

When Migration Ends, When Music Ceases

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ABSTRACT

The different processes and sites of intersection between music and mobility are crucial to the ways in which the potential for music to form what the following article calls “aesthetic agency”. Music’s aesthetic agency has a long history, which the article examines in larger historiographic and ethnographic sections. The forms of action central to the individual case studies that follow have formed complex histories of multiculturalism and are central to the social formations of world music in both the past and the present.

In the opening section of the article I establish the dimensions of “aesthetic agency” as the site of intersection between music and mobility. The mobility of music endows it with multiple political meanings, which range from the articulation of identity in national anthems to the mobilization of resistance. Two sets of discourse provide the basis for historiographic sections, the first arguing that music’s mobility has always shaped models of music in the world, the second examining a set of keywords that are common to “discourses of mobility” that shape the models of migration and immigration in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Specific case studies illustrate this long history, among them Abraham Zvi Idelsohn’s deployment of diverse practices of Jewish music to map the Jewish diaspora.

Two larger case studies establish the ethnographic comparison in a section devoted to the city as a place of mobility. Recent popular music in Berlin offers one of these sites, and the sacred musical practices of Hispanic immigrants in Chicago provides a contrastive example. A close analysis of the immensely popular song by Peter Fox, “Schwarz zu Blau”, contrasts with the ways in which songs about the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe become anthems that mobilize immigration marches in the United States.

Three attempts to restrict migration and re-route immigration close the article. Drawn from American border politics, French destruction of Roma settlements, and the economic debates about German multiculturalism, the three examples seemingly contradict the discourse histories and ethnographic moments in the earlier sections, and they offer a conclusion that serves as a critical cautionary tale.

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THE PLACE OF MUSIC

Verso 1

Amanece, lo veis?, a la luz de la aurora?

lo que tanto aclamamos la noche al caer?

sus estrellas sus franjas

flotaban ayer

en el fiero combate

en señal de victoria,

fulgor de lucha, al paso de la libertad.

Por la noche decían:

“Se va defendiendo!”

Coro

Oh decid! Despliega aún

su hermosura estrellada

sobre tierra de libres,

la bandera sagrada?

Verse 1

It's sunrise. Do you see by the light of the dawn?

What we proudly hailed last nightfall?

Its stars, its stripes

yesterday streamed

above fierce combat

a symbol of victory,

The glory of battle, the march toward liberty.

Throughout the night, they proclaimed:

“We will defend it!”

Chorus

Tell me! Does its

starry beauty still wave

above the land of the free,

the sacred flag?

“NUESTRO HIMNO/OUR HYMN”

Time and place converge in the histories of migration that epigrammatically set this article in motion, inviting the reader to join in the unofficial anthem of immigrants to the United States, “Nuestro Himno/Our Anthem”. Written, covered, and recorded on April 28th, 2006, on the eve of the largest marches for immigrant rights in the history of the United States, “Nuestro Himno” is a proclamation of ownership – of place and human rights – in an ongoing history of denial (accessible with the link: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f4gP_pSOCz4). The sense of selfness that unites the text to context – “our hymn” to “our movement” as immigrants – is given voice through an anthem of otherness. Affirming selfness and community are movement and mobility, which lay claim to both time and place. Temporally, those singing “Nuestro Himno” move from night to day. Metaphorically, they move from the darkness of the past to the light of a new day, claiming the same narrative movement in the official national anthem of the United States, “The Star-Spangled Banner”. The choices they make to cover the national anthem serve to sanctify the land. Theirs is a journey of migration made sacred through music; a national history that marches steadily into the future is sung into action.¹

¹ “The Star-Spangled Banner” has served as the national anthem of the United States since 1931. Based on the poem, “The Defence of Fort Henry” (1814), by Francis Scott Key, the national anthem describes a naval battle in Chesapeake Bay during the War of 1812.

