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Das italienische Madrigal.

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

Herausgegeben von

Sebastian Bolz, Moritz Kelber und Katelijne Schiltz

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Benjamin Ory

## Alfred Einstein's Scholarship, the Italian Madrigal, and *The Italian Madrigal*<sup>1</sup>

In 1924 Alfred Einstein summarized the scope of and scholarly need for a history of the sixteenth-century Italian madrigal: »A history would demarcate the epochs in the development of the Madrigal, and characterize the various schools and the various masters – assuredly a most absorbing and much needed description of the natal hour of modern music«. <sup>2</sup> In his correspondence, Einstein made clear not only that he someday aimed to write such a book, but also that his expertise would make him the ideal person to undertake the task. Writing in 1932 to one of his antagonists, Hans Engel, Einstein boasted that he was »the best connoisseur of the madrigal in Germany, [more knowledgeable than his doctoral advisor Adolf] Sandberger, [Theodor] Kroyer, and [Engel] put together (no offense)«. <sup>3</sup>

- 1 This research has been generously supported by a Robert L. Platzman Memorial Fellowship from the University of Chicago. All correspondence is in German, unless otherwise specified. Thanks to Joshua Rifkin and Jesse Rodin for their comments on this article.
- 2 Alfred Einstein, »The Madrigal«, trans. Theodore Baker, *The Musical Quarterly* 10 (1924), pp. 475–484: p. 483. The publication articulates many of Einstein's historiographical narratives: the contrast between the frottola and the madrigal, the centrality of the *oltramontani* to histories of sixteenth-century music, the focus on settings of texts by Petrarch, and the belief that the »purest form is found in the works of the greatest masters«, with first in the list that follows – »the austere Rore.«
- 3 »Das Schlimme dabei ist, dass Sie dergleichen einem Menschen wie ich zutrauen, von dem Sie ruhig annehmen dürfen, dass er der beste Kenner des Madrigals in Deutschland ist, Sandberger und Kroyer und Sie zusammengenommen (nichts für ungut).« Alfred Einstein to Hans Engel, August 1932, D-Mbs, ANA 431I (Nachlass Sandberger), Box 9, Folder Hans Engel. Einstein later sharply critiqued an article by Hans Engel (»Marenzios Madrigale und ihre dichterischen Grundlagen«, *Acta Musicologica* 8 (1936), pp. 129–139) in »Zu Marenzio's Texten«, *Acta Musicologica* 9 (1937), pp. 150 f. Another of Einstein's antagonists was Bernard H. Haggin, music critic for *The Nation*, whom Einstein referred to as a »kleine[r] musikkritische[r] Goebbels.« Alfred Einstein to Nicolas Slonimsky, 3 June 1947, US-Wc, ML31.S6 (Nicolas Slonimsky Collection, 1873–1997), Box 138, Folder 3 (Einstein, Alfred). Others drawing Einstein's ire included Fausto Torrefranca: »Er ist ein Narr, und war ein so leidenschaftlicher Fascist, dass er sich eigentlich auch hätte umbringen müssen ... aber er lebt noch.« Alfred Einstein to Nicolas Slonimsky, 2 November 1950, US-Wc, ML31.S6, Box 138, Folder 3. See also Alfred Einstein to Edward J. Dent, 19 April 1940,

Thanks to decades of transcriptions he had made at various (largely German) libraries and an ever expanding knowledge of sources, Einstein believed he was in a unique position to describe the landscape of sixteenth-century secular music.<sup>4</sup>

And yet Einstein did not immediately start writing his madrigal book. In part, he lacked time: the many projects he had undertaken as a music critic for the *Berliner Tageblatt*, as editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, and as an independent scholar divided his attention.<sup>5</sup> Only in 1933 did his situation change. Forced to resign by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft from his post at the *Zeitschrift* after the NSDAP ascended to power, Einstein quickly emigrated from Germany.<sup>6</sup> He spent much of the next six years in Italy. When Italian fascism made this no longer tenable, he moved in 1939 to the United States. Although more than thirty years of his career had been upturned in short succession, these changes were fortuitous for Einstein's madrigal research by enabling him to turn his attention to his self-described »magnum opus«.<sup>7</sup>

During the sixteen years between his initial emigration up to the 1949 publication of *The Italian Madrigal*, Einstein refined his understanding of what he

