

Concepts of nationality and migration in Alfred Einstein's “The Italian Madrigal”

Moritz Kelber

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Das italienische Madrigal

Alfred Einsteins »Versuch einer Geschichte der italienischen Profanmusik im 16. Jahrhundert« und die Folgen

2022

ort

ENOT des Buches das Gebn einer langen Beuthung. —

identen, was es en en muss ich zurückgehen auf

meine usstisse schaftlichen anfüge. Ich hatte eine Disser-

tation geschrieben über ein Thema aus dem Gebiet der Instrument-

musik, das eine Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik im

italien überhaupt. Aber von den verhältnismässig seltenen Resten

des 16. Jahrhunderts geriet ich bald hinüber

in den umfänglicheren und blühenderen Bereich der weltliche

Profanmusik. Ich fing Feuer an einem Meister wie Luca Marenzio

und suchte nach den Voraussetzungen seiner Kunst. Ich lernte

die Namen Gabrieli, Rore, Arcadelt, Willaert, Verdelot kennen,

und gelangte auf der Suche nach der Entstehung des Madrigals

endlich bis zu den Frottole-Drucken des Petrucci, die ich

damals in München lebend, wo neun Bücher vorhanden waren

vollständig kopierte.

Das Material wuchs, und mit ihm Verständnis und Erkenntnis

Lücken wurden sichtbar, die ich auf manchen Reisen auf vieler

Bibliotheken Europas und schliesslich Americas auszufüllen suchte

ES sind in nahezu vierzig Jahren nicht viel Tage vergangen, an

denen ich nicht wenigstens ein Werk aus dem Stimm in Partitur

gesetzt hätte. Das Werk mancher Meister ist in meinen Abschrift

-- heute besitz des Music-Department von Smith College, North-

ampton -- ziemlich vollzählig beisammen; eine Gesamt-Ausgabe

Marenzios konnte ich wenigstens beginnen; eine Auswahl der

Werke von Meister an der Spitze Filippo de Monte -- ver-

öffentlichen, die mit dem Österreichischen Kaiserhof in ver-

Chi-un-que a don-na, chionque a donna, chionque a donna, chi-

un-que a don-na, chionque a donna, chionque a donna, chi-

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un-que a don-na, chionque a donna, chionque a donna, chi-

un-que a don-na, chionque a donna, chionque a donna, chi-

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Das italienische Madrigal.
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und die Folgen

Herausgegeben von
Sebastian Bolz, Moritz Kelber und Katelijne Schiltz

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Moritz Kelber

Concepts of Nationality and Migration in Alfred Einstein's *The Italian Madrigal*

German-speaking music historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was widely dominated by nationalistic ideas.¹ The nationalistic narrative, which determined the music-historical surveys written in the period before 1945 in particular, is exemplified by Guido Adler's 1924 *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*. Adler's reflections on the dominance of individual nations in different epochs are based on the idea of rise and decay:

»If the widely held belief is correct that individual countries, individual nations, are assigned periods of flourishing in the various fields of cultural life, after which the strength of the nation in this particular field is exhausted, and at least a longer pause occurs, and that, furthermore, in the individual fields, the periods of prosperity in the individual nations succeed one another, then it can perhaps be said that in the sixteenth century, Italy emerged from obscurity and took over from the Dutch in the field of musical art.«²

- 1 This has been demonstrated by numerous studies on a wide variety of examples in recent decades: Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts. Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich*, New Haven 1998; Frank Hentschel, »Kontinuitäten und Brüche. Nationalistische Stereotype in der deutschen Musikgeschichtsschreibung des 19. Jahrhunderts«, *Musik und kulturelle Identität. Bericht über den XIII. internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Weimar 2004*, ed. Detlef Altenburg and Rainer Bayreuther, Kassel 2012, pp. 212–218; Frank Hentschel, *Bürgerliche Ideologie und Musik. Politik der Musikgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland, 1776–1871*, Frankfurt am Main et al. 2006.
- 2 »Wenn die vielfach vertretene Ansicht richtig ist, daß einzelnen Ländern, einzelnen Nationen auf den verschiedenen Gebieten des Kulturlebens Blüteperioden beschieden sind, nach deren Ablauf gleichsam die Kraft der Nation auf diesem bestimmten Gebiete erschöpft ist und zumindest eine längere Pause eintritt, daß ferner auf den einzelnen Kulturgebieten, die Blüteperioden bei den einzelnen Nationen einander ablösen, so kann man vielleicht sagen, daß im 16. Jahrhundert Italien aus der Verborgenheit hervortritt und sich anschickt, die Niederländer in der Vorherrschaft auf dem Gebiete der Tonkunst abzulösen [...]« (*Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler, vol. 1, Berlin ²1929, p. 335). [Translation MK]

The idea of the transition from a Franco-Flemish to an Italian era of music history had been in circulation at least since the influential writings of Raphael Georg Kiesewetter and François-Joseph Fétis and became part of Adler's larger »Blüteperioden« (periods of flourishing) framework.³ As I will show in this contribution, in *The Italian Madrigal*, Alfred Einstein builds on this narrative and thus is forced to engage creatively with its inconsistencies. I argue that Einstein casts the genre of the Italian madrigal and its protagonists as the driving force behind this transition of power in music history. However, at some points he certainly forges his own path, deviating from the national-chauvinist models of many of his contemporaries.⁴

One problem that a study of the Italian madrigal inevitably faces is the apparent incompatibility of the genre's vernacular identity on the one hand and the origins of many of the composers who shaped it on the other. From the perspective of nationalistic music historiography, the relationship between compositional mastery in the madrigal genre and the foreignness of many composers is paradoxical. Verdelot, Arcadelt, Rore, Willaert, Lasso, Monte: as is well known, a considerable number of the musicians Einstein discusses in his study were not born in Italy. In *The Italian Madrigal*, the question of foreignness is a recurring topic.⁵ The author mentions this at various points and develops a model called »Italianisation« in an attempt to explain the mastery of the »ultramontane« composers in the field of the Italian madrigal.

This contribution examines the topics of nationality and migration in *The Italian Madrigal*. In a first step, I will look at Einstein's chapters on Orlando di Lasso and Philippe de Monte, in which the idea of Italianisation is articulated most prominently and which for this reason are particularly suitable as a case study. I will argue that for Einstein, this concept is key to resolving the contradiction between the differing national identities of the genre and its composers. In a second step, I will broaden the view beyond *The Italian Madrigal* and enquire how Einstein's historiographic narrative might be influenced by his own migration biography.