Oh, say can you see by the dawn's early light
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?
Whose broad stripes and bright stars thru the perilous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly streaming?
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

As an anthem or hymn, “Nuestro Himno” becomes a genre that juxtaposes music and place, on its surface, seemingly bounded, but in fact its surface belies a fragility and the search for place, more often than not making explicit the implicit references to music in movement. Anthems and hymns make a claim for space that their singers do not otherwise possess (see, e.g., Bohlman, 2011, pp. 113–17; Boyd, 2001; Kurzke, 1990). “Our Hymn” musically affords agency to those who would not otherwise possess it. What is it that the singers actually defend at the end of the verse? Symbols rather than land, movement rather than their own place. “Fulgor de lucha, al paso de la libertad / The glory of battle, the march toward liberty”.



Fig. 1 – Immigrant marchers in Chicago, 1 May 2006 (Photo by José Angel Hernández)

As genre and repertory, anthems about place depend upon movement to and through time and space. Their texts are about reaching the unreachable, about laying claim to the ephemeral. Their music – melody, form, meaning – depend on malleability and mobility. The “Deutschlandlied” (or German national anthem) moves from a Croatian folk song to a string quartet by Haydn to the anthem of the Austro-Hungarian Empire to the anthem of twentieth-century Germany (Fink-Mennel and Rainer, 2009). Israel’s “Ha-Tikva” (Hope) moves as a folk song in oral tradition across France, Sweden, and the Czech Lands, eventually resonating for cultural Zionists in Eastern Europe before symbolizing the potential of immigrating to Israel (this historical path is examined in Bohlman, 2004). No anthem has been claimed and covered more internationally, its imperial and colonial movements notwithstanding, than “God Save the Queen”.

Anthems, more unsettling than settling, remind us of the many ways in which music is a source of mobility and migration. Music sounds movement and affords agency, for music sustains mobility by itself never ceasing. Immigrant and minority groups

recognize the potential for that agency, and accordingly they create anthems of their own, not infrequently as acts of entering the new national spaces they will also make their own (for the creative practices of composing and performing anthems for minority groups in Austria, see Hemetek, 2006). Music makes place by moving through it, sounding it in ways that realize place with temporality. Music gathers those who make music and experience it as listeners and participants within place, and in this way identity accrues through music to place (see especially Stokes, 1994). This notion of musically realized space as temporality is recognized through a complex counterpoint of music and mobility that includes forms of cultural action such as those below.

The sacred journey

Exile

Passage and rite of passage

Mediation and ritual

Migration

In the examples I draw upon for this article, it is this property of music to keep sounding – resisting silence as a means of creating space – that I search to understand.

THE AESTHETIC POLITICS OF MIGRATION

Migration is always political, and the forms of aesthetic expression that arise from it are necessarily politicized. My opening excursus through anthems establishes these conditions of music and migration unequivocally. Migration is a response to the competition for place. It begins because place is inadequate and inhospitable. It is sustained through movement, the hopeful search for land that can be ours. It ends more often than not tentatively, in transit. Migration would appear to be very modern, but its underlying causes – the politics and aesthetics of migration – have a very long history.

In the politics of modernity, increasingly so in the twenty-first century, migration generates two types of political and aesthetic responses. The first is that of xenophobia and the claim that migrants destroy the traditional aesthetics and politics of space. Traditions of language and literature are lost. Historically guarded senses of selfness are placed in danger. The music filling the space occupied by migrants and immigrants is transformed to noise (cf. the epilogue to the present).

The other response to migration assumes the form of celebrating diversity in the culture of migrants. The space of multiculturalism fills with the new and the different, rendered compatible by their common otherness. Diversity and difference are not so much conditions as they are desirable goals. Music and the arts transform public spaces, bounding them in new ways that accommodate the goals of migration. There is also an inherent danger when accommodation becomes commoditization, for there may sometimes be uses of music and the arts that cross the boundaries into what Graham Huggan describes as “marketing the margins” (Huggan, 2001).

These two extreme forms of response to migration constitute the much larger field of the political aesthetics of migration. It is important to recognize the political underpinnings of aesthetics for a number of reasons. Recognizing the politics of aesthetics also makes it possible to pose new questions about music and agency, questions that for me have become part of my own attempts to theorize what I call “aesthetic agency”. It is aesthetic agency that joins music and migration, that provides the framework for understanding movement within music that conjoins with the movement of migrants and immigrants, and that sounds with their steps and gives direction to their search. The politics of music is inseparable from the sound of music and its resistance to silence. An aesthetic that yields motion begins with the music.

