

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COSMOPOLITAN REGIONALISM IN BAVARIAN IDENTITY-MUSICS

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Historical Overview and Case Study At *Musikantentreff Im Hofbräuhaus*

Abstract

Stereotypes of Bavaria seem to be instantly recognized by half of the world: Leather pants, Dirndl-Dress, Beer Festivals, Brass Band Music and alpine scenery have been marketed internationally since the 19th century. Bavarian identity is connected to these symbols, but beyond the stereotypes lies a complex web of discourses. The interplay of musical genres, ideology and the construction of place is explored in historical perspective. Three examples are given: The development of identity symbols and stereotypes in the 19th century, a struggle to engross identity symbols in the 1980s by the Christian-Social Union-Party (CSU) and the *Kleinkunst*-scene of “alternative folk music” connected to grassroots ecology movements and the current depoliticized folk music scene, which is related to a zeitgeist of cosmopolitan regionalism. As an example for the latter, musical interaction between musicians from different countries at *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus* is examined based on fieldwork experience in August 2014.

The theoretical point of departure of this paper is Aleida Assmann’s statement, that collective identities are based on shared symbol systems (Assmann 1994: 16). Applying this to Bavarian regional identity, the development of identity symbols and stereotypes in the 19th century - such as landscape, traditional costumes, music and dance - will be explored. Two developments seem to have influenced these top down and bottom up state building processes: Country-City-Migration and Tourism.

As Elka Tschernokoshewa points out, individuals usually partake in more than one collective identity. There are different layers of identification, which can interact. On the one hand, individuals, which share certain interests on one level, might disagree so strongly on another one, that not cohesion but repulsion results from it. A struggle to engross identity symbols might ensue. An example for this is the conflict between CSU and grassroots ecology movements in Bavaria in the 1980s, which was musically accompanied by a conflict between “true folk music” and the *Kleinkunst*-scene of “alternative folk music”. Both groups used symbols of Bavarian identity, but they were ideological so different, that this did not create agreement between the groups but rather a struggle to engross identity symbols.

On the other hand, individuals who are different on one level, for example regarding place related identity, might find similarities on another level, for example occupation, which might create cohesion between them. In the 00s, ideological differences in Bavaria were not as marked anymore, the music scene was depoliticized. Bavarian identity symbols now became a means to create

cohesion between ideologically different groups. This also involved, that cosmopolitanism from the *Kleinkunst*-scene became much more visible, even in formerly conservative circles. *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus* is an example of this convergence. Its cosmopolitan regionalism seems to stem from the *Kleinkunst*-tradition. It creates cohesion beyond regional identification, focusing instead on the shared identity layer of musicianship. An example from my fieldwork shows, how communication through music might work at a jam session, even if there is no shared repertoire.

Symbols Of Bavarian Identity And Their Development In The 19th Century

Identity has a double nature: On the one hand, every individual defines his or her individual identity. This also involves positioning oneself in relation to other individuals. On the other hand, a number of individuals can perceive themselves as a group through identification with one another. This collective identity is a discursive construct based on shared symbol systems (cf. Aleida Assmann 1994: 16). An example are national and regional identities, which are related to cultural constructions of bounded territories (cf. Göbel 2005: 15).

Bavaria, a federal state in the south of Germany, is no exception. Current formations of Bavarian identity can be traced back at least to the 19th century and continue to be shaped by top down- and bottom up-approaches. The interplay of place related identity constructions, ideology and musical styles will be discussed in the following historical overview. Bavarian identity is strongly connected to stereotypes, which are especially related to Upper Bavaria, an administrative district in the south, bordering the Alps. Musician and folklorist Andreas Koll has summed up the discourse:

White and blue sky, traditional costumes, Schuhplattler¹ and brass music: An image of people and their mentality so strongly typified as in Upper Bavaria does not exist in any other German region. Where do these 'images' of Bavaria between self-conception and perception from outside come from, which half of the world seems to have internalized? [...] No region in Germany is loaded with myths, prejudices and clichés, no region in Germany has become a brand like Upper Bavaria, which is equated with Bavaria [and abroad also Germany, LB]. (Koll 2013: 19, translation from German: LB)

The performance of Bavarian identity for foreigners and natives has been internalized by a number of people living there. They have learned to present themselves as 'unique' and 'original', it has become part of their identity. Among the stereotypical symbols of Bavaria are (cf. Koll 2013: 19; Holtz 2010: 206):

- The landscape, especially the Alps and the white and blue sky, which has the same colors as the Bavarian flag.
- Traditional costumes, especially "Dirndl"-dresses for women and "Lederhosn"² for men
- Traditional music, especially dance and military music from the 19th century played by brass bands and *Stubnmusik*-string ensembles
- Traditional dance, e.g. *Schuhplattler*, a shoe slapping dance formerly exclusively performed by men
- Traditional festivals and customs like maypole celebrations and beer fests (e.g. Oktoberfest)

1- "shoeslap", a traditional dance.