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Cambridge University, King's College Archives Center, GBR/0272/EJD/4/123 (The Papers of Edward Joseph Dent). To this list one could add various Nazi scholars, most notably Friedrich Blume and Hans Joachim Moser. See e.g., Alfred Einstein to Nicolas Slonimsky, 6 July 1949, US-Wc, ML31.S6, Box 138, Folder 3; and Alfred Einstein to Ernst Kurth, 7 July 1935, CH-BEms, Nachlass Ernst Kurth, Karton I, Mappe E1 (Briefe von Alfred Einstein), E1.11, [https://www.musik.unibe.ch/dienstleistungen/nachlass\\_kurth/index\\_ger.html](https://www.musik.unibe.ch/dienstleistungen/nachlass_kurth/index_ger.html), S. 293.

- 4 Einstein noted that his madrigal study was »ein sehr umfangreiches Werk über das italienische Madrigal des 16. Jahrhunderts, für das ich seit mehr als 35 Jahren ein, ich darf sagen, ungeheures Material gesammelt habe.« Alfred Einstein to Gustave Reese, 24 July 1938, US-NYP, JPB 92-71 (Gustave Reese Papers), Series 1, Folder 346 (Einstein, Alfred). On Einstein's expanding source knowledge before 1933, see, e.g., Alfred Einstein, »Dante, On the Way to the Madrigal«, transl. Arthur Mendel, *The Musical Quarterly* 25 (1939), pp. 142–155: p. 148, fn. 4, which describes how he gained familiarity in 1929 with *Musica di messer Bernado Pisano* (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1520) through an article by Knud Jeppesen while Einstein was editor of the *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.
- 5 On Einstein's career in early twentieth-century Germany, see Pamela M. Potter, »From Jewish Exile in Germany to German Scholar in America: Alfred Einstein's Emigration«, *Driven into Paradise. The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*, ed. Reinhold Brinkmann and Christoph Wolff, Berkeley 1999, pp. 298–321: p. 301–305; and Melina Gehring, *Alfred Einstein. Ein Musikwissenschaftler im Exil*, Hamburg 2007 (Musik im »Dritten Reich« und im Exil, 13), pp. 47–71.
- 6 Having been dismissed on 26 June 1933 as the editor of the *Zeitschrift*, Einstein left Berlin on 20 July for Belgium and met his family at a home rented for them by Albert Einstein. The Einsteins then traveled on to the United Kingdom. Catherine Dower, *Alfred Einstein on Music: Selected Music Criticisms*, New York 1991, p. 9; and Potter, »From Jewish Exile«, pp. 306 f. Thanks to Marlene Wong for calling my attention to Dower's edition.
- 7 On Einstein's description of *The Italian Madrigal* as his »magnum opus«, see, e.g., Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 26 March 1944, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10,



thought of as the transition from the frottola to the early madrigal thanks to the discovery of new sources. Among other things he clarified who the important composers were in the initial development of the genre. Abandoning an earlier historiography dating back to August Wilhelm Ambros that saw Cipriano de Rore and Adrian Willaert as side-by-side figures, Einstein increasingly elevated Rore above Willaert as the central madrigal composer. But some historiographical narratives – above all the primacy of print culture in the development of the madrigal – proved difficult to confront. This was true even when faced with contradictory evidence such as the Newberry Partbooks, purchased in 1935 by the Newberry library and deemed important for their inclusion of a number of madrigals by Philippe Verdelot. Putting Einstein's research after 1933 in dialogue with surviving biographical and scholarly archival materials can enrich our understanding of the opening chapters of Einstein's three-volume work and help contextualize both his successful and less successful historiographical choices.

### Einstein's Research, 1933–1952

Between his emigration from Germany and his death in 1952, Einstein continued to be remarkably productive. He published roughly thirty-five pieces of scholarship that relate to sixteenth-century Italian secular music – and this was just one of the academic fields in which he was active.<sup>8</sup> His publications include scholarly and performing editions of madrigals,<sup>9</sup> musical analyses, reviews of recent scholarship for *Music & Letters*, and, arguably most significantly, descriptions of sources, including those he had discovered. The latter divide mainly into two types: those

Folder 19 (Einstein, Alfred), which is quoted below. Einstein ultimately saw his emigration from Germany positively, writing in 1947 to Erwin Kroll that he »cannot thank my Führer enough«, and that by chasing him out of German musicology, Adolf Hitler became his »greatest benefactor.« See Potter, »From Jewish Exile«, p. 313.