THE DISCOURSE OF MIGRATION AND MUSIC

A growing understanding that music was spatially malleable and mobile, that it migrated itself no less than it accompanied migration, has been one of the measures of musical modernity and, more recently, musical modernism. The metaphysics of music’s mobility, which received its impetus particularly during the Enlightenment, grew from recognition of both the objective and subjective dimensions of music. Music could be moved, and it could move. Music’s ontology arose from its subjective, human dimensions, and from its objective, autonomous dimensions as sound (see Bohlman, 1999). The metaphysics of music’s mobility was crucial to Johann Gottfried Herder’s Enlightenment invention of the concept of *Volkslied*, folk song, and we witness this in the very language Herder used to describe folk song in his 1778/1779 *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern*, “Voices of the People in Songs”:²

Music’s rhapsodies do not remain in bookstores or bound to piles of paper, rather they remain in the ear and the heart of living singers and listeners, from which they are gathered, indeed, after they have gathered many different meanings and prejudices before they finally reach us. (Herder, 1778/1779, “Einführung” to Vol. 2, *Volkslieder*, p. 168)

In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, mobility increasingly made music modern, and by extension recognition of music’s mobility transformed the ways the sciences of music in a post-Enlightenment, modern era located music in the world, indeed, lived-in and changing societies. The nineteenth-century science of folklore set out to understand what it was that music moved from one place to another. The measure of movement was the way in which oral tradition provided the contexts for folk music’s texts, allowed them to be transmitted with fixed identities that nonetheless were secure enough to yield variations. Folk-music theories affixed principles for the geographic dimensions to movement. One of the most significant of these for late nineteenth-century comparative musicologists was Wilhelm Tappert’s theory of *wandernde Melodien*, “wandering melodies”, which literally could travel across rivers, mountains, and vast expanses of time and place (Tappert, 1890, cited in Bohlman, 1988, p. 26). Tappert’s notion of horizontal melodic movement formed a matrix with the vertical model of social movement in song texts

² By giving the fascicles of his serially published collection the title, *Volkslieder* [Folk Songs], Herder at once coined and invented the first concept of world music.

proposed by the nestor of German folk-song research, John Meier, who argued that folk song formed as *Kunstlied im Volksmunde*, “art song in the mouths of the people”, that is, through a type of *gesunkenes Kulturgut*, “fallen cultural value”, appropriated by the people in geographical proximity (Meier, 1906).

Modern scholarship has long since modified such earlier concepts of mobility, which were closely tied to notions of empire, but the metaphysics of musical mobility have continued to shape the ways in which ethnomusicology and musical folklore locate music in modernity until the present. During the period between the two world wars, comparative musicologists formalized their discipline by establishing the path music followed in global movement. One of the most fundamental questions sought to unravel just why the music of one place was like that of another. Or why it was just a bit different, in certain systemic ways. The belief that music accompanied human migration generated some of the most notable models of ethnicity and diaspora in the twentieth century, for example, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn’s recordings, which he used in precise, scientific ways to map the path of the Jewish Diaspora over two and a half millennia. Idelsohn’s deployment of Jewish music into spaces within the synagogue and without, thus adhering to a binary distribution of the sacred and the secular, is not without its modern critics, but his combination of linguistic and geographical movement remain crucial to the understanding of Jewish communities globally as diverse and complex. In the table below, for example, we see the ways in which Idelsohn, the cantor and comparative musicologist who founded modern Jewish music research, lined up variants of the same Pentateuch melody from oral tradition (see Fig. 2, which encompasses versions from the Middle East, Central Asia, North Africa, and Europe).

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Comparative table of accents motifs in the intoning of the Pentateuch.
 לוח השוואה בניגון התורה, חספסיקים
 Vergleichende Tabelle der Accentmotive des Pentateuchs

Number	Culture	Hebrew Lyrics
1	Babyl.	Sof pasuq at .nah se .gol zaqef qaton rēbīa tēbir
2	Bokhara.	
3	Persian.	
4	Syrian.	
5	Moroccan.	
6	Gibraltar.	
7	Italian.	
8	Sephard. (France)	
9	Seph. (Amsterdam)	
10	Seph. (Egypt and Pal.)	
11	Ashkenazic.	azla gereš gersajim, tēbir
12	Reuchlin.	
13	Canticles.	