2- "leather pants"

These stereotypes have been evolving in Bavaria especially since the 19th century (cf. Egger 2014: 195). The region can be seen as a locally specific example of a development that took place in other areas of Europe as well. Matthew Gelbart shows a similar process for Scotland: In the second half of the 18th century, the concept of the “noble savage”, which had been used for “primitive” tribes in “exotic” locations was transformed and applied to rural populations in Europe. English hetero-stereotypes of Scottish highlanders were turned into auto-stereotypes by Scottish cultural nationalists and used for identity building purposes. “The folk” or “the simple people from the country” – a stratum of the feudal society - became the stereotypical essence of nation identities. Gelbart argues, that this trend then spread across Europe and every nation found the “noble savage” in their midst (cf. Gelbart 2007: 10-11, 30, 62–63).

In Bavaria this complex identity building encompassed a number of developments, interacting with one another. Top down and bottom up state building processes were emphasizing a homogeneous identity construct. Country-City-Migration and tourism created hetero-stereotypes which were then turned into auto-stereotypes.

Bavaria in its current form can be traced back to the kingdom which was established in 1806 as a new territorial unit. Cohesion among the heterogeneous parts within this construct had to be created while at the same time integrating it into *Deutsches Reich* (Koll 2013: 20). The Bavarian elite opted for a state building process based on a homogenous Bavarian identity. Putting this development in relation to Matthew Gelbart’s theories, this mode of proceeding does not seem unusual for the zeitgeist of that time. A political unit was construed using cultural factors and Bavaria was reinvented as a cultural “nation”, a process that was so successful that the image of a state based on centuries of tradition is now commonplace (Holtz 2010: 203-204).

But this state building process was not only a top down-project by courtly elites. In line with the romanticist search for the “noble savage” as the essence of a cultural nation, bourgeois circles became interested in folklore and started to document rural life (Egger 2014: 168).

At the same time, romanticism spawned alpinism as an early form of tourism. Foreigners from high society, which could afford the new trend of recreational traveling, came to the Alps and thus to the south of Upper Bavaria. They expected “noble savages”, an “original” rural life “unspoiled” by the urban civilization they came from. The local population quickly learned to satisfy their expectations. New, marketable objectifications and rituals had to be created, based on local cultural capital (Koll 2013: 20). Traditional costumes were sold to tourists and shows consisting of traditional music and dance were staged for the guests. This seems to be the source for identity symbols traditional music, costumes, dance and festivals.

Bavarian Identity-Musics From The 1970s To The Present

Collective identity is a mixed blessing: On the one hand, it creates cohesion among the members of a group, on the other hand, it also delimitates its boundaries, turning non-members into “others”. This can obstruct interaction and in the worst case dehumanize non-members.

But individuals rarely only identify with one group. Firstly this means, that they are part of collective identities on different levels, for example of religious, territorial, cultural, ideological, work-

and leisure-related groups.³ A person can be a Muslim, German, leftwing, computer scientist, who plays football. Secondly, for each level, individuals can be members of more than one group, they can identify with more than one collective. Regarding national identity for example, an individual can identify with Turkey and Germany at the same time.

As Elka Tschernokoshewa writes: “It is a signum of postmodern⁴ live, that none of these subsystems or difference-types can raise claim to define everything in the life of a person anymore.” (Tschernokoshewa 2011: 15, translation from German: LB). This multilayered nature of identity, which has been described as Patchwork identity by Heiner Keupp (2008) and as internal transculturality by Wolfgang Welsch (2010: 45-46) may have advantages and disadvantages regarding the separating character of collective identity. On the one hand, individuals who do not share a collective identity on one level might have other things in common. For example, cohesion can arise between people from different countries, who share the same profession or leisure activity. On the other hand, disagreement on one level might be so strong, that shared interests on another level seem irrelevant.

CSU vs. *Kleinkunst*: Ideological Segregation

After the 1970s for example, two groups who shared an interest in Bavarian identity symbols tried to engross these from their ideological perspective: The ruling party CSU and the *Kleinkunst*-scene, which was connected to grassroots ecology movements. This was mirrored by the tension between two identity-musics: So-called “true folk music” and “alternative folk music”. Agents from these scenes were related to the ideologically opposing factions and supported their struggle to engross regional identity.

