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Priscilla Layne
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

Kira Thurman
University of Michigan

Introduction: Black German Studies

A Black German Renaissance?

After an entire century of Black German activism and creativity, it seems like never before have Black Germans been so visible to a global audience. Pop stars such as Zoe Wees have taken over the music charts in Europe, and actors such as Florence Kasumba and Zazie Beetz appear on the big and small screens in blockbuster films such as *Black Panther* and in tv shows such as *Atlanta*, *Tatort*, and *Deutschland 86*. Sharon Dodua Otoo and Olivia Wenzel have published novels with major German publishing houses, and filmmakers like Mo Asumang and Branwen Okpako have premiered works at international film festivals to great acclaim. Representing one of the fastest growing populations in German-speaking Europe, Black Germans are not only part of Germany's present but also part of Germany's past.[1] Scholars dedicated to documenting, analyzing, and exploring the political, intellectual, social, and cultural work and legacies of Black people in German-speaking Europe have also become more present in academic institutions.

Make no mistake: after decades of teaching, research, and agitation for institutional change in both North American and German academic institutions, Black scholars and those committed to researching Black people, experiences, and cultures within the context of German-speaking Europe still face marginalization. With the first-ever issue of *German Quarterly* dedicated to Black Germany, it has become clear that Black German thought and praxis are becoming ever more vital to academic scholarship. Nonetheless, the purpose of this special issue is not only to showcase some of the vibrant work underway in our field but also to point out the ongoing systemic challenges that still prevent the majority of students and teachers, as well as wider publics, from having engaged with a Black German text or even knowing of a Black German figure.

Our aim in this introduction, therefore, is not to reiterate well-known narratives among scholars in Black German studies that usually begin with the 1986 publication of *Farbe bekennen*.[2] Rather, we seek to accomplish two discrete goals: first, to name outright the institutional structures that have shaped the field of Black German studies since the mid-to-late twentieth century and, in so doing, to identify how systemic racism in both Europe and the United States has de-

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termined who can pursue an academic career and on what grounds. Our second goal is to articulate the role of aesthetics in Black German studies. In this regard, we hope to show how the politics of aesthetics have frequently been weaponized against Black German studies, while also reclaiming and repositioning aesthetics in the service of Black German-language cultural production.

Who Does Black German Studies? Navigating a Transatlantic Academic World

It is impossible to answer the question "What is Black German studies?" divorced from the reality of who is in a position to contribute to the field of Black German studies to begin with. As much as we are pleased to see an intergenerational mix of scholars (from PhD students to full professors) share their work through this special issue of *German Quarterly*, we nonetheless would like to note how little scholarship has been published to date in major German studies journals—including in *German Quarterly*—that either places Black people in the center of our academic inquiries or interrogates concepts of Blackness in German-speaking Europe.[3] Wiped from public memory, Black figures in Germany's past and present face continual erasure from contemporary academic narratives of German history or culture. Moreover, it is striking that much of our scholarship on Black people/Blackness in Germany has come from North American institutions—not German ones. To date, more single-author academic monographs on Black Germany published with a scholarly press exist in the English language than in German.[4]

As the contributors to this special issue point out, the dominance of scholarship emanating out of North America is not a coincidence. Institutional failures of Germanistik and German studies programs in our transatlantic world are partly to blame for our lack of knowledge on Black lives in German-speaking spaces. These failures reveal a structural inequity making it difficult for Black Germans in Germany to have their academic work recognized and supported.

To date, there is still no Black studies program at a German university. Peggy Piesche, Eric Otieno, and Maisha Auma address this crisis in their essay "'Reclaiming our Time' in African Studies: Conversations from the Perspective of the Black Studies Movement in Germany." They point out that after WWII "in both Germanies the horrors of coloniality and anti-Black racism were never officially identified as a crucial source and foundation of the defeated Nazi racialist logic" in German universities (337). As Fatima El-Tayeb noted in her address to the German Studies Association this past September, the student population in Germany has changed so much over the last several decades that it better reflects Germany's diverse communities (even though there is still much more work to be done in that direction)—but the faculty itself hasn't changed. The administration does not reflect its own student populations (Holocaust Memory).