Fig. 2 – A. Z. Idelsohn’s chart of Pentateuch melodies (Idelsohn 1923, p. 44)

The comparativist system of mobility lent itself to abuse as well, when, for example, the internal spaces of musical structure were mapped by Nazi racial scientists across the Northern Hemisphere to demonstrate why the internal intervals yielding the structures of harmony developed during the course of civilization’s march from Asia to Europe and eventually to Germany (Fig. 3, with its key in the lower left-hand corner to a presumed homologous relations between the shape of the skull in a given race (Rasse) and the sizes of scale intervals, appeared in one of the most respected musicological publications of the late 1930s).

wars and colonial struggle had created. Ethnomusicologists argued – and to a large extent continue to argue – that music was one of the most resilient aspects of migratory and immigrant cultures. It was in song, for example, that ethnic language survived the longest, often long after it had disappeared elsewhere. Music was such a valued marker of identity that migrant groups and exiles took special pains to bring it with them. It was in their music that one immigrant world distinguished itself from others. In the migration patterns of a post-colonial world, music was the primary agent of difference.

In the New Europe, borderless in a post-communist, post-Schengen, post-Lisbon Treaty world, the metaphysics of mobility has once again been configured to provide the subject position necessary for survival as migrants and minorities. New research agendas have moved minorities out of ghettos and into the conditions of mobility. Symbolic of this latest stage of normalization is the European Music Council's 2009 volume, *Music in Motion: Diversity and Dialogue in Europe* (Clausen, et al., 2009), a project supported by the Culture 2000 program of the European Union. Individual contributors examine specific ethnic/cultural communities across Europe or the formation of new communities in specific places or institutions within Europe, emphasizing the ways in which such communities are dynamic because music in them is dynamic, changing, and in motion, not simply borne with them to preserve a point of origin. One of the most remarkable things about this volume is that it should be so remarkable at all (see, e.g., Bohlman, 2009). By necessity, its claims are couched in the language of innovation and diversity, and yet the discourse of mobility seems weary from being too often overused and too rarely acknowledged. Chapters on “Travellers” and “Diasporas” form a counterpoint with the attempts to use music and dance to ensure “survival” and “self-education”. There can be no doubt that music is in motion, but even in the ethnographic present of this article, music is still transient and in transit, as the epilogue to the present article will once again remind the reader. Why, despite this music in motion, do the distances confronting migrants seem never to diminish?

DISCOURSES OF MOBILITY

Notwithstanding its laudable attempt to endow the metaphysics of musical mobility with the difference and diversity, the history sketched in the previous section has been encumbered by its own stasis, the teleological movement in a specific direction toward specific goals. History's movement culminates in the very end of history. The stasis produced by teleological mobility is surely evident in the discourse that represents it.

The usual language used to describe migration and music privileges a path of aesthetic sameness, in which place is fixed because migration eventually comes to an end. The fundamental concepts in this discourse cluster like a group of “A” words.

- Authenticity
- Autonomous
- Accommodation

- Adaptation
- Acculturation
- Assimilation

Authenticity enters the discourse of music and migration for its power to represent music's original, objective status. It is the music of the old country, valued because it captures some sense of the past, symbolically powerful because it provides also a goal for recapturing the past for the future through revival. An immigrant group or musicians in exile presumably protect their identity by clinging to the authenticity of music during migration.

Authentic music depends on a parallel concept of aesthetic **autonomy**, again a metaphysical conviction to music's objective status. During migration, then, music's autonomy allows migrants to tuck music into a particular kind of cultural baggage. The musical cargo in such baggage can be unpacked and packed, fitted to the appropriate moment.

Music is valuable for migration, moreover, because it affords possibilities for **accommodation**. The increasingly common phenomenon of the multicultural festival, for example, primarily requires that a migrant present a music that accommodates to the moment at hand. Accommodation expresses the willingness of migrants to change in response to the political climate, to prove themselves good citizens.