Since World War II Bavaria is dominated by the “Christian-Social Union in Bavaria” (CSU). The party only exists in this federal state but it cooperates with “Christian-Democratic Union” (CDU) at national level. Apart from a short opposition period in 1954 to 1957, CSU has been the governing party in Bavaria, most of the time with an absolute majority of the votes. No other party in Germany has been so successful at maintaining its power (Holtz 2010: 203).

The success of CSU is based on a dialectical strategy, combining growth-oriented economic policy with conservative cultural policy. The metaphor “Laptop und Lederhose”⁵ puts it in a nutshell.⁶ Economic prosperity grants financial security to the population while the maintenance and transformation of identity symbols developed in the 19th century creates group cohesion and social stability (cf. Röthinger 2009: 379; Göbel 2005: 344–345). On the symbolic level, Bavarian identity is still partly based on its agricultural, provincial past. Because of this, it suffers from an unadmitted inferiority complex, which CSU is successfully curing by emphasizing Bavaria’s economic leadership position (cf. Holtz 2010: 207). The main goal of this dialectical strategy is to create a sense of home, security and order among the population and portray the party as the guardian of that order (cf. *ibid.*: 210). European Ethnologist Simone Egger – among others – describes CSU aptness in using identity symbols for state building purposes:

3- These levels are of course abstractions and by no means intended as impermeable distinctions. Collective identities might also relate to more than one level and to other types than the ones mentioned here

4- It is debatable, if this really is a postmodern phenomenon. Multiple affiliations seem to have existed in history as well, but the effects of globalization may have made the phenomenon more common.

5- “Laptop and traditional leather pants”

6- It was coined by Roman Herzog (CDU) in 1998, when he was still federal president of Germany.

'Heimatfilm'⁷ is a genre, that has been invented in the 1950s. And the biggest Heimatfilm is called Bavaria. It is continued as an endless series by the CSU [...] wrote the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in 2004. This connection, people said in Bavaria, had always existed and was considered natural. In this context, the journalist Herbert Riehl-Heyse called CSU the 'party that invented the beautiful Bavaria.' (Egger 2014: 171; translation from German: LB)

While international relations are an important part of CSU policy – they developed the concept "Europe of regions" – this has remained an elite project. Cooperation across national boundaries was necessary to secure Bavaria's economic prosperity. But these business connections were established by specialists. The majority of the population was expected to be unable to deal with cultural difference in their everyday live. It was perceived as a danger to the feeling of home and order, which CSU tried to protect (Röthinger 2009: 406).

Among the symbolic capital, CSU used for state building purposes in the 20th and 21st century, is a musical tradition shaped by Kiem Pauli, Wastl Fanderl and Tobi Reiser, called "true folk music." It took shape in the 1930s, building on and transforming elements of folk song and dance music. With its normative approach, it dominated the conception of traditional folk music in Bavaria till the end of the 20th century. Kiem Pauli, the founder of this tradition, was influenced by the pan-Germanist ideology of Austrian folk music preservationist Josef Pommer but as a Monarchist and catholic Conservative he had a hard time in national socialist Germany (Becher et al. 1995: 7-8).

The stylistic core of the Kiem/Fanderl/Reiser-Tradition is a homophonic tree part vocal singing style, Kiem had borrowed via Josef Pommer from the Schneeberg-Area near Vienna, and furthermore, the so called *Stub'nmusik*⁸ characterized by small string instrument ensembles and especially the innovative chromatic dulcimer. It was developed by folk music preservationist Tobi Reiser from Salzburg (Lorenz 2012: 70-71), a person, who did unfortunately not object to being engrossed by the NS-Regime (cf. Müller 2011). The musical aesthetics of the Kiem/Fanderl/Reiser-style were dominated by the beautiful, euphonious and a nostalgia for rural life but also the denial of romantic emotionalism and commerce-oriented presentation characteristic of folksy music (Lorenz 2012: 70). Through its connections among the political elite, the Kiem/Fanderl/Reiser-Tradition managed to institutionalize. Wastl Fanderl became the first official folk music preservationist of the administrative district Upper Bavaria in 1973. As Kiem Pauli's successor, he further increased the media exposure of "true folk music" and ensured its dominance in the discourse (Müller 2012: 258, 302).