Currently, German academics consider Black German studies a kind of *Auslandsgermanistik.* The attitude has been and continues to remain: "We don't do that here in Germany." During a recent seminar at the German Studies Association

Conference (2022), a graduate student reported to us that white German academics have told them, "Germanistik ist kein Race Fach." In other words: there is no room for a discussion about race in Germanistik. Rhetoric such as this illustrates Piesche, Otieno, and Auma's argument that German academia has failed "failed to reflect our perspectives as Afro-Diasporic humans" (348). White German refusal to recognize the perspectives of People of Color has been harmful to Scholars of Color working in German studies. Maria Grewe speaks of the harm that such a position causes when she writes in this special issue that for far too long, "I bought into the myth that the discipline has no space for my BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) self in my teaching and scholarship." In her reflection, Meryem Choukri notes that existing in academia as a BIPOC scholar means having to sit with the existential threat of violence while trying to pursue academic scholarship. BIPOC scholars cannot take a break from the reality of racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, and transphobia in order to teach or pursue their research.

If German studies has fared better in the United States in analyzing and studying racism (and documenting those who have had to navigate racist environments), it is because the discipline has benefited greatly from the activism of BIPOC students, scholars, and staff (and their allies) who transformed the American university in the 1960s and 1970s by forming departments of women's and gender studies, ethnic studies, and African American studies.

It is important to recognize the structural impact and organizing work of Black studies because it was from its very inception global in nature. "Our courses always cut across disciplinary and national boundaries," Robin D.G. Kelly writes, "exploring various aspects of the 'black world' from ancient times to the present—a world that encompassed Africa, Europe, and the Americas and wherever else this sprawling African diaspora left its mark" (1046). Either emanating from Black studies initiatives or supported by scholars in Black studies, those who began to write about German-speaking Europe's historical and contemporary relationship to the Black diaspora from within academic institutions in the United States could do so in a way that German academics could not.

For these reasons, as El-Tayeb discusses in her essay for this special issue, academics wishing to rigorously interrogate the nature, contours, and history of anti-Black racism or to analyze Black agency in the German-speaking world have found positions in the United States—not in Europe. To commit to the intellectual and political work of Black German studies in a transatlantic world is and remains what Piesche, Otieno, and Auma call "a practice of transgressive resistance" (343).

Against Objectivity: Whiteness, Highbrow/Lowbrow, and the Myth of Universalism

Not only do scholars committed to discussing anti-Black racism in the history, society, and culture of German-speaking lands have to contend with institutional inequities but they also have to overcome the myths of universality, objectivity, and neutrality that academics wield to dismiss Black German studies in the first place. In a 2007 forum in *The German Quarterly* that posed the question "Is Literature Still Central to German Studies?," Frank Trommler writes that, historically, "Literature (in German traditionally 'Dichtung') represented universal values" (97). Although Trommler isn't actively promoting this idea, problems abound for those who do.

First, while white German scholars and readers often view themselves and the authors they study as inherently non-racialized, neutral, or objective, they also frequently reinforce the myth that they are the only ones capable of writing about universal themes. When writing her novella *Synchronicity*, Otoo explains:

> I wanted to create a Black main character again. A woman living and working in Germany—a predominantly white country. This decision alone was a political act. "Why actually?" one (white) person asked. Another (white) person commented: "I hope the main character won't be reduced to her skin colour in the story . . ." (I would ask myself if Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, Thomas Mann, or Heinrich Heine also heard such sentences, although they write white main characters exclusively, but that train of thought leads to a dead end. (81-82)

The idea that white agents exist outside of a racial frame—and, relatedly implied, that Black people can only meaningfully exist in a scripted way within it—is not only wrong but, frankly, exhausting and annoying to keep fighting against. Scholars disputed it long ago. "As long as race is something only applied to non-white peoples, as long as white people are not racially seen and named," Richard Dyer warns in his seminal 1997 essay on whiteness, "they/we function as a human norm. Other people are raced, we are just people" (10).

Within a German-speaking context, Black intellectuals, artists, and activists have pointed out for decades that the politics of whiteness are intricately tied to German national identity. For example, Black Germans "are never granted both parts of their identity," El-Tayeb writes, "If their blackness is recognized, their Germanness is not and if they are allowed to be German, they are not so black, after all" ("Dangerous Liaisons" 29). Or, to repeat the first line of Paul Gilroy's foundational text *The Black Atlantic*: "Striving to be both European and black requires some specific forms of double consciousness" (1). To state it plainly: because whiteness is understood as European, neutral, objective, and/or universal, many white German speakers have historically been hostile to the possibility that someone can claim both a Black identity and write or compose on supposedly universal themes.