Adaptation, too, has positive values associated with it. The migrant group passes through the rites of passage necessary to make it an immigrant group, ready to settle in a new world. In its many autonomous contacts, not least among them, as music for entertainment, music can contribute considerably to finding this positive way through a new world.

The keyword for immigrant and ethnic groups in North America, with its often idealized images of multiculturalism and cultural mosaics (as in Canada), has been **acculturation**. The models of acculturation that US American social scientists employed during the post-1945 generations was that acculturation was a positive goal because it meant that American culture, even in the guise of diversity, was achievable. Full acculturation fulfilled the generational models of passage from migrant to full-fledged American.

More patriotically marked, full acculturation should resemble **assimilation**. Assimilation marked the end of the journey, migration with a full-stop. Some sort of dominant culture replaced minority status. Migration ends.

There is also a language that represents the oppositional contexts of the discourse of music and migration. Among the keywords that characterize this language are: Diaspora, disjuncture, displacement, dispossessed. That these are "D" words rather than "A" is not so much meant here to be rhetorically playful as it is to give some sense of the ways the metaphysics of musical mobility affects the discourse about it and our understanding of it. The "As" and the "Ds" mark the ways prefixes endow

nouns with the action of verbs (Latin, *ad*, to; *ex*, from). Migration thus leads “to”, or it is a property of being led “from” the conditions of migration. The goals and ends of migration, when we compare the two discourses, could not be more different, and for many migrants their ultimate impact is a mixture, at times not always positive, of the processes that constitute the two discourses.

THE CITY AS A PLACE OF MOBILITY – MIGRATION AND THE TWO CASES OF CITY MUSIC IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

BERLIN AND THE GERMAN AGE OF MULTICULTURALISM

Ich hab'n dicken Kopf, ich muss n Saft haben
 Ich hab dringlichen Bock auf Bagdads Backwaren
 Da ist es warm, da geb ich mich meinem Träumen hin
 Bei Fatima, der Süßen Backwarenverkäuferin
 R'n'B-Balladen pumpen aus'm parkendem Benz
 Feierabend für die Straßengangs.
 I can hardly think straight, I need something to drink,
 I really need a sausage on a bun baked in Baghdad,
 It's warm there, and I slip into my dreams
 About Fatima, the sweet pastry seller.
 R 'n' B is pounding in full volume from a parked Mercedes,
 It's time-off for the street gangs.

Fig. 4 – Text and translation of Peter Fox, “Schwarz zu Blau” (verse 3)

The space of the European metropole is highly contested in Peter Fox’s “Schwarz zu Blau”, literally “Black to Blue”, figuratively “Darkness to Dawn”. In the videos that disseminate the immensely popular hymn to Berlin, the song’s dramatic narrative begins with the panorama of Berlin’s skylines, the city projected against the black canvass of the night.³ Quickly, however, Berlin comes into focus through movement, the S-Bahn, or commuter train, familiar to all traveling between East and West Berlin, which is then followed by the accelerated frames of pedestrians rushing through the streets. The fact that the song and video themselves juxtapose so many different registers of movement is only one of many reasons that “Schwarz zu Blau” has come to represent migration and the European metropole.

“Schwarz zu Blau” is a song about encountering otherness, moving from the familiar to the street in a parallel chronotope that follows the *Stadtaffe*, or “City Monkey”, as he moves from the darkness of night to the light of a new day. Their different authorship, genres, and venues notwithstanding, the symbolism of “Nuestro Himno” and “Schwarz zu Blau” is strikingly similar. Both songs narrate paths of migration and the confluence of differences, and they transform those paths into sacred journey. The Christian symbolism of Mary, the mother of Christ, powerfully focuses

³ The “official video” is available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zvTJDoqgUSw>. A live performance of “Schwarz zu Blau” appears as chapter 17 on Peter Fox & Cold Steel: Live aus Berlin. 2009. Warner Music Group, Central Europe.

both songs, for “Nuestro Himno” with its mobilizing icon of the Virgin of Guadalupe (see Fig. 6), and for “Schwarz zu Blau” the performer’s obeisance of the Pièta on the walls of a crumbling Berlin. Both songs follow that journey through time, hopefully reaching the dawn of a new day. Both endow music with agency to open the spaces of the nation to migrants.