3 Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, »Die Verdienste der Niederländer um die Tonkunst«, *Verhandelingen over de Vraag: Welke Verdiensten hebben zich de Nederlanders vooral in de 14e, 15e en 16e eeuw in het Vak der Toonkunst verworven [...]*, ed. Koninklijk-Nederlandsch Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letterkunde en schoone Kunsten, Amsterdam 1829; François-Joseph Fétis, »Mémoire sur cette Question«, *ibid.*

4 See the contributions to this volume by Kate van Orden and Anna Magdalena Bredenbach.

5 *DIM*, p. XV.

Das Italienische Madrigal

Cap. I. Die Vorgeschichte

A. Einleitung

Abgrenzung Beginn einer autochthonen mehrstimmigen Musik in Italien gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts; Entwicklung bis um 1600. -- Auseinandersetzung. Wandlung des Liedstils zum motettischen Stil um 1520. Anteil der "Oltremontanen". Geltungslosigkeit Italiens im 15. Jahrhundert; sein Triumph am Ende des 16. -- Beginn. Provinzialität Italiens. Burgunder und Vlaemen in Italien. Dufay. Tatsachen für das Dominieren der Oltremontani. -- Mailand als stärkstes Beispiel. -- Gafori. -- Das Trecento. Die italienische Ars nova. Florenz. Landini. Exclusive Kunst. Einfluss Italiens auf die Oltremontani. Internationales Interregnum. Mangel an Quellen. Improvisation. -- Heinrich Jsaac: Verhältnis zu Florenz. -- Bewusstsein der Abhängigkeit Bartoli's Ragionamenti. Quirini's Relation über niederländische Musik. Guicciardini. -- Das Erbe des 15. Jahrhunderts. Zeitwende. Kirche und Humanismus. Petrarca und Erasmus. Savonarola. Zwiespalt der Zeit. Politische Zerrissenheit. Zerrissenheit der Persönlichkeiten. -- Das Jahrhundert der Nationalisierung. Vorrang der profanen Vocal-Musik als Darstellungs-Object. "Kirchliche" und "profane" Musiker. -- Die Umformung des Erbes. Die Ballata. Entartung der burgundischen Lyrik. Reaction in Florenz. Ysaac's profane Lyrik. Ballata "Questo mostrarsi adirata". Canto carnascialesco. Ysaac's "Carro".

B. Die Frottola. -- Mantua. Die "Favola d'Orfeo" 1471. Urbino. Die bazzelletta von 1492 -- Isabella d'Este. Die Frottolisten. Niederländer und Italiener. Figuren und Gruppen. -- Tromboncino und Cara. Lieferanten von Dichtungen. Character der Frottola-Dichtung. Tromboncinó's spätere Zeit. Marchetto Cara. -- Stellung des Künstlers. Der Musiker als Vertreter von Wissenschaft und Kunstfertigkeit. Der Musiker als Künstler. Pietro Aron's

Fig. 1: First page of the table of contents in Einstein's German typescript, US-BEM, Archives Einstein Coll. 2, Box 4, Folder 116

The Glory of Italian Music and the Oltremontani

The German version of *The Italian Madrigal* contains an extensive table of contents, which was shortened and reworked into a list for the published English version (Fig. 1).⁶ This synopsis-like overview contains a remarkable formulation that aptly reflects Einstein's historiographical narrative. He speaks of Italy's »Geltungslosigkeit« (insignificance) in the fifteenth century and its »Triumph« at the end of the sixteenth century. Here, the influence of the nineteenth-century music-historical narrative of Burgundy's supremacy between 1400 and 1500 becomes obvious.⁷ In the actual text of the introduction, Einstein writes of the fifteenth century as a period when music in Italy was »virtually nonexistent«.⁸ In 1580 – after a mere 100 years – Italy's hegemony over the entire continent had become indisputable in his eyes. In the introduction, Einstein connects this narrative with secular music and its protagonists.

»[The madrigal] was ushered in by the heirs of the polyphonic ballad art of the Quattrocento: Frenchmen, Burgundians, Netherlanders – in short, Oltremontani in the Italian sense. But they merely ushered it in; they did not originate it. The origins must be sought on Italian soil, and the product is distinctly Italian. What did happen, and what was repeatedly to happen again in the course of the following century, was a struggle between »international« and »national« stylistic tendencies, between polyphony and homophony, between melodic and harmonic tension. This struggle, which found its solution in a compromise, ends with the complete victory of the Italian national style.«⁹

Einstein's emphasis that the madrigal was born on Italian soil and is an Italian genre is hardly a surprise. However, the juxtaposing of »international« polyphony and »Italian« homophony as well as of harmony and melody, juxtapositions reminiscent of debates on Italian and German eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music, underlines how deeply the grand historical narratives of his time are wo-

6 Summaries of this kind were not uncommon in German-language literature around 1900.

7 August Wilhelm Ambros, Raphael Georg Kiesewetter's nephew, also writes of the »Zeitalter der Niederländer« in his 1868 history of music: August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik im Zeitalter der Renaissance bis zu Palestrina*, Leipzig 1868 (*Geschichte der Musik* von August Wilhelm Ambros, 3).

8 Recent research offers a more differentiated assessment. See e.g.: Blake Wilson, *Singing to the Lyre in Renaissance Italy. Memory, Performance, and Oral Poetry*, Cambridge 2020; Nino Pirrotta and Pierluigi Petrobelli, »Italy (3. Renaissance)«, in: *Grove Music Online* (2001).

9 *TIM*, p. 4.

ven into Einstein's study.¹⁰ It should be noted that the German version of this paragraph deviates slightly from the English. Here Einstein writes: »Geburtshelfer dabei sind die Erben der polyphonen Liedkunst des Quattrocento: Franzosen, Burgunder, Niederländer; kurz: »Oltremontani« im italienischen Sinn. Aber sie sind nur die Geburtshelfer, nicht die Väter. Die Geburt findet auf italienischem Boden statt, und das Kind, das auf die Welt kommt, ist italienisch.«¹¹ The English translators omitted not only the reference to the midwives, but also the metaphorical denial of the Oltremontani's paternity. This deviation could be read as a purely stylistically motivated removal of some metaphors.¹² Nevertheless, it should be noted that the English version is considerably less emphatic when it comes to the agency of the Oltremontani.

Literally, the term Oltremontani refers to people who come from beyond the mountains. In music sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth century as well as in music research, however, it is used more specifically from an Italian perspective to describe a group of musicians who came from Flanders and Northern France. Fabrice Fitch recently pointed out that the term was used until the twenty-first century in the context of a historical narrative that was based on the idea of the cultural domination of individual regions.¹³ Einstein uses »Oltremontani« at various points in his study (also in the adjective form »ultramontane«) without articulating the need for a deeper discussion of the term. This implicitness is probably due to the omnipresence of the term in the German-speaking world in the late nineteenth century as a result of the so-called Kulturkampf. In that context, however, the term »ultramontane« was used from the opposite perspective: it designated conservative German Catholics who were oriented »across the mountains« towards Rome who spoke out against the secularisation of the state and society. Yet the term was so firmly established for transalpine phenomena that Einstein was able to headline one of his chapters with it without any further explanation.¹⁴

10 Erich Reimer, »Nationalbewußtsein und Musikgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland 1800–1850«, in: *Die Musikforschung* 46 (1993), pp. 17–31; Hentschel, *Bürgerliche Ideologie und Musik*.

