewees (2002: 54, 86).

16 In two of his most famous projects conducted in the 1970s, *Haben Sie Hitler gesehen?* (Did You See Hitler?) and *Haben Sie davon gewußt?* (Did You Know About It?), Kempowski explored the idea that Germans were in denial about Nazism and the Holocaust. Surprised by the "openness" of his respondents, he published the answers of people from a wide range of religious faiths, social backgrounds and political leanings about their memories, without any commentary.

17 Indeed, it is necessary to be careful about the use of the term "trauma" and to keep in mind that not everyone is traumatised after being exposed to (potentially) traumatising experiences. As historian Andreas Huyssen has cautioned, we should avoid the risk of putting "the whole history of the twentieth century under the sign of trauma" (2003: 8-9). Likewise, Dominick LaCapra emphasises that trauma is a life-shattering event and is difficult to connect to a specific historical event (1997: 267). LaCapra's work pays particular attention to the context of post-Holocaust Jewish trauma. As LaCapra emphasises, universalised suffering is not trauma, and he warns that such a move involves the conversion of absence, such as the loss of community, into specific historical losses (as per Auschwitz and

the Holocaust). See also LaCapra's essay "Trauma Studies: Its Critics and Vicissitudes" (2004: 3).

18 "*Wenn wir uns als gemeinsame Opfer begreifen würden, würden wir ein ganz anders Verhältnis haben zu diesem Krieg und zu dieser Massenvernichtung der Juden und sie als direkte Folge des Nationalsozialismus sehen, ebenso wie diesen Luftkrieg der Alliierten gegen die deutsche Bevölkerung*" (Forte 2003, my translation). See also Vees-Gulani's instructive analysis of Forte's trilogy (2003: 109-19).

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Interviews (Selection)

Charlotte S. (b. 1930). Personal interview. 27 Apr. 2004.
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Gerhard R. (b. 1934). Personal interview. 23 Apr. 2004.
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Kurt K. (b. 1928). Personal interview. 6 May, 2004.
Leon E. (b. 1929). Personal interview. 3 May, 2004.
Renate S. (b. 1928). Personal interview. 22 Apr. 2004.
Therese B. (b. 1925). Personal interview. 19 Apr. 2004.
Ursula S. (b. 1928). Personal interview. 28 Apr. 2004.
Wilhelm M. (b. 1927). Personal interview. 23 Apr. 2004.

Track List

Track 1 [03:05 mins]

"*Schlageter Lied*" (Schlageter song). Author unknown. Performed to the melody of "*Zu Mantua in Banden (Andreas-Hofer-Lied)*" (1981).
Performed by the SA brass orchestra (ca. 1933), conductor Gustav Groschwitz.

Track 2 [03:18 mins]

Act IV, "Schlageter" radio play (adapted from Hanns Johst, "Schlageter," 1933). Broadcast in April/May 1933. *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft* [German Broadcasting Company].

Track 3 [02:05 mins]

Speech given by Hermann Göring, Golzheim Heath, Düsseldorf (26 May 1933). Deulig-Tonwoche, DTW nr. 74. (1933).

Track 4 [27:55 mins]

"*Karneval am Rhein: Festsitzung des 'Bundes deutscher Karneval' in der Düsseldorfer Tonhalle*." (Carnival on the Rhine: Sitting of the German Carnival Federation in the Düsseldorf Concert Hall).
Broadcast on 14 Jan. 1939. *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft* [German Broadcasting Company].

Track 5 [02:30 mins]

"*Sondermeldung des OKW*" (Special announcement from the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* [German Army High Command]).
Broadcast on 24 Jun. 1940. *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft* [German Broadcasting Company].
Copyright Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Frankfurt. [DRA file no. 2643035]

Track 6 [00:30 mins]

"*Sondermeldung des OKW*" (Special announcement from the *Oberkommando der Wehrmacht* [German Army High Command]).
Broadcast on 5 May 1943. *Reichs-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft* [German Broadcasting Company].
Copyright Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Frankfurt. [DRA file no. 2813796]

For further information about the online availability of these sound recordings, please refer to the listing for *Nazi Soundscapes* at www.aup.nl.

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Carolyn Birdsall is Assistant Professor in Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam. Her publications and research interests are in the fields of media and cultural history, with a particular focus on popular music and radio, film and television sound, non-fiction genres and urban studies. She is co-editor of *Sonic Mediations: Body, Sound, Technology* (2008) and *Inside Knowledge: (Un)Doing Ways of Knowing in the Humanities* (2009).

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Following the formation of the German National Socialist Party in the 1920s, various forms of sound (popular music, voice, noise and silence) and media technology (radio and loudspeaker systems) were configured as useful to the party's political programme. Focusing on the urban "soundscape" of Düsseldorf, the author makes a persuasive case for investigating such sound events and technological devices in their specific contexts of production and reception. *Nazi Soundscapes* identifies strategies for controlling space and reworking identity patterns, but also the ongoing difficulties in manipulating mediated sounds and the spaces of listening reception, whether in the home, workplace, the cinema, public rituals or with wartime siren systems. The study revises visualist notions of social control, and reveals the disciplinary functions of listening (as eavesdropping) as well as the sonic dimensions to exclusion and violence during Nazism. An essential title for everyone interested in the links between German political culture, audiovisual media and urban history, *Nazi Soundscapes* provides a fascinating analysis of the cultural significance of sound between the 1920s and early 1940s.

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