Peter Fox’s “Schwarz zu Blau” was the winning entry in Germany’s 2009 Bundesvision Songcontest, the national popular-song competition that provided an alternative to Germany’s national Eurovision Song Contest competition. In this position, “Schwarz zu Blau” was chosen, through nationwide televoting, as a symbol of Germanness. Such a claim is, in fact, not exaggerated, because the rules of the competition itself (*e.g.*, the requirement that the lyrics be in German) privilege the unifying dimensions of the nation. The otherness symbolized at every level of this hymn to Berlin could not be more extreme.

Guten Morgen Berlin	Good morning Berlin
du kannst so häßlich sein,	you can be so hideous,
so dreckig und grau.	so filthy and gray.
Du kannst so schön schrecklich sein.	You can be so beautifully awful.

Fig. 5 – Refrain of Peter Fox, “Schwarz zu Blau”

The Berlin encountered on its streets is that of an immigrant culture. Tarek and Sam quarrel on the corner, Arab and Jew. The sausage is served on Middle Eastern-style pastry sold by the sweet Fatima, no longer uncommon in a Germany with large Turkish and Muslim populations. R ‘n’ B booms from a Mercedes, and Peter Fox’s back-up band, Cold Steel, are themselves African Americans drumming in the global drumline styles of African migrants. All that is *schön schrecklich*, “beautifully awful”, about Berlin, its street life and squalor, is nonetheless capable of giving birth to new life in the public spaces.

The temporal backdrop for this musical movement from night to day is that of racism and ideology from the past to the present to the future. Berlin emerges as a space of diversity and tolerance. Difference is normative, but one encounters it only by moving through it. The historical backdrop is also that of European migration in the age of the Schengen states, the New Europe, in which the free flow of Europeans across international borders is possible. The *Blut und Boden*, “Blood and Soil”, of German citizenship and a body politic growing from biological reproduction, *ius sanguinis*, is here located on different ground, that of the soiled street and projected against different walls. It is not about bloodlines, rather about a social responsibility required of those encountering the immigrant and the disenfranchised. Thus, the song poses a larger historical question, one about passage itself. Is this really a journey into a New Germany, heralded by the dawn of a new day?

Crucially, “Schwarz zu Blau” does not stand alone as a music that mobilizes music to respond to migration. *Rai* in Paris, *bhangra* in London, and hip-hop in the Turkish neighborhoods of Berlin are distinctive because of the ways in which they dislodge assumptions about place. This is music that literally and figuratively enters the public

space. Music redeploys the competition for that space, making it the responsibility of many, not just those forced as migrants to its fringes.

CHICAGO AND HISPANIC IMMIGRATION



Fig. 6 – Icon of the Virgin of Guadalupe

In my home city of Chicago I am a commuter, driving each day from the western suburb of Oak Park to the University of Chicago neighbourhood of Hyde Park. Among those whose paths into the city run parallel to my own are thousands of Mexican Americans, whose lorries fill the motorways that we together travel. The journey into the city and then again from the city is marked by metaphors of various kinds, which however coalesce around a singularly important icon, that of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The icon of the Virgin is everywhere, and as such it charts the path of the everyday for Mexican American families in Chicago. The lorries and conversion vans have themselves become canvasses for the best-known icons of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Since the appearance of the Virgin to the peasant, Juan Diego, in 1531, as an image on his cloak, her icon as a woman of mixed colour has become the most widespread symbol of Christianity and freedom from colonial oppression in Latin America. She accompanies the everyday journey to and from labour on car windows, but particularly striking in special covers made to cover the spare tires mounted on the rear of the vehicle. The motorways, too, have been transformed into sanctuaries for worshipping the Virgin. Her image appears as a miracle of the everyday as time and weather wear away the concrete surfaces of pillars to reveal her face, which becomes an icon for those passing the newly erected shrines to yet another miracle on the urban motorway. Accompanying the everyday journey in Chicago is of course music, the network of radios and receivers broadcasting Spanish-language music. Each new

apparition and each new roadside shrine quickens new musical responses, songs to the Virgin of Guadalupe, which enter the circulation network. Listening to this circulation of Marian songs and connecting them to the images of the Virgin on lorries and motorway underpasses, we recognize the miracle of a city becoming a musical icon to the migration of Mexicans in the United States.