11 *DIM*, p. 2.

12 Metaphors of parenthood in this context can also be found in more recent musicological studies such as Reinhard Strohm's *The Rise of Music 1380–1500*: »Italy was the cradle of the Renaissance, but she did not give birth to what is often called »Renaissance Music«. That happened in western Europe; Italy was just a wonderful foster-mother of that music« (Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge 2005, p. 540).

13 Fabrice Fitch, *Renaissance Polyphony*, Cambridge 2020, p. 35.

14 *TIM*, p. 10.

The Italianisation of Monte and Lasso

The sixth chapter of *The Italian Madrigal* is entitled »The three great oltremontani«. ¹⁵ On 42 pages it deals with Orlando di Lasso, Philippe de Monte, and Giaches de Wert. The term »Oltremontani« is somewhat ambiguous in meaning, at least with regard to Monte and Lasso. Unlike Wert, whom Einstein describes as the »third great Italian composer of madrigals of Flemish birth«, the designation of provenance in Lasso's and Monte's case can also be read as a description of their area of activity north of the Alps. ¹⁶ This is all the more true since Einstein labels all three composers with an identity that is not determined by their place of birth: »If Lasso is by training an Italian master, this is still more true of Monte«. ¹⁷ It is the Italian socialization of the two composers born north of the Alps and later active there that Einstein uses to explain their productivity in the field of madrigal – despite their later »isolation« in Munich or in »provincial Prague«. ¹⁸ As Nils Grosch has diagnosed, Einstein does not emphasise musicians' place of birth. ¹⁹ Instead, the new focus on the socialisation of a given musician brings the ideas of centre and periphery to the fore. For Einstein, Italy is the centre of madrigal composition, which means that composers who settle outside of the peninsula are, as will be shown below, at risk of being cut off from the musical avant-garde.

Even though Einstein does not explicitly use the term avant-garde in his book, it is a kind of key concept in his study. *The Italian Madrigal* is deeply anchored in a narrative of development and progress. In an evolutionary model of music history, the central criterion for assessing the work (and value) of a given artist is not necessarily their popularity during their lifetime, but the relevance of their creations in an alleged genealogy of composers and compositions. ²⁰ Einstein ac-

15 Ibid., p. 477.

16 Ibid., p. 511.

17 Ibid., p. 502; »Wenn Lasso seiner Erziehung nach ein italienischer Meister ist, so ist es Monte noch viel mehr« (*DIM*, p. 516).

18 *TLM*, p. 482: »Monte merkt, dass er, sozusagen, in seiner Prager Provinzialität den Anschluss verloren hat, und beehrt sich, sich einer leichteren, sinnlicheren, pastoralen Gattung des Madrigals zuzuwenden – an einem alten Meister ein betrübliches Schauspiel« (*DIM*, p. 494).

19 Nils Grosch, »Cultural Mobility, Alfred Einstein und die Kritik der musikalischen Verortung«, *Musik und Migration*, ed. Wolfgang Gratzner and Nils Grosch, Münster 2018 (*Musik und Migration*, 1), pp. 25–36.

20 Jürgen Habermas, »Zum Thema: Geschichte und Evolution«, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 2 (1976), pp. 310–357, is a fundamental analysis of the relationship between evolutionary theory and historiography; looking at musicology in the first half of the 20th century: Helmut Loos, »Spurensuche – Kulturdarwinistische Tendenzen in der deutschen Musikgeschichtsschreibung«, *Musikwissenschaft 1900–1930: Zur Institutionalisierung und Legitimierung einer jungen akademischen Disziplin*, ed. Wolfgang Auhagen, Wolfgang Hirschmann and Tomi Mäkelä, Hildesheim et al. 2017 (*Studien und Materialien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 98), pp. 234–249.

knowledges the success of both Monte and Lasso among their contemporaries. At the same time, however, he identifies a dead end in their stylistic development in the field of the madrigal.²¹ In accordance with his initial plan to write a cultural history of sixteenth-century music, the author at several points links his stylistic observations with the biographies of the two composers. This becomes particularly clear in the description of Monte's madrigal work, which Einstein divides into three phases.²² He had developed this three-part model as early as 1930 in a paper at the first congress of the International Musicological Society in Liège and Brussels on »Filippo di Monte als Madrigalkomponist«.²³ Comparing the script of this paper with the German manuscript of *The Italian Madrigal*, it becomes evident that Einstein adopted long passages of his own lecture verbatim. In some places, he expands the text, making small additions.²⁴

According to Einstein, the first period of Monte as a madrigalist – the time of his Italianisation – encompasses the artist's time in Italy, in which he demonstrates modernity and mastery: »And how much more free, more clear, more smoothing – in a word, more Italian – than [the Italian] Fiesco is Monte«.²⁵ A glance at the German version of this paragraph reveals particularly clearly just how enthusiastically Einstein speaks of the early Monte, because here the author even emphasises the word »more Italian«. In the second period of Monte's work, which begins with his activity at the imperial court in Vienna, Einstein already diagnoses a break, despite acknowledging Monte's increasing popularity:

»In the fifth book *a cinque* he even manages a ›world success‹ – what we should call a ›hit.‹ It is a madrigal on a text of G. Guidiccioni's *Veramente in amore*, a lachrymose affair that is actually beneath his *niveau* and that is copied from older models. But in general he is beginning to lose touch

21 *TIM*, p. 503.

22 The influence of Einstein's study on the following generation of madrigal scholars is illustrated by the fact that this tripartite division of Monte's madrigals was still adopted in 1983 by Brian Mann, *The Secular Madrigals of Filippo di Monte 1521–1603*, Epping 1983 (Studies in Musicology, 64); the musicologist opens and closes his extensive monograph with quotations from *The Italian Madrigal*, making minor reassessments only in a few places.

23 Julius van Nuffel, »Philippe de Monte«, *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 57 (1930–1931), pp. 114 f.; Alfred Einstein, »Filippo di Monte als Madrigalkomponist«, *Société internationale de musicologie, premier congrès Liège: compte rendu (1.–6. September 1930)/International Society for Musical Research and the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, ed. International Musicological Society, Burnham 1931, pp. 102–108.