This Kiem/Fanderl/Reiser-Tradition of "true folk music" was the basis for the "alternative folk music", which developed in opposition to it in the 1970s. This also had a political aspect: Comedians and folk music bands of the so-called *Kleinkunst*-scene in Munich were seen as a form of extra-parliamentary opposition (Egger 2014: 174). Among the most known today are Gerhard Polt and the *Biermösl Blosn*. Comedian Gerhard Polt satirized the identity building strategy of CSU in his soliloquy "Democracy": "The Old Romans and the old Greeks [...] sacrificed jewelry, gold, wine, beer and other drinks to get the harmony with the gods. In Bavaria, the Bavarian citizen of today sacrifices his identity to the party to get a Freibier⁹" (Polt 2009: 4:48).

7- "homeland-movie"

8- "parlor music"

9- "free beer"

The approach of the *Kleinkunst*-Movement to change the political circumstances was to remove this perceived connection of party and identity and to reframe the established symbols for the purposes of the protest movement. *Biermösl Blossn* for example used dialect, traditional costumes and the “true folk music”-style but altered the lyrics: Instead of nostalgia, their songs expressed protest against what they perceived as an ideological mistreatment of their homeland by the governing party.

Ideologically, *Biermösl Blossn* belonged to the new social movements, especially the grassroots ecology-movement which developed after the publication of the 1972 Club of Rome report on “Limits of Growth.” State premier Franz-Josef Strauß was pushing the development of infrastructure after 1978, to turn Bavaria from an agricultural hinterland into a location for business capable of competing (Egleder 2010: 208–210). This economically motivated program transformed the landscape and rural ways of live and thus conflicted with cultural aspects of CSU’s identity policy. The anti-capitalist, anti-growth oriented ecology movements and their musical equivalent, the *Kleinkunst*-scene used this tension as a starting point for their critique. Gerhard Polt put it in a nutshell with his soliloquy “Der Revolutionär” – “The Revolutionary”: “What you love - your homeland – what you love, you do not asphalt all the time.” (Polt 1988:1:17, translation from German: LB)

Furthermore, the movement criticized the focus of CSU on Bavarian culture and economic superiority, which it perceived as arrogant, egocentric and closed minded. Although their parents had raised them in the Kiem/Fanderl/Reiser-Tradition (cf. Zöllner 2014: 126), the ideological emancipation of *Biermösl Blossn* and similar bands manifested in their musical approach: They started to incorporate influences from other countries and combined “true folk music” with critical lyrics inspired by the angloamerican folk revival movement. A pivotal point for the *Kleinkunst*-scene and the political likeminded was the 1986 protest against the planned atomic reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf. It brought together grassroots movements from a variety of ideological backgrounds, united by a common enemy: The CSU and Franz-Josef Strauß (Kretschmer 1988: 183-185). By that time, the grassroots ecology movements had already been partly institutionalized in the Green Party, which was founded in 1980.

The *Kleinkunst*-scene and the CSU shared a strong place related identity and the usage of symbols developed in the 19th century. Even the roots of the ecology movement were not so far apart from CSU: The preservation of the homeland had originally been a conservative project. But through the combination with anti-capitalism and the radicalization after the Club of Rome-Report in 1972, the ideological split had become so marked, that these shared interests could not create cohesion anymore. A struggle to define Bavarian identity according to the own ideological program resulted from this.

Cohesion Through Diversified Bavarianness And Cosmopolitan Regionalism

In the 2000s, the debates and discourses changed. A zeitgeist of cosmopolitan regionalism seems to have made ideological boundaries more permeable. The political discourse was not as polarizing anymore and Bavarianness became a shared layer among ideologically different groups to create cohesion in some instances.

The word “Heimat” – “home” or “homeland” – was associated with conservatism in the 1990s. In the late 2000s, it was turned into a marketing term and became fashionable across

different milieus in Bavaria. This development has been interpreted as search for security in the era of globalization. Nevertheless, the new regionalism seems to be more cosmopolitan, welcoming foreigners despite a strong sense of collective identity.

Again, this socio-cultural development was accompanied and also caused by musical activities. Since about 2008 interest by Bavarian media in a musical phenomenon has been increasing, which in some ways continues the tradition started by *Biermösl/ Blosn*. But the current bands are not openly expressing political views anymore. Their music is stylistically heterogeneous due to their eclectic approaches of selecting and combining influences. What the groups actually have in common is the already mentioned dialectical attitude which combines seemingly contradictory views: Regionalism and cosmopolitanism. Their music is related to Bavaria but is also influenced audibly from elsewhere. The location in Bavaria is achieved by lyrics in the regional dialects or references to traditional sounds. But additionally, their music incorporates popular or traditional musics of the world.