For Mexican immigrants in the US American city mobility is a matter of survival. Mobility is both friend and enemy, necessitating struggle against forced migration and adaptation to the movement that leads to opportunity. It's an old North American paradox: How does emigration become immigration? To such questions there is no simple resolution, for the push and pull of emigration more often than not form a complex counterpoint of movement across political no less than geographical landscapes. *Perpetuum mobile*.

For Mexican Americans in Chicago the sacred music that continues to be generated by the Guadalupe miracle has become one of the most powerful forces of response to the perpetual counterpoint of migration by articulating a symbolic network. Central to that network in Chicago is the adoration of the Virgin of Guadalupe, which has dominated North American Catholicism for almost five hundred years. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe appeared as an image in 1531, on the threshold of the colonial era that would ultimately devastate much of pre-Columbian Mexican culture. In the icon (see Fig. 6) the Virgin of Guadalupe possesses both indigenous and European physical attributes, which ultimately endowed her with even greater symbolic power in Mexican history. The basilica of the Virgin in Mexico remains the most frequently visited Catholic shrine in the world. The pilgrimage to Guadalupe is the largest in the Western Hemisphere.

And these are crucial factors to the ways she has come to accompany migration across North America. For Mexican Americans she continues to serve as the shrine at the end of the sacred journey, and that frequently, even annually, means pilgrimage to Guadalupe. To migration accrue the dynamic qualities of circulation, which undergo yet more intensive remobilization through an everyday of travel and adoration, of passage, that is, through the stations in the lives of immigrants. The iconic language of both music and migration converge in the common language of Mexican immigrants, singing songs to sanctify the long sacred journey of survival in a foreign land: "Nuestra Señora" and "Nuestro Himno". The sacred and the secular mix and converge in the forms of worship and symbolism that surround the Virgin of Guadalupe. Though there are many different forms and degrees of worship, or even lack thereof, it is the way in which the Virgin of Guadalupe unifies a response to mobility for migrants across the Americas.

EPILOGUE WITHOUT END – PERPETUUM MOBILE REDUX

Every state has the right to decide who may and may not immigrate to it.

—Thilo Sarrazin, *Deutschland schafft sich ab* (2010), p. 391

Europe cannot close its eyes to illegal camps.

—Nicolas Sarkozy, 16 September 2010

In contrast to the epigrammatic opening of this article the epigraphs that close it could not ring more ominously. The year that has separated the writing of the initial version of this article for the conference that serves as the framework for the present edition of *Music and Arts in Action* and the article's revision as an article for that edition is culminating in a series of actions against migration throughout the world, particularly in those nations of the West that have historically been shaped by migration. The actions against migration are legally sanctioned, and they are carried out with force. They openly employ a language calling for an end to migration. It would be impossible to end this article without addressing the concerted acts against migration. If there is no action taken against such acts, the eschatological path of my title will surely be realized.

It is with three political acts that we enter the ethnographic present of this article, September 2010. Each act has a history that is ongoing as I write; each expands its global reach and international significance as the ethnographic present continues. Such is the very presence of migration in a lived-in world.

In spring 2010, the state legislature of the American state of Arizona passed House Bill 2281, a law that permitted and in some cases required that Arizona police require any individual show documentation of the right to reside in the United States. Individuals without proper documentation, that is, immigrant papers, green cards, or legal citizenship, should be immediately deported. The target of HB2281 was clear, no less than its intent: Migrants from Mexico should not be allowed to live in the state of Arizona. Because the primary ground for stopping an individual in public to demand documentation was that individual's appearance and behaviour, in other words, the racial profile of an individual, the American courts placed a temporary restraining order on enforcing the law in August 2010, an order that has yet to be lifted. Enforcement of the law in the future remains a matter of great concern, for, among other results, the law would require law enforcers to close any school that did not allow them to examine the documentation of its students.