24 In 1934, Einstein once again formulated his thoughts on Monte's madrigal work in an essay on Italian musicians north of the Alps: Alfred Einstein, »Italienische Musik und italienische Musiker am Kaiserhof und an den erzhertzoglichen Höfen in Innbruck und Graz«, *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 21 (1934), pp. 3–52: pp. 23–27.

25 *TIM*, p. 509.

with the beneficent native soil of the madrigal and with the changes in Italian taste or, if one prefers, of Italian fashion.«²⁶

According to Einstein, Monte continued to compose at a high standard, but stagnated and slowly drifted in an unfashionable direction. This argument draws on musical analysis but is also supported by Monte's biography. The reason for Monte's alleged falling behind as a madrigalist according to Einstein was his distance from the »Mutterboden« (»native soil«) of the madrigal on the Italian peninsula. Surprisingly Einstein does not invest much effort in strengthening his hypothesis with more detailed biographical information. His argument could indeed be supported by stating that composers working north of the Alps were not able to take part in the important academies where compositions were sung and shared, in some cases many years before their publication.²⁷ Moreover, they had fewer opportunities to personally meet musicians employed at the many courts in northern Italy, for example in the context of political events. Einstein does not care to explain the numerous contradictions between his narrative of a composer losing touch and Monte's increasing productivity and international popularity after he had taken his post at the imperial court. By the end of his life, the composer had published a total of 19 individual prints of Italian madrigals for five voices, plus eight books of six-part and four books of four-part madrigals.²⁸ All of Monte's madrigal collections were printed in Italy, although there were print shops capable of producing music prints much closer to Prague. Years after he had taken his post north of the Alps, the composer still dedicated his anthologies to Italian dignitaries, which indicates that he was first and foremost addressing an Italian market instead of a possibly more conservative audience in Prague.²⁹

In the third phase of Philippe de Monte as a madrigalist, which according to Einstein starts with the publication of the eleventh book of madrigals for five voices in 1586, the musicologist finally portrays the musician as an aging composer

26 *TIM*, p. 509; »Im fünften Buch a 5 gelingt ihm sogar noch ein »Welterfolg«, das was man heute einen Schlager nennen würde, ein Madrigal auf einen Text Giovanni Guidiccioni's »Veramente in amore« – ein Stück, das in seinem larmoyanten Klang eigentlich unter seinem Niveau steht und nach älteren Modellen gezeichnet ist. Aber im Ganzen beginnt er die befruchtende Berührung mit dem Mutterboden des Madrigals zu verlieren, mit den Veränderungen des Geschmacks, wenn man will, der Mode in Italien« (*DIM*, p. 525).

27 See Iain Fenlon's contribution to this volume; Inga Mai Groote, *Musik in italienischen Akademien. Studien zur Institutionellen Musikpflege 1573–1666*, Laaber 2007 (Analecta musicologica, 39).

28 In addition, there are individual secular prints such as *Musica sopra il pastor fido* and four anthologies of sacred madrigals.

29 For an overview of the dedicatees of Monte's individual prints, see Thorsten Hindrichs, *Philippe de Monte (1521–1603). Komponist, Kapellmeister, Korrespondent*, Göttingen 2003 (Hainholz Musikwissenschaft, 7), pp. 175–177.

and as a »Don Quixotte« figure unsuccessfully striving for compositional innovation.³⁰ Einstein bases this narrative on a remarkable combination of biographical and stylistic arguments. Although not all biographical documents known today were available to him, he analyses Monte's dedicatory letters in which the musician repeatedly hints at his wish to retire. Einstein's conclusions here are entirely in accordance with twenty-first-century research.³¹ From various documents, we now know that the composer asked the Emperor to release him into retirement probably as early as 1578.³² Even though his wish to retire was not granted, Monte remained very productive. However, in Einstein's view, in stylistic terms the musician makes »tragicomic« attempts to compose in a modern way, but falls short of the musical progress represented by composers such as Andrea Gabrieli.³³

*

Einstein probably became acquainted with Orlando di Lasso during his musicological studies in Munich, which he started around 1900 and completed with a doctorate in 1903. Adolf Sandberger, who had been a private lecturer at the University of Munich since 1894, an associate professor since 1900 and became a full professor in 1909, was one of the editors responsible for the first complete edition of the composer's works. It was Sandberger who prepared the five volumes of Lasso's compositions in Italian between 1894 and 1898.³⁴ Although no public lectures on the subject of madrigals or Orlando di Lasso are to be found in the university's historical records, Lasso might have played a role in Einstein's everyday life as a student in Munich – for example in the »musicological exercises« (»musikwissenschaftliche Übungen«) that Sandberger regularly hosted in his private home, or during a lecture on the »Music History of Bavaria« in the summer term of 1901.³⁵ In the winter term of 1903/04, Theodor Kroyer taught a course on »Vocal Forms of the Sixteenth Century«, which Einstein was unable

30 *TIM*, p. 511.

31 Hindrichs, *Philippe de Monte*, pp. 113–115; Robert Lindell, »An Unknown Letter of Filippo di Monte to Orlando di Lasso«, *Festschrift für Horst Leuchtmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Stephan Hörner and Bernhold Schmid, Tübingen 1993, pp. 261–271.

32 Richard Wistreich, »Philippe de Monte: New Autobiographical Documents«, *Early Music History* 25 (2006), pp. 257–308.

33 *TIM*, p. 511.

34 Madrigal volumes in the Old Complete Edition of Lasso's works (ed. Sandberger and published by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig): Vol. 2, *Madrigale. Erster Theil* (1894); Vol. 4, *Madrigale. Zweiter Theil* (1895); Vol. 6, *Madrigale. Dritter Theil* (1896); Vol. 8, *Madrigale. Vierter Theil* (1898); Vol. 10, *Madrigale. Fünfter Theil* (1898).

35 »Overview of historical course catalogues«, Open Access LMU, https://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/view/lmu/vlverz=5F04.html#group_1900.

to attend as he was in the process of finishing his thesis.³⁶ Nevertheless, as Sebastian Bolz has suggested, Theodor Kroyer was an influential teacher for the young Einstein.³⁷ This musicologist had been an expert in the field of the madrigal since writing his doctoral thesis on chromaticism in the Italian madrigal.³⁸ In this study, Kroyer deals extensively with Lasso's early madrigals. Thus, both of Einstein's most important academic teachers were familiar with the genre and with Lasso's secular works in particular.