- 8 Most of this scholarship is listed by Alec Hyatt King, »Einstein, Alfred«, *Grove Music Online*. But the list omits Einstein's reviews, all signed A.E., for *Music & Letters* between 1937 and 1940, which concerned the following publications: Ottaviano Petrucci *Frottole, Buch I und IV*, ed. Rudolf Schwartz, Leipzig 1935 (PäM, 8), *Music & Letters* 18 (1937), pp. 315–317; Federico Mompellio, *Pietro Vinci: madrigalista siciliano*, Milano 1937, *Music & Letters* 19 (1938), pp. 97–98; Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert, Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V*, Röhrscheid 1938, *Music & Letters* 20 (1939), pp. 88–89; Adrian Willaert, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 1: *Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck, Leipzig 1937 (PäM, 9), *Music & Letters* 20 (1939), pp. 218 f.; Ernst Ferand, *Die Improvisation in der Musik. Eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche und psychologische Untersuchung*, Zürich 1938, *Music & Letters* 20 (1939), pp. 337 f.; and Fausto Torrefranca, *Il segreto del quattrocento*, Milano 1939, *Music & Letters* 21 (1940), pp. 392–395. The *Grove Music Online* article also does not mention Alfred Einstein, »Salamone Rossi as Composer of Madrigals«, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23 (1950–51), pp. 383–396.

- 9 See Cristina Urchueguía's contribution to this volume.

describing manuscripts and printed editions located in publicly accessible Florentine and United States libraries, and those describing sources in private libraries, most notably that of the Florentine collector and publisher Leo Olschki.<sup>10</sup>

It is not always straightforward to determine which sources Einstein saw and when he saw them. This issue stems in part from the overwhelming focus of *The Italian Madrigal* on printed editions, which obscures the many manuscript sources Einstein saw.<sup>11</sup> Other problems arise from confusion with regard to his biography. It is often remarked that during the 1930s, Einstein »stayed in London for some time and then lived mainly in Mezzomonte, near Florence«, before departing for the United States.<sup>12</sup> But this simple statement – one which Einstein himself propagated – is in fact oversimplified: during the colder months of 1935–36, 1936–37, and 1937–38, Einstein was never in Florence but rather in London, Vienna, and southern Italy, respectively.<sup>13</sup> The summary view of Einstein's movements in these years also omits the Einstein family's 1938 stay in Switzerland, their return to Naples to secure visas to the United States, and then their departure to the United States through Ventimiglia and then Cannes.<sup>14</sup> In any event, a finer-grained understanding of Einstein's biography is useful only up to a point. That Einstein's diaries, preserved today at the University of California,

10 Publications on sources that Einstein discovered in public libraries include »Eine unbekannte Ausgabe eines Frottole-Druckes«, *Acta Musicologica* 8 (1936), pp. 154 f. and the resulting publication that Einstein edited, *Canzoni sonetti strambotti et frottole, libro tertio (Andrea Antico, 1517)*, Northampton 1941; »Dante«; and »A Supplement: An Old Music Print at the J. P. Morgan Library in New York«, *The Musical Quarterly* 25 (1939), pp. 507–509. At least two publications detail source discoveries in Olschki's library: »Una ignota stampa musicale torinese«, *La Bibliofilia* 38 (1936), pp. 229–233; and »Un libro di canzoni spirituali di Orfeo Vecchi«, *La Bibliofilia* 40 (1938), pp. 38–46. A third by Einstein, »Vincenzo Galilei and the Instructive Duo«, *Music & Letters* 18 (1937), pp. 360–368: pp. 360 f. notes the discovery of two works by Galilei, »one in print, the other in manuscript, both of them hidden in a Florentine private library the name of which I am not at the moment at liberty to divulge.« This may well be Olschki's library. I will describe possible reasons for the secrecy later in the article.

11 See e.g., Iain Fenlon and James Haar, *The Italian Madrigal in the Early Sixteenth Century. Sources and Interpretation*, Cambridge 1988, p. 16, and the contributions by Iain Fenlon and Philippe Canguilhem to this volume.