The alternative popular music scene, folk music preservation and the *Kleinkunst*-scene influence have converged: The alternative scene, always in search for new material to emphasize their individuality, has discovered Bavarian tradition as a pool for bricolage. There was no better way to be individual than to ironically use these formerly “not cool” identity symbols, which were despised by other group members (ibd.: 6). At the same time, folk music preservationists were becoming interested in other musics. Traveling was common in “true folk music” circles after 1950s at the very latest. But there is no evidence, that international encounters had any effect on the repertoire before (cf. Müller 2012: 159-163). Now, migration and the new diversity policy of the European Union since the late 1990s necessitated an intercultural approach to folk culture preservation. Both phenomena can be explained as effects of glocalisation (ibd.: 12): The popular music scene was relocalizing globally distributed styles by fusing them with local tradition while the traditional music scene was opening itself up for influences from abroad.

Case Study: *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus*

An example for this development is *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus*, a monthly musicians meeting where the current atmosphere – open minded and conscious of tradition - can be experienced directly. *Hofbräuhaus am Platzl* in Munich is one of the main tourist attractions in Bavaria, the stereotypical Bavarian beer hall, a place where symbols of identity condense. The *Musikantentreff* is one of the most innovative projects in the musical program of *Hofbräuhaus*. It takes place on every first Monday evening of the month. In her announcements, organizer Franziska Eimer presents the event series as follows: “At Hofbräuhaus, music is played. We play whatever comes up. As long as the night is short. Music from Bavaria, from the whole World. Whoever dares to join in is welcome”¹⁰ (Eimer 27.02.2014, translation from German: LB).

10- “Im Hofbräuhaus wird aufgespielt. Musiziert wird, was auf den Tisch kommt. So lang die Nacht kurz ist. Musik aus Bayern, aus der ganzen Welt. Wer sich traut mitzuspielen, ist herzlich eingeladen. Auch Zuhörer sind herzlich Willkommen. [sic!]”

In an interview on the 6th of September 2014, she described her booking concept as follows:

The aim is, to bring different people and cultures together without borders, that new friends are made, that this is a lively exchange, that new music is created and new bands are founded. [...] [I try to achieve this] by inviting different groups as core groups [...]. I take care [...], that [...] there is at best one intercultural group, one traditional Bavarian one and something modern or [...] extravagant.¹¹ (Translation from German: LB)

These core groups are joined by a number of regulars who often attend the session. *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus* continues a tradition of pub jam sessions, which was reestablished in the 2000s by *Niederbayerischer Musikantenstammtisch*, a collective of young musicians, which were part of the folk music preservation scene but also had connections to the alternative music scene (Keglmaier 2009). Furthermore, *Musikantentreff* pursues an intercultural approach in folk music preservation, which had been established in Munich by the project „MELT – Migration in Europe and Local Tradition“, that took place from 2008 to 2009 in six European cities. In Munich, the project “MakingMusi” tied in with the local tradition of the *Hoagartn* – an informal pub jam session. At these events, musicians from the partaking cities but also from Munich and local migrant-communities were playing together (Kulturreferat 2009, Becher 2009). The intercultural musicians meetings were very popular with the audience. After funding ceased, guest musicians left and exchange with migrant communities reduced. To maintain the existing exchange and to expand the musical repertoire, the innkeepers of the Hofbräuhaus, Wolfgang and Michael Sperger, engaged Franziska Eimer. She had already helped to organize events during “MakingMusi,” took over the organization of *Musikantentreff* and established it. Together with Wolfgang and Michael Sperger, she was awarded with the “Innovationspreis Volkskultur” by the City of Munich in 2013 (Kulturreferat 2013). The groups playing at *Musikantentreff* are traditional folk music groups, “new folk music”-groups in the – now apolitical – *Kleinkunst*-tradition, Bavaria-Pop-Bands, groups, which play traditional music from other countries and international awardees of the City of Munich. It is an example of the convergence of *Kleinkunst*-folk music and the folk music preservation-scene and merges these two traditions, which were originally symbols for ideologically opposed collective identities. Franziska Eimer herself is in contact with both traditions: She was taught harp by Stophel Well of the *Biermösl Blossn*, who was an important figure in the bottom up *Kleinkunst*-Movement, but her *Musikantentreff* is a continuation of the top down MELT-project, organized by folk music preservationists from the city of Munich.