In his contribution to this volume, Bernhold Schmid points out that Einstein holds Orlando di Lasso in the highest esteem.³⁹ In purely quantitative terms, the composer is given the greatest weight in the chapter on the three Oltremontani. In Einstein's eyes, during his time in Naples and Rome Lasso was part of the mid-sixteenth century avant-garde. He became Italianised and his early madrigals are »more Italian« than those of some composers born in Italy. However, Einstein observes a development in Lasso's oeuvre that leads him to judge the composer's later works far more critically:⁴⁰

»But the madrigal is perhaps the most important fraction. There can be no question about the national leanings of Orlando di Lasso, the international or cosmopolitan master from Mons in Hainaut; that for which he entertained the liveliest affection was the Italian. Lasso's madrigal reveals most strongly and clearly one aspect of the inner change that takes place in music during the second part of the sixteenth century: the increasing gloom, the trend away from gaiety, vitality, and artlessness toward contrition and a tormenting awareness, the transition from the Renaissance to the Counter Reformation.

[...] it will appear that his historical importance is relatively insignificant and that it becomes steadily less significant in the second part of his life. Unlike Verdelot, Willaert, or Rore, he invents nothing; he never seizes control of the development; he uses an already existing store of formulas. With increasing age he loses his immediate contact with Italian intellectual life, with the homeland, despite his frequent journeys through the Brenner Pass. His later madrigal publications are no longer as successful as his earli-

36 Sebastian Bolz, »Alfred Einstein and the Philosophy of Music History«, *Cipriano de Rore. New perspectives on His Hife and Music*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Katelijne Schiltz, Turnhout 2016, pp. 452–477: p. 463, fn. 38.

37 Ibid., pp. 462 f.

38 Theodor Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Madrigals*, PhD diss., University of Munich 1897 (publ. Leipzig 1902).

39 Einstein's thesis only mentions Lasso in a footnote; Alfred Einstein, *Zur deutschen Literatur für Viola da Gamba im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, PhD diss., University of Munich 1903, p. 9.

40 *TIM*, p. 511.

er ones; the composer of church music gradually crowds out the composer of secular music. His contemporaries felt this quite clearly, and he himself seems not to have been unaware of it. [...]

At the end of his life Lasso is a reactionary, and in a conversation with the Imperial choirmaster, Filippo di Monte, his contemporary and fellow sufferer, he complains of the change that has taken place in the musical world about him.⁴¹

Einstein describes Lasso's life as a process of slowly drifting away from the compositional zeitgeist. In Einstein's account, it seems as if the Italianisation that made the young boy from Hennegau one of the ›most Italian‹ of composers has a limited lifetime. In his view, musicians who lost contact with the ›intellectual life‹ in Italy for too long also lost their ability to compose at the cutting edge of the times. Einstein explicitly rejects the idea that Lasso's regular trips to Italy (among other things, for the printing of his works) might have changed something about his isolation, albeit without really presenting any evidence to support his claim.

In Einstein's history of Lasso as a madrigal composer, there is a second force driving the artist away from the madrigal avant-garde. As Schmid shows, Einstein diagnoses Lasso with a ›disease‹ – the so-called Counter-Reformation.⁴² The first paragraph on Lasso reads: ›It is the same change – indeed the same disease, religious scruples – that takes place in Torquato Tasso, except that it develops more rapidly in the shorter life of this poet (1544–1595)‹.⁴³ A glance at Lasso's publications reveals nothing to contradict Einstein's observation that the composer increasingly turned to sacred Italian texts towards the end of his life. However, we may well ask whether insights into Lasso's motives are possible in this case, or whether general taste (or the limits of which texts could or could not be set to music) had simply changed in Munich in the late sixteenth century. As David Crook and others have been able to show, the Jesuit order had quickly gained influence at the Wittelsbach court. Within a few years of their arrival in Munich, the clerics were already campaigning against music that was immoral in their eyes and ears.⁴⁴ Here, the epistemic principles of *The Italian Madrigal* become particularly apparent: in this study, music history is the history of works, genres, and composers. The influence of other actors such as patrons or the clergy is often framed as

41 *TIM*, p. 478.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 477.

43 *Ibid.*

44 David Crook, ›A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music‹, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62 (2009), pp. 1–78; Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*, Aldershot 2004.

an intellectual trend. This approach is hazardous, although it must be emphasised that many of Einstein's conclusions still hold up by the standards of today's musicological research, which is increasingly influenced by cultural history.

As Katelijne Schiltz and others show in their contributions to this volume, Einstein often uses analogies to the classical canon to illustrate his music-historical observations. Sebastian Bolz has been able to trace this narrative in detail beyond Einstein's research on madrigals.⁴⁵ In his assessment of Lasso's place in music history, Einstein draws a remarkable comparison:

»Yet one cannot overestimate the greatness and force of his personality. If the madrigalist Lasso was no longer fully appreciated by the world about him, despite all the honors and eulogies he received, he was the more ›actual,‹ and precisely as a madrigalist, to posterity. In his relation to his Italian contemporaries, Lasso fared much as Mozart did later: to those about him the great ultramontane Italian or Italianate *Oltremontano* was never wholly accessible. The Italian contemporaries of Palestrina and Boccherini grasped them fully, although to say this is to pass judgment only on the specifically Italian qualities in Palestrina and Boccherini and not on their importance; Mozart and Lasso they do not fully grasp.«⁴⁶

The analogy with Mozart expresses Einstein's supreme appreciation for the composer from Mons. Lasso's early contributions to the madrigal genre are placed on the same footing as Mozart's contributions to Italian opera. However, if one takes the analogy to its logical conclusion, it reveals a contradiction in Einstein's argument, for Mozart like the late Lasso only visited Italy as a traveller and did not find the employment he hoped for there. Mozart's late Italian operas, now considered the backbone of the genre, were all composed for audiences north of the Alps. Perhaps this is the reason why Einstein limits his argument to the two composers' reception and does not examine their production in greater detail. Although Einstein by no means shies away from comparisons across epochs (quite the opposite), comparing the Italian madrigal and Italian opera must have appeared almost dangerous to Einstein, calling his narrative into question quite fundamentally. After all, Italian opera, despite its language, is the exact opposite of a location-bound genre. Since the mid-seventeenth century it was widespread

45 Sebastian Bolz, »Das Ende der Unschuld. Beethoven als biographisch-historiographische Denkfigur bei Alfred Einstein«, *Beethovens Vermächtnis: Mit Beethoven im Exil*, ed. Anna Langenbruch, Beate Angelika Kraus and Christine Siegert, Bonn 2022 (Schriften zur Beethoven-Forschung, 32), pp. 349–375; Bolz, »Alfred Einstein and the Philosophy of Music History«.

46 *TIM*, p. 478.

and popular throughout Europe and substantial contributions to the genre were always also made by composers who worked beyond the Italian peninsula.