The second problem with the scholarly claim that German literature represents "universal values" is that it reinforces a civilizing mission ideology that has been in place since the nineteenth century. It is precisely *because* a transatlantic "Western" cultural sphere deemed some cultural works, projects, and products universal that they have historically been weaponized against people from the Global South and/or against People of Color. Practicing the civilizing mission ideology in parts of Africa and Asia, imperial agents wielded literature, art, music, and other cultural goods in the service of empire and violent subjugation. As Walter Mignolo writes in "Decolonial Aisthesis and Other Options Related to Aesthetics," the whole notion of "'aesthetics' became a philosophical discourse responsible not only for establishing a certain criteria that (still) regulates 'taste' but also for classifying different populations around the world who, according to Kant's conceptualization, were not apt to sense and understand the beautiful and the sublime" (5). Musicologist David Gramit noticed a similar practice underway in nineteenth-century German musical culture: "The status of German musical culture rested on a precariously double-edged claim: serious (and most often German) music was held to be universally valid, even though, at the same time, maintaining its prestige demanded limiting access to it along the lines of existing social divisions" (7). In other words, the very practices and goods deemed the most "universal" often reinforced hegemonic power while obscuring that very same mechanism of power at work.

To this day, determining what does or does not count as "aesthetically meaningful" comes with cultural baggage overstuffed with racial animus. That same 2007 forum in *German Quarterly* expressed a mixture of existential dread, sobriety, and optimism about what German studies might look like in the twenty-first century if literature were no longer the focus. A variety of scholars weighed in on this question, defining the literary, for instance, as universal, as *not* entertainment or commercial, or as comprising ambiguous texts. While some scholars, like Claudia Breger, reminded us that non-literary products—such as performance and film—"contribute powerful visual forms of aesthetic productivity" (102), others such as Ruth V. Gross mourned the weight of "history-sociological baggage, all at the expense of literature" (100).

But even to acknowledge the existence of Black German cultural production is to recognize the "history-sociological baggage" in which it has constantly been mired, for to name the category "Black German" is to understand implicitly the historical and racial violence that people who identify as Black have faced. Ultimately, then, when scholars use these terms to draw boundaries, it is far too often the cultural production by BIPOC artists, writers, and intellectuals that they determine to be unworthy.

When, then, can Black German music, literature, or artistic expression ever count as "universal"? When will Black cultural works routinely appear on all syllabi, in our discussions about German-speaking culture and society more broadly, in our own writings and texts? We ask these questions because postcolonial theorists such as Frantz Fanon, Stuart Hall, and Edward Said told us an important truth long ago: our fights about aesthetic representation are always political struggles for power. "The ways in which black people, black experiences, were positioned and subject-ed [sic] in the dominant regimes of representation," Hall writes, "were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation. [. . .] Every regime of representation is a regime of power formed, as Michel Foucault reminds us, by the fatal couplet, 'power/knowledge'" (224-25).

If Black texts stand outside of universalism, then often Black authors are *only* valued for being what B. Venkat Mani calls "native informants of difference." In a 2006 *German Quarterly* forum essay entitled "German Studies as Perpetual Difference," Mani writes that "'ethnic minority' authors" should not be included in the curriculum exclusively to inform readers about difference (381). In this special issue, Emily Frazier-Rath emphasizes a similar point when she writes that many literary works by Black German authors "are not […] antiracism training texts." Yet the white audience's expectation that Black authors must speak to them on the nature of anti-Black racism (and on no other topic!) pervades many of our approaches to Black cultural production.

Black German cultural figures have never been solely interested in being in the business of describing or proving racism for white readers (a cause that the late and great Toni Morrison warns against anyway). Unfortunately, the assumption in course curricula, literary festivals, conferences, and elsewhere often reinforces the idea that if there is room for a Black German voice at all, there can only be room for one. As Otoo explains:

> Even if we [Black writers] want, our art doesn't stand on its own - it becomes the representation of an entire community. How do we deal with that? There are Black German authors who do not even address being Black in their work. Others may write Black main protagonists, but consciously choose not to place violent experiences of discrimination at the center of the story. Jackie Thomae expressly did not want to write a book about racism with *Brüder*. And still other authors describe in detail the various realities of life of their Black characters. The novel *1000 Serpentinen Angst* by Olivia Wenzel, published in spring, reflects the story of a Black East German queer woman. There must be room for these various novels - and also for those by Chantal-Fleur Sandjon, Schwarz-Rund, Noah Sow, Zoe Hagen, Michael Götting, and many more. Because through the reception of a whole range of works, positions and problems will become clearer, more complicated, and more challenging. ("Dürfen Schwarze Blumen malen?" 45, our translation)