Bavarianness is an important element of *Musikantentreff*, but it is not a normatively defined Bavarianness. Instead, various musical interpretations of Bavarianness happen simultaneously or sequentially: “true folk music,” *Kleinkunst*-“folk music” and “Bavaria pop” are played at the same event. Furthermore, the *Kleinkunst*-scene has left its mark by normalizing stylistic heterogeneity. Cohesion among the musicians at the jam session is not relying on Bavarianness, it is achieved in a much more complex process as musicians are searching for commonalities in the repertoire

11- “Das Ziel ist, verschiedene Menschen und Kulturen ohne Grenzen zusammenzubringen, dass neue Freundschaften geschlossen werden, dass das ein lebendiger Austausch ist, dass neue Musik entsteht und neue Bands entstehen.“ [...] “Indem ich verschiedene Gruppen einlade als Kerngruppen [...]. Ich schau [...], dass [...] bestenfalls wirklich eine interkulturelle Gruppe da ist, dann eine traditionelle boarische Musik da ist und irgendwas Modernes oder [...] Ausgefallenes.“

or genres, they are able to play. Bi- and Multi-musicality simplifies the search for points of contact. For example, if one musician (broadly speaking) can play jazz, funk and reggae and the other can play punk, ska and reggae, it will be most simple for them to play reggae together. But even if no shared repertoire or genre can be found, they might look for similarities between the musical structures they each can produce and even modify them to be able to play together. In large groups common at *Hofbräuhaus*, this usually does not happen by verbal negotiation but via trial and error: Musicians simply start songs and if enough other musicians join in, the piece is continued. But this approach might also cause segregation: Musicians, who are not capable to play the repertoire or style are excluded.

An example from my fieldwork, which seems to condense many different aspects, might illustrate these processes. The jam session took place on the 4th of August 2014 and was among the most striking examples of diversity, I have encountered at *Hofbräuhaus*.¹² In the first stage of fieldwork, I documented the *Musikantentreff* through participant observation, audio- and selective video-recording. In the second stage, I conducted research conversations with selected attendants regarding their biography, musical skills and repertoire. After that, I discussed excerpts from my video-recordings with them to reconstruct the cognitive processes, which had taken place during the jam session. Regarding my example, I would like to focus on two consultants: Josef Zapf and Vengai Katogodo.

In this jam session on the 4th of August 2014, *Pamuzinda*, a marimba band from Harare, Zimbabwe, started to play the song “Zvibate,” composed and arranged by their bandleader Michael Kamunda (3.7.2015). Several others joined in: 25 musicians played together and the session lasted about 15 minutes.

Several symbols of Bavarianness – as developed since the 19th century - were present in that session, handled sometimes in a traditional, sometimes in a playful manner. But these were only part of a general diversity at the event.

For example, traditional Bavarian folk music was present at the event as well as “alternative” forms but also a traditional music hybrid group and pop musicians from Zimbabwe. Of the 25 musicians, six were individuals and 19 were playing together with members of their usual ensemble. The five groups were:

- *Monaco Musi*: Male Musicians from Upper Bavaria playing traditional Bavarian folk music group
- *Isarschixn*: A female group from Upper and Lower Bavaria, specializing in Bavarian music comedy related to the *Kleinkunst*-Tradition
- *Fei Scho*: A mixed-gender group from Upper Bavaria playing “alpine world music”, according to their website
- *Pamuzinda*: A mixed-gender group from Harare, Zimbabwe, describing their style as “marimba music”
- *Acoustic night Allstars*: Two male awardees of the city of Munich, also from Harare, Zimbabwe, who play singer/songwriter-music.

12- Although Franziska Eimer considers intercultural encounter as an important part of the *Musikantentreff*-concept, it is not certain, that musicians from different countries will be present or different musical styles will be played there. During my fieldwork, I have experienced evenings with exclusively Bavarian traditional music played by local musicians.

This is of course a very simplified description, because usually the repertoire of the Bands includes more than one style. Moreover, individual musicians may be multi-musical and their musical activity outside their band might include even more genres. Harp player and organizer Franziska Eimer for example plays film scores in the Munich based orchestra *Filmfoniker*, traditional folk music from Bavaria and other countries in her harp duo *Dirndlettes* and has contributed to the award winning album “MTV unplugged in New York” by Munich based pop band *Sportfreunde Stiller*.

The musicians partly played instruments, which are regularly used in Bavarian traditional music, such as diatonic harmonica, accordion, trombone, trumpet, spoons and double bass. But there were also lots of instruments which are more common in other genres, for example electric guitar and silent guitar as common pop instruments, djembe as a West-African and “ethno-pop”-instrument and marimbas as usual Zimbabwean instruments. Some of the musicians wore the Bavarian traditional costume, but not only Bavarian musicians, also one of the marimba players from Zimbabwe. Michael Kamunda, bandleader of *Pamuzinda* wore a rastacap, which might be considered a religious symbol of the Rastafari religion. Most session participants wore casual European clothes, though. The music itself, the *Pamuzinda*-Song “Zvibate”, was not related to symbols of Bavarianness. But despite not knowing the style, the musical similarities between *Pamuzinda*'s music and the repertoire of the participants was big enough to allow for a shared jam session.