In August 2010, the government of France began to remove Roma from their settlements in France and deport them to Eastern Europe, after giving them €300. The only Roma officially targeted by the action, aggressively backed by President Nicolas Sarkozy, were those believed to be migrant Roma, especially those who had migrated across the open borders of Europe from Romania and Bulgaria since the implementation of the Schengen Process of 2007. After thousands of Roma had already been deported from their homes, the European Commission officially asked France to stop its deportation of migrants, and in the moment of highest tension on

14 September 2010, the Justice Minister of the European Union, Viviane Reding, compared the deportations to the deportation of Roma and Jews from Germany in World War II. The question of deporting migrants dominated the summit of EU leaders on 17 September 2010, and France was joined by other EU countries in claiming its right to deport migrants as it saw fit.

In late August 2010, after weeks of pre-publication hype, Thilo Sarrazin, a German economist who had served in the highest commissions to rebuild the economy of a reunified Germany, as Finance Senator for Berlin, and from 2009 as a member of the board of directors of the German national bank (Deutsche Bundesbank), published a book that called for stopping the future decline of Germany (the “Abschaffung” of the title) by restricting the presence of Muslims, especially Turkish migrants, who displayed a statistical unwillingness to adopt the culture of Germany, with its history of educational excellence, economic superiority, and industrial efficiency, which had sustained the nation since the Enlightenment (Sarrazin, 2010). Sarrazin made extensive use of economic statistics to justify his claims, and he mixed these with the pseudo-scientific evidence of genetic traits evident in Germany’s elite class of intellectuals, even referring to the genetic superiority of Europeans such as Jews and Basques. Migrants, reduced to racialized statistics, were again the problem of Germany’s twenty-first-century dilemma. The response to Sarrazin’s theories was swift and sweeping. The racist implications of Sarrazin’s agenda were decried; his manipulative use of statistics as objective science was debunked; during the first week of September 2010 he resigned from the board of directors of the national bank. The old debates in German history about those who belonged and those who did not, however, raged once again. Coupling his statistics with epigraphs from Goethe at the beginning of many chapters, Sarrazin deepened the historical debate about whether the Germany of Goethe and Schiller, Bach and Beethoven, could ever be home to non-Germans.

These three attempts to bring immigration to an end stand in stark contrast to the ways I have examined music and migration in the course of this article. In search of the active qualities of music, its power to mobilize migrants, I have introduced and discussed a cluster of terms and concepts that I hope will contribute to understanding the counterpoint between music and migration. I began generally by discussing the “aesthetic politics of migration”. Critical to mobilizing that concept as action was what I called “aesthetic agency”. I then sought to unravel the “discourses of mobility”. And I then arrived at the need for recognizing the “metaphysics of music’s mobility”.

Together, these concepts marked a change in voice, from passive to active. Rather than passively accounting for the historical record that music might represent as an accompaniment to migration, these concepts ask us to consider the ways in which music and musicians, those forced into migration and those of us who encounter them in our everyday worlds, can and should act on migration. The active voice of aesthetic agency can and should give music new meaning. And it endows those who use music to give meaning to the travels and travails forced upon them to regain some measure of power over their own lives.

It is the active voice of music that we witness when we engage the music of the politically suppressed and silenced. It is the active voice of music we engage when we enter the everyday worlds of the immigrants with whom we live in our own communities, or on the streets of the cities through which they pass, joining with them in the anthems that make the places we together can share, sounding the music of migration along the path toward a future enriched by difference.

Will the actions and words of the powerful in the summer of 2010 bring migration to an end? Will they be greeted by an inaction that causes music to fall silent? Will the hopefulness of this article and the others in this volume be tested, once again, by the histories of exclusion and exclusiveness, this time in our own day? Such questions do not lend themselves to easy answers, especially because so much is at stake. It is important to recognize, nonetheless, that the case studies and theoretical arguments I have set in motion in the course of this article already represent the ways in which migrants mobilized their histories in the past through music. If music charted the dissonance and inequality between active and passive voice, it also gave voice to itself and others because of the reflexive qualities of music and migration. Not least among these are the return from migration or diaspora, resistance, and revival. The Roma and Muslims of Europe and the Hispanic-Americans of the United States will not allow themselves to be silenced, and they will thus act by returning to a music that will not cease because it sounds “our hymn” as they move forward through the history of the present, from darkness to dawn.

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