We have reached a zenith when many Black Germans have understandably decided to simply refuse to explain their presence to a white German majority. Scholars in Black German studies should not have to argue for our work's importance in German studies. Rather, what doing German studies in a globalized world reveals, Mani argues, is that our discipline "bears the responsibility of ensuring an understanding of difference, while simultaneously offering all non-natives the right to affiliate and associate with the plurality of historical and contemporary Germany" (381). Black German studies is by its very nature an insistence on recognizing plurality over universality, on locating meanings and identities that are embedded in historical and cultural contingencies, and on analyzing the ongoing effects and legacies of Black struggles for agency in an unequal white world.

Black German Studies Today: The "Aesthetic Turn"

When Priscilla interviewed Sharon Dodua Otoo for a panel at the annual Women in German conference in the fall of 2021, she asked about the aesthetic choices Otoo made in her novel *Ada's Raum*, for instance why Otoo chose to use repetition in some places and why some text is written in lyrical form. Otoo's first response was to remark that no one had ever asked her about these aesthetic choices. Instead, the German press debated whether or not she accurately portrayed the Holocaust. There is a reason Otoo made her intervention into critical whiteness through the short story "Herr Gröttrup setzt sich hin" rather than in an essay. There is a reason May Ayim wrote the poem "Deutschland im Herbst" in addition to the essay "1990 Home/land and Unity from an Afro-German Perspective." In both cases, the artists chose an aesthetic form to convey their message, and we owe it to them to pay attention to their aesthetic choices.

It is quite striking to us that Black German visibility appears most prominent in a cultural sphere. We do not wish to detract from the important political and social work that is changing German-speaking societies today. Black politicians such as Karamba Diaby and Awet Tesfaiesus in Germany and Mireille Ngosso in Austria have agitated for social and political change in the Bundestag, and organizations such as ISD (Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland) have brought forward legislation to ban racial profiling in city centers, for example. While changing institutional and legal structures is also a goal of Black German studies, we wish to recognize that a powerful effect of Black agency in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland might be its emergent modes of artistic and cultural expression, ranging from theater, film, poetry, literature, fashion, and the visual arts to musical works. Not bounded by one style or genre, Black German cultural production beautifully interrogates many of them in order to produce moments that pierce through the din of racial hierarchy to reveal globally contingent yet locally defined artistic works.

Pushing for what we are choosing to name the *aesthetic turn* in Black German studies, we encourage scholars to bring their aesthetic and cultural analysis to Black German studies so that we can continue the necessary work of building a vibrant, ever-evolving kaleidoscopic canon of Black German cultural works. In this way, Black German studies can bring aesthetics to the fore—but only on our terms and not at the expense of politics. We have no patience for nor interest in shoring up the artificial binaries that separate "high art" from "low art," entertainment from "culture," or the personal from the political, for these methodologies are often unable to account for the versatile nature and modes of Black cultural expression. Rooted in Black feminist thought and the early participation of FLINTA* (Frauen, Lesben, Inter, Nicht-binär und Agender*), Black German studies has always been an intersectional undertaking that seeks to understand how Black diasporic peoples have adapted to, navigated in, engaged with, and *produced* new cultural norms.

Ironically enough, scholars in Black studies have long pointed out that it is actually through cultural modes of expression such as performance that Black people have been able to form and participate in a transatlantic cultural highway and transform global forms of knowledge, something that Adrienne Merritt's essay in this special issue demonstrates. In other words: Black aesthetics and creativity have always been vital to the scholarly project of understanding and honoring Black lives. Black cultural products travel far and wide, Kennell Jackson writes, and Black creativity "can end up in unlikely places, in contradictory alliances, can take on new and unintended forms, and can synthesize radically disparate materials" (5). Consider, for example, not only how hip hop has been able to catch on in German-speaking Europe but also how quickly Black German performers came to engage with these forms of music-making and adapt them for their own purposes.