My video recording allows me to trace, how the piece evolved: The song was started by Barbra Tandare of *Pamuzinda*, who played the bassline. In the following one and a half minutes, the music was sometimes interrupted by quiet disharmonic “accidents”. The other musicians were trying to find the right key and the chord progression, if they played harmony instruments, or a background melody, if they played melody instruments. But the piece was held together by the repetitive bassline and the supporting melodies on tenor and soprano marimba played by the other *Pamuzinda* members. After a while, a number of musicians had found out what to play and the session really started.

Josef Zapf and Vengai Katogodo have describe me, how they experienced the *Zvibate*-session. Josef Zapf works as a stage manager. He was born in Munich in 1963. His father was very active in the “true folk music”-scene in Munich and also in the folklore club *Falkenstoana Stamm*. Josef learned to play folk music on the dulcimer from his father. Later, he had clarinet lessons and learned the classical repertoire. As a teenager, he played traditional dance music and attended pub sessions with his brothers and discovered jazz. These informal events covered a repertoire from folk to popular music. In the 00s he was an important member of trendsetting Munich based folk music collective *Niederbayerischer Musikantenstammtisch*.

Vengai Katogodo is a truck driver and Burger King-employee. He was born in Harare, Zimbabwe in 1977. His family owned neither TV nor radio, but made music for their own entertainment. Vengai started to play Ngoma-drum, when he was eight years old. He never had formal music lessons, but he learned Marimba, Mbira, sang composed Choral music with lyrics in the Shona language in the church choir and became a member of the musical theater group *Pamuzinda*. In 1999, he first came to Germany via a catholic youth exchange network and got to know his wife here. Harare and Munich are twin cities. Vengai is the only member of *Pamuzinda* living in Germany, the rest of the Band come here every summer. As Vengai told me, the Band

plays with different instrumentation in Zimbabwe, using for example electric guitars. In Germany, the band only uses the more traditional instruments, because it wants to satisfy the demand by the audience, it perceives.

Josef explained to me in a research conversation on 18th of August 2014, that in the beginning, there were only harmonies, no singing. So he thought, that there was room to improvise. After about one minute, he started to improvise a short solo. He explained to me, that he did not do this to show off, but to give other musicians a cue: "It is was allowed to play along to this piece". While we were watching the field recording, he said: "There, she [a young harmonica player] takes her instrument, because she says: If that guy is just noodling around to the song, I can noodle around as well. That's the effect it has." For Josef, the piece was inviting for improvisation due to its simple chord progression, rhythm and repetitive character:

"Pamuzinda. They simply start with something and everyone immediately hears it: I can play along. I mean, they sing to it. They do the singing. But one can dance to it. But regarding the harmonies, everyone can play along, because there are no breaks in there, because there are no tempo thingies in there. So no concert piece."

According to Josef the song is easy to play along for most of the session musicians. Reframing his words in more musicological language, that seems to be the case, because the piece is in F-major, one of the few keys that can be easily played on Brass and String instruments common in Bavarian traditional music. Despite the multilayered melodic patterns of the *Pamuzinda* piece, it is easy for folk and pop musicians to hear a I-IV-I-V-chord progression in 4/4-time, with harmonies changing every bar. *Pamuzinda's* Michael Kamunda would not describe the structures with these terms, but they can be heard that way. These structures are part of his music, because he is inspired by reggae and Caribbean music, when he writes his pieces, as he has told me in a research conversation on 15th of May 2013. There are structural similarities between *Pamuzinda's* music and Caribbean music styles like reggae, which many musicians in Bavaria are used to. Its intelligibility for them seems to owe to its globally distributed influences. A jam session with more traditional Zimbabwean mbira music might not be possible. I have been taught a few pieces by Vengai and Michael for example "Mahororo." They are polymetric and I could not discern any chord progression.

When I asked Vengai, how he evaluated the interaction during a later part of the jam session, when more than twenty people were playing along, he said: "Do you hear this? Somehow you don't have a riddim in the end. You don't know, where anything is. To me it's like it's made of clay, so to say. There is no riddim, you can start anywhere."

It seems, that the musical result was at least in some aspects not aesthetically desirable for Vengai. Because so many people were playing along and the acoustics of the room also where not great, the music did not sound transparent anymore. Not all musical lines could be clearly heard, a certain muddiness and messiness arose. This is not specific to Vengai: In another session I have also heard a Bavarian traditional music accordion player say, that he was very dissatisfied with the huge jam sessions for aesthetic reasons. On the other hand, Josef said, he did not think, that there were too many people playing along, because the core of the song was still intact.