In the narrative of *The Italian Madrigal* both Lasso and Monte slowly drift away from the avant-garde of madrigal composition by being cut off from Italian soil. Lasso, infected by the »disease« of the Bavarian Counter-Reformation, becomes a »reactionary«, while Monte unsuccessfully tries to be innovative and thus becomes the tragicomic »Don Quixotte« of Prague. At the end of the paragraph quoted above, Einstein describes a conversation between Lasso and Monte in which the former complains about the rapid changes in musical life. Pondering Lasso and Monte apparently sparked Einstein's imagination, and thus a fictitious dialogue between the two composers set in 1594 can be found among the scholar's papers. In this short text, the two elderly musicians complain about their age during a meeting at the Regensburg Imperial Diet (which Lasso never attended) (Appendix).⁴⁷ The reference to such a conversation in *The Italian Madrigal* is presumably down to Einstein's journalistic approach, which employs biographical observations or speculations, such as the documented acquaintance between the two musicians.

Einstein and the Disinherited

In the introduction to *The Italian Madrigal*, Einstein reflects on his position as a German-born researcher dealing with a genuinely Italian genre. In doing so, he is, in a way, adopting the position of the Oltremontani:

»That the book is the work of a non-Italian brings dangers with it of which I am well aware. I recall only too vividly a story of Stendhal's, who tells of running across a magnificent sonnet (*La Morte*) in the guest-book of the Certosa near Florence; on mentioning his »discovery« at a party that evening he was greeted with roars of laughter: »What, can it be that you have never heard of Monti's best known sonnet?« Stendhal adds: »No traveler should imagine that he is really familiar with the literature of a neighboring country.« But perhaps I may say that I hope I have been more than a mere traveler in Italy.«⁴⁸

47 US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 1, Folder 23; my thanks again to Sebastian Bolz, who provided me with this text.

48 *TIM*, p. vi f.; »Wohl bewusst bin ich mir der Gefahren, die darin liegen, dass dies Buch von einem Nicht-Italiener geschrieben ist. Ich erinnere mich sehr deutlich an die Erzählung Stendhal's, der im Fremdenbuch der Certosa bei Florenz ein herrliches Sonett findet (»La Morte«), und als er abends in Gesellschaft von seiner Entdeckung spricht, tödliches Gelächter erregt: »Wie, Sie kennen das berühmteste Sonett Monti's nicht?« Stendhal setzt hinzu: »Kein Reisender möge sich

This passage is remarkable because the anecdote of the French author Stendhal seems to undermine Einstein's authority. Only the final sentence reveals his self-perception. Unlike the French-born Stendhal, he by no means sees himself as a »mere traveler« to Italy. However, he gives his readers no further biographical information that would legitimise this self-portrayal.

So far, very little research has been conducted on Einstein's years in Italy. He moved to Mezzomonte near Florence in April 1935, about 18 months after having left Germany for England.⁴⁹ He lived there with his family for more than three years – only interrupted by two longer study trips to Vienna and London.⁵⁰ In the summer of 1938, Einstein felt growing pressure to leave Italy due to the increasingly anti-Semitic climate in the fascist state. As early as 1936, anti-Semitism increased noticeably south of the Alps. There were not only smears, but also repeated incitements against Jews in the press.⁵¹ The Einsteins' decision to leave was probably triggered by the appearance of an anti-Semitic article from Mussolini's circle and Adolf Hitler's visit to Italy that made the Jewish family fear for their lives (again).⁵² In a letter from 1947, Einstein writes looking back: »Our Führer's visit to the other clown also drove us out of Italy, which we loved very much.«⁵³ In early September 1938, the Einsteins moved to Zuoz in the Upper Engadine in Switzerland, where they awaited the arrival of their US visa. They had left Italy not a month too soon, for in September 1938 the Mussolini regime enacted the first racial laws.⁵⁴ On 15 November 1938, all Jewish professors, teachers, pupils, and students were expelled from Italian schools and universities.⁵⁵

Little information is available about how Einstein worked as a researcher in Italy. He himself hints at journeys undertaken in the preface to *The Italian Madrigal*, where he thanks various libraries, including some Italian ones.⁵⁶ Einstein

einbilden, mit der Literatur eines Nachbarlandes vertraut zu sein.« Doch darf ich vielleicht sagen, dass ich in Italien kein blosser Reisender gewesen bin« (*DIM*, p. VII).

49 Melina Gehring, *Alfred Einstein. Ein Musikwissenschaftler im Exil*, Hamburg 2007 (Musik im »Dritten Reich« und im Exil, 13), p. 90

50 Melina Gehring, »Alfred Einstein«, in: *LexM*.

51 Thomas Schlemmer and Hans Woller, »Der italienische Faschismus und die Juden 1922 bis 1945«, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 53 (2005), pp. 165–197.

52 Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, pp. 95 f.

53 Alfred Einstein to Erwin Kroll, 21.12.1947; »Der Besuch unseres Führers bei dem anderen Clown hat uns auch aus Italien vertrieben, das wir sehr liebten« (cited after Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 96).

54 Schlemmer and Woller, »Der italienische Faschismus«, p. 180.

55 Furio Moroni, »Italy: Aspects of the Unbeautiful Life«, *The Plunder of Jewish Property during the Holocaust. Confronting European History*, ed. Avi Beker, New York 2001, pp. 297–312: p. 301.

56 Interestingly, the German version mentions the names of the library directors, while the English version is limited to naming the institutions.

mentions not only the Istituto musicale in Florence and its director Adelmo Damerini as well as the private library of Horace de Landau near Florence and its curator Rolf Blum, but also the library of the Liceo musicale in Bologna and its director Francesco Vatielli as well as the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.⁵⁷ The Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence is also mentioned frequently in the course of the book.

In an article on Einstein and Beethoven, Sebastian Bolz quotes a letter of October 1938 in which the musicologist comments on the USA's task of saving Europe's cultural heritage.⁵⁸ The USA are envisioned as a new intellectual and academic centre. Reflecting on his possible contribution to this undertaking, he writes: »What I would like most is to be used for Italy: to be sent to Mussolinistan for a few months every year or so, where I know my way around, am well-recognised by the librarians, and know the most hidden things.«⁵⁹

Reconstructing Einstein's working process in Italy is made even more difficult by the fact that he transcribed madrigals mainly from prints based on their availability. At least this is what a look at the index to the music volume suggests, which always gives a source, but not the specific copy in the case of the prints.⁶⁰ In cases in which only one copy has survived, Einstein sometimes does mention libraries. Still, we cannot assume with any certainty that Einstein personally consulted these books. A closer glance at his correspondence is likely to be instructive regarding his research in Italy. However, this must be left to future studies.