Black studies scholars warn us, however, that Black diasporic creativity in its myriad guises has historically been vulnerable to white denigration and co-optation. Swallowed up by culture industries, rarely do Black cultural performances get the credit they deserve for transforming global cultures. Within white praise of Black music-making in particular lies a well-known trap of authenticity that Black Germans have had to navigate. As Jackson writes, one of the first tests for what we can now call an emerging transatlantic Black culture's so-called authenticity "depended on one luminous moment, when former slaves testified about their trauma in slavery, detailed their brave escapes, and in turn excited an optimistic hope for a future world free of slavery." In this moment, on stage, "Every black person standing before the largely white antislavery audience […] became a performer who had to negotiate perceptions of slave blackness" (2). Similarly, in this special issue Obenewaa Odoru-Opuni observes that Enlightenment-era white German abolitionist theatrical plays "present a critique of slavery and thus express anti-slavery views while at the same time justifying some form of Black servitude to white people." The irony for Odoru-Opuni is that German playwrights such as August von Kotzebue often purported to have abolitionist sentiments yet engaged "in practices of epistemic violence by silencing and overriding the contexts of slavery and the transatlantic slave trade." White desires have historically threatened to override Black agency.

White people's desire for (and frequent insistence on naming themselves as the primary arbiters of) Black authenticity—which they locate outside of German-speaking Europe itself—remains a stubborn thorn in the side of scholars invested in analyzing Black diasporic creative practices. Specifically, the overwhelming desire in German-speaking Europe for American Blackness over the expense, experiences, and lives of Black Germans has been a particularly frustrating and dangerous toxin across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[5] For white Europeans, Gary Younge writes, identifying with Black America has historically granted them "a moral confidence that conveniently ignores both its colonial past and its own racist present." Desiring Black American cultural expression over local Black populations in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria has meant trapping Black German-speakers in rigid authenticity boxes. For example, Robbie Aitken points out that Black Germans were often called upon to perform jazz in the 1920s, even though they had little familiarity with the genre.[6] Similarly, the Black German musical conductor Kevin has noted that German orchestras wish him to conduct performances of George Gershwin or other American composers rather than German ones (Thurman 276). Black popular culture of whatever brand has shaped the cultural milieu of entire continents—sometimes at the cost of Black creators.

But what excites and motivates us in this special issue is precisely this ephemeral quality to Black diasporic creativity. Black expression *always* innovates; indeed, its strongest feature is "its ability to reshape itself, to adjust to different circumstances—to be 'artful' like the runaway," Jackson writes (5). As Black German communities come even more into formation than before, their aesthetic contributions promise to build new worlds unto themselves. Or, to quote Hall, it is imperative to recognize communities "not by their falsity-genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (237).

And Black Germans have *style.* We hear this style wafting out of radios on the streets of Hamburg or Zurich. We see it in the fashion design of artists such as the Cameroonian sisters Marie Darouiche and Rahmeé Wetterich, who make dirndls using African wax print fabric for their boutique, Noh Nee, in Munich. We experience it at a theatrical performance exploring Black masculinity at Ballhaus Naunynstraße in Berlin or when stopping by Villa Vida, a Black-owned queer community space and cafe in Vienna. We scroll through it in Black magazines such as FRESH or RosaMag while waiting for service in Black barbershops and hairbraiders in Germany and Austria. The daily cultural practices and spaces created by Black German-speakers across Central Europe inspire and challenge us to consider not only what a vibrant Black German past and present look like but also, just as importantly, a future.

In this regard, Stuart Hall's definition of cultural identity is a guiding light for us. Cultural identity, he writes, is "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being.' It belongs to the future as much to the past" (225). Black German studies writes for the future. It builds toward a future. Indeed, the joy and excitement for scholars who analyze Black German cultural formation comes in watching and participating in its evolution. If some arenas of intellectual or cultural production in German-speaking Europe feel not only over-developed but also closed off for analysis, Black German cultural production offers boundless opportunity for intellectual and artistic engagement.

This special issue shimmers with such excitement for Black German aesthetic considerations. Rather than allowing the question of aesthetic representation to undermine Black cultural and intellectual work, the authors use it to better interrogate how Black Germans create and produce. Take for example, this special issue's focus on literature. In her review essay, Frazier-Rath includes a diverse array of publications, including a photo book, *Daima: Images of Women of Colour in Germany*, as well as academic works that blur "the line between scholarship and biography." It is Black German studies' tendency to blur the boundaries between genres and disciplines that works in its favor. Instead of lamenting the "loss of literature's privileged position in the information society" (Trommler 97), Frazier-Rath embraces the ways in which Black German cultural production has blossomed in the 21st century, thanks to the new tools available that allow Black Germans not only to produce their own work—for instance, Philipp Khabo Köpsell's use of e-publishers for his books of poetry—but also to be even more connected to the rest of the diaspora.