Despite the spirit of cooperation at the *Hofbräuhaus-Stüberl*, there was also segregation. A group of about ten young musicians was sitting on the balcony in the backyard of *Hofbräuhaus* playing traditional Bavarian folk music. This might have happened for a number of reasons: Traditional

musicians might have been fed up with the concert-like atmosphere inside. *Fei Scho* and *Isarschixn* were playing composed pieces, with complex arrangements, which did not allow other players to jam along. It might be related to collective identity and a disinterest for non-Bavarian music. Or it might have to do with aesthetic aspects, which were already discussed regarding Vengai's evaluation of the session: At a certain size, jam sessions get unwieldy. It is hard for participants to hear, what the other musicians are doing and to react accordingly. Furthermore, the audience at the *Stüberl* is usually talking and if many musicians play, the piece often does not sound transparent anymore. To some of the musicians, who value transparent sound and virtuosity, this is a nuisance. Despite the friendship and cohesion between the musicians, there still seems to remain a sense of cultural boundary, at least in verbal utterances. One traditional Bavarian musician called playing together with *Pamuzinda* "Völkerverständigung."¹³ One musician from Zimbabwe called the musicians and audience in general his dear friends, but another musician from Zimbabwe his brother.

Furthermore, the communication between the musicians did not work on all levels. The lyrics in Shona were not understood by most of the participants. Michael Kamunda wrote me on Facebook: "It's all about aids awareness" (Kamunda 3.7.2015). This layer of meaning was completely absent for all of the Bavarian musicians, I have talked to.

Conclusion

Till the present day, Bavarian identity is based on symbols and stereotypes which developed in the 19th century as a result of top down and bottom up state building processes, tourism and country-city-migration. Among these are the Alpine landscape, the traditional costumes *Dirndl* and *Lederhosn*, traditional dance and music – either brass bands in beer tents or *Stub'nmusik* of the Kiem/Fanderl/Reiser-Tradition.

These symbols have been transformed in the course of time. Other layers of collective identity – for example ideologies – have led to a struggle to engross Bavarian identity. In the late 1970s and 1980s, CSU put emphasis on cultural homogeneity and progressive economy, the *Kleinkunst*-scene contested their dominant identity construction and argued for cultural heterogeneity and ecology. Consequently, "alternative folk musicians" stated to incorporate influences from other genres in their music.

In the 2000s, the ideological discourse had become more complex and boundaries between groups more permeable. Bavarianness now became a lowest common denominator with a moderating effect on ideological differences. *Kleinkunst*-tradition and folk music preservation converged in Munich, spawning *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus*. This event series brings together diverse musical interpretations of Bavarian identity – traditional folk music, folk music hybrids and Bavaria-pop – in a spirit of pluralistic regionalism. But it also continues the cosmopolitan openness introduced by the *Kleinkunst*-scene and fosters dialog beyond Bavarianness. Cohesion among musicians is achieved via trial and error: Shared repertoire among multi-musical musicians and – if this is not available - accidental structural similarities between musical styles enable them to play together. Nevertheless, there is also segregation, if musicians do not share repertoire, skills or aesthetic predilections. Despite playing together, a sense of cultural boundary remains for some of the musicians.

13- "Communication between national groups"

Since 2013, Franziska Eimer organizes the TV-programme *Z'am rocken*¹⁴ at *Bayerisches Fernsehen*.¹⁵ The concept of *Musikantentreff im Hofbräuhaus* served as a basis for this program, although it had to be altered to suit the needs of a TV-broadcast. Through the public attention, the *Musikantentreff*-concept has gained by this broadcast, it might reinforce and shape the "cosmopolitan regionalism"-approach to Bavarian identity. But there are also tendencies to emphasize the segregating element of collective identity, visible for example in the form of an anti-northern German sticker on a lamppost I have seen near Oktoberfest in 2014.¹⁶ It remains to be seen, which tendency – cosmopolitan or essentialist regionalism – will become dominant in the discourse and if there will be a new ideological struggle after the convergence in the 2000s.

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14- "rocking together"

15- "Bavarian Television"

16- "Die einzige Tracht, die einem Preissn steht, ist eine Tracht Prügel" The phrase includes a pun on "Tracht", which means "traditional costume" and "Tracht Prügel, which means "beating up." The sentence might be translated as: "The only traditional costume, that suits a northern German, is beating him up."

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