12 King, »Einstein«. Similar statements can be found in Martin Geck, »Einstein, Alfred«, *MGG Online* (2001/2016); or, Manfred F. Bukofzer, »Alfred Einstein in Memoriam«, *Acta Musicologica* 24 (1952), pp. 1–3: p. 2.

13 Einstein spent December 1935 to March 1936 in Vienna; October 1936 to March 1937 in London; and September 1937 to February 1938 in central and southern Italy. Dower, *Alfred Einstein*, pp. 10–11. Einstein proposed this description (that he »left Berlin early in 1933, living partly in London and partly in Mezzomonte near Florence; came to New York January 1939«) in a short biography that was reproduced exactly in Nicolas Slonimsky, ed., *The International Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., Dodd, Mead & Company 1949, pp. 494 f. Alfred Einstein to Nicolas Slonimsky, 9 December 1947, US-Wc, ML31.S6, Box 138, Folder 3.

14 Dower, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 11.

Berkeley, indicate that he was in a particular place during the 1930s is no guarantee that he inspected a locally held source.<sup>15</sup> Conversely, even when Einstein knew a particular source, that does not necessarily mean that he examined it during the mid-1930s: he had long been familiar with Italian libraries.<sup>16</sup>

The transcriptions in the Einstein Collection at Smith College are useful in this regard.<sup>17</sup> The first sixty-nine volumes are organized by author; a cursory examination indicates that many transcriptions were made before Einstein's departure from Germany.<sup>18</sup> By contrast, the transcriptions in volumes 70–88 are not organized by author and are mostly drawn from anthologies and manuscripts rather than single-author prints. Many appear to postdate the transcriptions in the earlier volumes. On the basis of the staff papers that Einstein used, the sources he indicated these transcriptions were drawn from, and the occasional datings he provided, a subset of these can be tentatively dated to the 1930s and 1940s (table 1 lists transcriptions from manuscript sources in these volumes presumably from these decades).<sup>19</sup>

15 US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 2, Box 1, Folder 3. The diaries also indicate Einstein's incoming and outgoing letters, which underscore the incompleteness of the correspondence in the Einstein Collection at Berkeley: a relatively small percentage of letters survive from before Einstein's arrival in the United States, and even then, Einstein's correspondence with a number of scholars (including both Edward Lowinsky and Gustave Reese) survives only in the collected papers of his collaborators.

16 In 1926 Einstein described the bureaucracy of Italian libraries in great detail to Rudolf von Ficker: »Was die Erlaubnis betrifft in den italienischen staatlichen Bibliotheken zu photographieren, so werden Sie fürcht' ich, um ein Gesuch beim Ministero di pubblica istruzione, das durch die österreichische Botschaft in Wien zu befürworten wäre, nicht herunkommen, das öffnet Ihnen freilich alle Tore. Immerhin kann eine Anfrage beim Deutsch[en] Kunsth[ist]orischen Institut in Florenz nichts schaden. Nur in Bologna hilft auch das nicht, da ja die Bibl[ioteca] des Liceo musicale städtisch ist, in diesem Falle würd' ich an [Francesco] Vatielli schreiben, unter Berufung auf mich, mich aber auch mit einem vom ital[ienischen] Konsul in Innsbruck, zu dem Sie doch zweifellos in Beziehung treten können, befürworteten Gesuch an den Commune di Bologna bewaffnen, sonst verlieren Sie unter Umständen an Ort und Stelle viel Zeit. Wenn es sich in Padua um die Biblioteca des Santo handelt, lassen Sie sich in Innsbruck eine Empfehlung von einem hohen geistlichen Tier geben, und zeigen ja nicht Ihren Permesso des Ministeriums.« Alfred Einstein to Rudolf von Ficker, 13 August 1926, A-Ifba, Nachlass Rudolf von Ficker, Nachlassteil 2, Kassette 6, M45 (Einstein, Alfred).

17 For a partial list of the contents of individual volumes, see John H. Lovell, »A Check-List and Index of Microfilm M-75: Dr. Alfred Einstein's Mss. at Smith College, Mass« (unpublished, 1954?).

18 Not without exception: for instance, the madrigals from the Newberry Partbooks, which Einstein transcribed in 1944, can be found in vol. 65b. Ibid., p. 12.