Through ever-evolving generic conventions, norms, and practices, the authors of this special issue illustrate, Black Germans are aesthetically engaging with and interrogating some of the most fundamental concepts in German culture, society, and politics. Writing about the Black theater troupe Label Noir, Vanessa Plumly examines how Black actors have taken to producing their own theatrical works to escape a racist gaze. In their production *Heimat, bittersüße Heimat*, Plumly notes, "different genres and forms produce and perform ambivalence about the Heimat idea." Jamele Watkins's article explores how two Afro-German plays brim with aesthetic inspirations. Black German author Olumide Popoola, Watkins points out, turns to diasporic tropes of ancestral spirits, the music of rapper Notorious B.I.G., and African American playwright Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun*, to mourn the death of a character's father. "Ultimately," Watkins writes, "this article celebrates the creative ways in which Black authors engage with elegy on stage to remember those who have transitioned. These deaths are a tragedy, but the plays are not tragic." Such scholarly endeavors indicate the beauty and necessity of celebrating a Black German past, present, and future.

Building a Black German Future

It can feel overwhelming to uncover the many pathways and avenues of Black diasporic migration, contact, and encounter that make up the Black populations in German-speaking Europe. But Michelle Wright also encourages us, in *The Physics of Blackness*, to understand this myriad web of entanglements as an exciting aspect to studying German-speaking Europe's historical and contemporary relationship with the Black diaspora. Unlike in the United Kingdom or in France, where Blackness is routinely understood through the lens of empire, the German-speaking world offers no straight path, no one entry-way into Black life, thought, and creativity. To think about it differently: there will always be what Brent Hayes Edwards defines in *The Practice of Diaspora* as the "décolage" or "gap" between Black diasporic peoples that infuriates, agitates, and animates Black cultural development in German-speaking Europe. But rather than consider that a deficit, Edwards calls for us to recognize how these gaps have always been a vibrant and necessary part of fostering Black communities.

Another way to think about the range of possibilities available to scholars in Black German studies is through what Tiffany Florvil calls "wake work," a phrase inspired by Christina Sharpe's *In the Wake*. Writing about the Black German poet and intellectual May Ayim, Florvil notices that Ayim "was attentive to caring for the ancestors in the present (living) and past (dead) while also privileging different forms of mourning and remembrance." And it is this "type of wake work that animated Black diasporic histories and stressed all of their possibilities and paradoxes within Germany. This much-needed work no longer permitted African descended people to be violently redacted and displaced from German society." We must never lose sight of the fact that Black people in German-speaking Europe belong to a world that does not want them. But they nonetheless have created their own affective connections, belongings, and cultures to conceive a present and a future that belongs to *them*.

Scholarly interest in affirming, defining, and celebrating German-speaking Europe's Black populations has shaped Black German studies for decades. In fact, Vance Byrd points out in this special issue, it has been at least thirty years since Leroy Hopkins called for Afro-German studies in the American educational system. We certainly applaud all that has transpired since that call. And we very much look forward to the work that is to come.

Notes

[1] For some scholarly works on Black German history, see El-Tayeb, *Schwarze Deutsche*; Campt; Rosenhaft and Aitken; Thurman; Kraft; Layne; Lennox; Mazón and Steingröver; Florvil; and Florvil and Plumly. We do not know the exact number of Black Germans because Germany and Austria refuse to identify citizens by race.

[2] See Ayim (Opitz), Oguntoye, and Schultz, *Farbe bekennen* as well as its English translation, *Showing Our Colors*.

[3] In assessing *German Quarterly*'s published volumes since the early 1990s, we discovered that, while some articles concern ideas or cultural phenomena associated with Black people such as jazz, they nonetheless rarely place Black people in the spotlight of their work.

[4] For example, Campt's *Other Germans*, Wright's *Becoming Black*, and Lusane's *Hitler's Black Victims* were all published in the early 2000s.

[5] See Campt; Diedrich; and Brown.

[6] See also Aitken, "Surviving in the Metropole" 214.

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