We know for certain that Einstein succeeded in establishing at least a small network of Italian colleagues during the short time he spent in Italy, and he still felt indebted to them when his study was printed. In addition, the Einstein family apparently soon felt at home in Italy – which possibly made their renewed flight to Switzerland and finally to the USA an even more painful experience.

In approaching the question of the extent to which Einstein's ideas about migration and mobility in *The Italian Madrigal* are linked to his own biography, I would like to briefly discuss a little-known 1939 essay from the journal *Mass und Wert*, which was published in Zürich and edited by Thomas Mann.⁶¹ In the second part of his contribution which is entitled »Die Enterbten« (»The Disinherited«), Einstein reflects on the role of migrants in the history of music.⁶²

57 *TIM*, p. III.

58 Bolz, »Das Ende der Unschuld«, pp. 365 f.

59 »Am liebsten wäre mir, man würde mich für Italien vernutzen: mich etwa jährlich für ein paar Monate nach Mussolinien schicken, wo ich mich auskenne, bei den Bibliothekaren gut angeschrieben bin, und die verstecktesten Dinge kenne« (cited from: *ibid.*, p. 366).

60 *TIM*, pp. 327–333; In his contribution to this volume, Iain Fenlon argues that Einstein worked primarily with prints available on microfilm.

61 My gratitude again goes to Sebastian Bolz, who brought this text to my attention.

62 Alfred Einstein, »Musikalisches«, *Mass und Wert* 2 (1939), pp. 377–388: pp. 382–388.

»Music history seems to have become regional history, pursued from a nationalist point of view. In recent times, nationalism has turned its attention to a new period in music history, ›disinheriting‹ a whole generation of once internationally recognised masters. These are the Burgundian musicians who worked in the Quattrocento, and their Dutch or Northern French successors who worked in Italy in the Cinquecento. It is a fact that there were no great Italian musicians, no great Italian music in the Quattrocento. From Naples to Turin, Italy was at the mercy of the import of Burgundian musicians and Burgundian music, and only at the end of the century does a very modest national production begin. And in the sixteenth century, the glory of Italian music develops only with the help of and in engaging with ›oltramontane‹ masters. That must not be, nationalist pride does not allow it. And so, a national monumental publication series tries to downplay a master like Adrian Willaert in Venice, to whom a whole generation of Italian musicians paid grateful homage. And one of the greatest musicians of the time, Ciprian de Rore, perhaps the greatest, the real ancestor of Monteverdi, has yet to be discovered; for, although he spent almost his whole life in Italy [...], no Italian attends to him, and Holland and Belgium, who have already righted many such wrongs of nationalism (of course, also for national reasons), have not yet attended to him. Willaert and Rore and other great Italian Netherlanders must now atone for their contemporaries having been more open-minded than their late enlightened descendants. And the minor masters from the provincial narrowness are unearthed all the more, for never have ›Heimatforschung‹ (research on local history) and campanilismo flourished as they do today. There is certainly no cantor from a Pomeranian village left whose complete works have not yet been published. And great masters have been ›disinherited‹, not to mention the ›elimination‹ that is taking place for ›racial‹ reasons and that is resulting in German music histories without Mendelssohn and histories of literature without Heine.«⁶³

- 63 »Musikgeschichte scheint musikalische Landeskunde geworden, betrieben vom nationalistischen Standpunkt. In neuerer Zeit hat der Nationalismus sich auf eine neue Periode der Musikgeschichte geworfen, und eine ganze Generationenfolge einst international anerkannter Meister zu ›Enterbten‹ gemacht. Es sind die burgundischen Musiker, die im Quattrocento, und ihre niederländischen oder nordfranzösischen Nachfolger, die im Cinquecento in Italien gewirkt haben. Es ist nun einmal eine Tatsache, daß es im Quattrocento keine großen italienischen Musiker, keine große italienische Musik gegeben hat. Von Neapel bis Turin war Italien dem Import burgundischer Musiker und burgundischer Musik ausgeliefert und erst am Ende des Jahrhunderts regt sich eine sehr bescheidene nationale Produktion. Und im 16. Jahrhundert entwickelt sich die Glorie der italienischen Musik nur mit Hilfe und in der Auseinandersetzung mit ›oltramontanen‹ Meis-

Einstein sharply criticises the musicological scholarship of his time for its subservience to open nationalism and corresponding failure to pay attention to various important musicians for patriotic or even national-chauvinistic reasons. He mentions two madrigal composers, Willaert and Rore, who have been denied their rightful place in music history because of their migration biographies. The text, which appeared ten years before *The Italian Madrigal*, already hints at the concept of Italianisation. Einstein speaks of the two composers as »Italian Dutchmen«. The mention of Mendelssohn suggests a personal reference to Einstein's biography which then actually breaks through in the final sentence, in which the scholar demands that justice must be done to these »passportless [...] people«. After his emigration to the USA, Einstein in 1939 was indeed without a passport. He only became an American citizen in 1945.

Although he explicitly criticizes nationalism and regionalism, Einstein does not dismiss the narrative of music history as a contest of nations, neither in *The Italian Madrigal* nor in his other publications. He merely denies that the actors' places of birth or descent play a decisive role in this musical conflict. When we place Einstein's essay from 1939 beside *The Italian Madrigal*, it becomes clear that his idea of Italianisation is ultimately the overturning of a music historiography guided by the principle of the composers' provenance. However, this does not question the idea of national music history – or better music history of national styles – in general. On the contrary, through this change of perspective ideas such as the dichotomy of centre and periphery and of the hegemony of certain genres become more important. Einstein by no means simply replaces a continental European way of thinking that defines identity very much in terms of descent (*ius sanguinis*) with the traditional American idea according to which a person's nationality is defined primarily in terms of place of birth (*ius solis*).

tern. Das darf nicht sein, das erlaubt der nationalistische Stolz nicht. Und so bemüht sich eine nationale Monumentalpublikation, einen Meister wie Adrian Willaert in Venedig, dem eine ganze Generation von italienischen Musikern dankbar gehuldigt hat, zu bagatellisieren. Und einer der allergrößten Musiker der Zeit, Ciprian de Rore, vielleicht der größte, der eigentliche Ahn Monteverdis, muß erst noch entdeckt werden; denn, obwohl er fast sein ganzes Leben in Italien [...] verbracht hat, kümmert sich um ihn kein Italiener, und Holland und Belgien, die schon viel dergleichen Unrecht des Nationalismus gutgemacht haben (versteht sich, auch aus nationalen Gründen), haben sich noch nicht um ihn gekümmert. Willaert und Rore und andere große italienische Niederländer müssen es heute büßen, daß ihre Zeitgenossen vorurteilsfreier waren als die späten erleuchteten Nachfahren. Und die kleinen Leute aus der provinziellen Enge sind heute erst recht geborgen, denn niemals haben die »Heimatforschung« und der Campanilismo so geblüht als heute. Es gibt sicherlich keinen pommerschen Dorfkantor mehr, dessen sämtliche Werke noch nicht herausgegeben wären. Und große Meister sind »enterbt«, wobei von jener »Ausschaltung«, die aus »rassischen« Gründen erfolgt, und deutsche Musikgeschichten ohne Mendelssohn, deutsche Literaturgeschichten ohne Heine zeitigt, gar nicht gesprochen werden soll« (ibid., pp. 386 f.).

He proposes a much more dynamic approach according to which identity and belonging are temporarily determined by the centre of one's life. This perspective chimes well with Einstein's vision of the role of his new home, the USA, which he sees as having responsibility for preserving European cultural heritage.

Conclusion

It is the history of the genre itself that makes issues such as nation and migration a recurring theme in Alfred Einstein's *The Italian Madrigal*. Orlando di Lasso and Philippe de Monte – just two of the many Oltremontani who defined the genre – are exemplary of Einstein's thinking about these topics, not necessarily because of their madrigal works, but because of their biographies. During their youth in Italy, they were ›Italianised‹. However, their decision to leave Italy for prestigious positions north of the Alps cut them both off from the musical zeitgeist in Einstein's eyes. From his point of view, they lived in isolation, and one wonders whether he might have superimposed his own situation on his historical object. It is certainly idle to speculate on how much of Einstein's own migration experiences went into *The Italian Madrigal*. However, I would go so far as to argue that Einstein's biography – starting with the discrimination in the Weimar Republic, his flight from Germany, and his immigration to the United States – did indeed influence his thinking not only about music, but also about historiography in general. For Einstein, a nation can be described not as a group of people of the same ethnicity or a concrete topographical location within fixed borders, but rather as a cultural space. Yet nation remains an important concept for him. Prefigured by more than a century of nationalist music historiography, the idea of a national cultural space fulfils an evident narratological function in *The Italian Madrigal*. However, there is a clear difference to the author's musicological predecessors and contemporaries: for Einstein, a nation is something one can become a part of by choice.

Appendix

Fictional dialogue between Orlando di Lasso and Philippe de Monte at the Imperial Diet of Regensburg in 1594; US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 1, Folder 23.

Lasso und Monte

Ein Zimmer in einem Gasthof zu Regensburg, während des Reichstags. Frühjahr 1593. Die Unterhaltung wird italienisch geführt.

Lasso. Willkommen, alter Freund, in einer alten bajuvarischen Reichsstadt! Wie ist Euch die Reise von Prag bekommen? Hat die Majestät für ihren Obristen Capellmeister anständig gesorgt? Ist Ihre Majestät in höchster Person eingetroffen?

Monte. Das sind mehrere Fragen, lieber Freund, und ich antworte auf die letzte zuerst. Nein, Ihre Majestät geht nicht mehr heraus aus ihrem Bau im Hradschin, sie wird, Gott sei's geklagt, immer wunderlicher, und statt der göttlichen Musica zu huldigen, huldigt sie der Alchimie [sic]. Nur noch Lakaien und Goldmacher haben Zutritt. Wie's mir geht? Ganz gut. Seit einem Jahrlein bin auch ich eingetreten in die grosse Gemeinde der Podagrysten.⁶⁴ Das ist nicht schön. Es zwickt und zwackt in der grossen Zeh, obwohl ich nie ein mächtiger Trinker war.

Lasso. Ach, Glücklicher! Bei mir zwickt und zwackt es überall. Und doch seid Ihr viel älter als ich. Vielleicht hab' ich zu lustig gelebt, seit wir zusammen waren in Roma ... Ihr waret immer wie ein Jüngferchen, züchtig und eingezogen, indes wir andern prassten und es uns auch sonst wohl sein liessen.

Monte. Freund Orlande, ich bin ein Priester. Und jetzt wird es strenger genommen als in unsern jungen Tagen.

Lasso. [eifrig] Strenger genommen mit Recht, mit Recht! Bereu sie im tiefsten meiner Seele, meine Chansons mit Jean und Alix, meine teutschen Liederchen mit der Schwieger und der Schnur, und meine wälschen Villanellen mit dem Zanni, dem Mistre Righe und dem Lanzichenecco. Zur Busse hab' jetzt die »Tränen Sancti Petri« des Tansillo componiert, so reich und solid ich nur immer konnte; aber hab' immer noch viele schwarze Stunden.

Monte. Die Melancholei ist schlimm, aber das Componieren ist recht. Liebe den Tansillo nicht und halte ihn für einen Hypocritus, aber zweifle nicht, dass Ihr alles mit höchster Kunst geordnet, nach den sieben Reguln [sic] und Erfordernissen [sic]: »Weisheit, Modulation, Geschmack, Verwebung, Contrappunto, Erfindung, gute Disposition«.

64 »Podagrysten« refers to a group of people who suffer from gout.

Lasso. Wohl, hoff' es zu Gott. Wir beide verstehen davon noch etwas. Aber gehet nicht die Kunst sonst zum Teufel, findet Ihr nicht? Habt Ihr das Neueste gesehen? Den Croce in Venezia, den Monteverdi in Mantua, und den Luzzaschi in Ferrara? Und den schlimmsten von allen, den Marenzio in Roma, den sie den »süssesten Schwan der Musica« nennen? Dann war ich freilich eine Krähe oder ein Geier. Obwohl sie auch von mir gesagt haben, dass ich mit meinen Weisen die müde Welt wieder aufwecken könne. Weiss, der Luca Marentio [sic], nicht einmal Bescheid mit der Mensur, den Proportionen, dem Modus, dem Tempus, der Augmentation und Diminution! Schreibt schwarze Noten[,] wo sie nichts besagen, schreibt weisse Achtel, chrome bianche, wie dergleichen noch nie gesehen! Solche Neuerlinge bilden sich nach ihren Launen neue Regeln, conträr zu den guten alten, und wir müssen vom Leder ziehen, denn das ist Confusion und Verfall der Kunst.

Monte. Bin auch gegen die chrome bianche. Aber der Marentius scheint mir doch ein Mann von guter Invention. Man muss weiter gehen, darf nicht stehen bleiben. War zu lang nicht in Italia, wo eben die neuen Inventiones herkommen; hab längst gemerkt, dass [ich] ins Hintertreffen geraten bin. Aber, wir sind alt, und werden's nicht mehr schaffen. Es liegt etwas in der Luft. Die Musica ist jung und hat noch viel vor sich.

Lasso. Glaub's nicht. Ueber mich – über uns – geht's nicht hinaus. Aber wollen nicht streiten. Da läutet's zur Messe, die dürfen wir nicht versäumen.