19 Many of the older transcriptions were done on Breitkopf & Härtel No. 12 paper, with a substantial number drawn from volumes at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. At some point, possibly during the early 1930s, Einstein began to use other staff papers, including ones with stamps that read »Notenpapier IDEAL, 20. Linien. Conrad Glaser, Leipzig« and »J.E. & Co. Protokoll Schutzmarke No. 6 20 linig.« Einstein's transcriptions of the *Frottole libro quarto* in vol. 84 use J.E. & Co. staff paper and are dated »Firenze 31.3.33«.

Location (vol.: pp.)	Manuscript (No. of Works)	Staff Paper
77: 210–212	I-Fc MS Basevi 2440 (1)	
77: 299–300	I-Fn MS Panciatichiano 27 (1)	A. L. No. 14 Printed in England
77: 300–304	I-Fn MS Banco Rari 230 (4)	A. L. No. 14 [...]
77: 321	I-Fc MS Basevi 2495 (1)	A. L. No. 14 [...]
77: 322–323	I-Fc MS Basevi 2439 <sup>20</sup> (1)	A. L. No. 14 [...]
78: 417–438, 442–459, 462–465	I-Fn MS Magl. XIX.164–167 <sup>21</sup> (23)	[icon of lyre, pp. 425–461]
78: 438–441	I-Fc MS Basevi 2440 (2)	[icon of lyre]
78: 466	I-Fn MS Magl. XIX.121 (1)	
78: 466–469	I-Fn MS II.III.437–440 (1)	
78: 521–526	P-Pm 714 <sup>22</sup> (5)	
78: 527–529	US-NHUB 91 (Mellon Chanson- nier) (2)	
78: 532	US-Wc M2.1.L25 Case (Chanson- nier Laborde) (1)	
78: 533	I-Vnm MS It. IX. 145 (1)	
84	I-MOe MS C 311 (1)	
84	I-MOe MS .F.9.9 (1)	
84	I-Bc Q.34 (2)	Notenpapier IDEAL. 20 Linien. Conrad Glaser, Leipzig
84: 1–34	GB-Lbl Egerton 3051 <sup>23</sup> (53)	A. L. No. 14 [...]
88: 1–218	US-Cn Case MS VM 1578.M91 <sup>24</sup> (30)	The Music House O. S. P. Inc. 143 Main Street North- ampton, Mass.

Tab. 1. Transcriptions from manuscripts held in the Einstein Collection at Smith College, vols. 70–90, which possibly date from the 1930s and 1940s

20 Einstein lists the number for this source as 2430 in the transcription, as he does in *TIM*, p. 96.

21 Einstein includes a transcription from I-Fn MS Magl. XIX.164–167 of *Così nel mio parlare* (vol. 78, pp. 423–426) in »Dante«, pp. 144–147.

22 I am not aware that Einstein visited Porto during the 1930s or 1940s; possibly, these transcriptions were made from photostatic copies.

23 Einstein indicates that the set of transcriptions from GB-Lbl Egerton 3051 were completed »Liondra, Imo genn. 1937« or London, 1 January 1937. Einstein critiqued Rudolf Schwartz's omission of this »very important manuscript source«, as well as I-Fc MS Basevi 2441, in Einstein, review of Ottaviano Petrucci (see fn. 8), p. 316.

24 Einstein transcribed these works in March 1944, as described below.

This group of transcriptions sheds light on Einstein's research in libraries in Bologna, Modena, London, and above all, Florence. And yet it must be acknowledged that these are the exception, not the rule: the vast majority of transcriptions in the Einstein Collection (probably well over ninety percent) were made from printed editions.

### Willaert and Rore

With the benefit of many of these transcriptions, Einstein finally began to write his book during the late 1930s. By January 1938 he had written 300 pages, or roughly one-third of *The Italian Madrigal*; by July of that year, the book was half-finished, including the chapter on Rore.<sup>25</sup> But Einstein still had not entirely fixed the contours of his madrigal history. As late as 1939, he continued to contrast the »pseudo-madrigals« of Sebastiano Festa with the genuine early madrigals of »Costanzo Festa, Verdelot, Willaert, and Arcadelt« and Einstein repeated this claim almost exactly in *The Italian Madrigal*.<sup>26</sup> In doing so he included Willaert among the early madrigalists, a grouping he almost certainly inherited from early musicological texts, most notably Theodor Kroyer's *Die Anfänge der Chromatik*, which followed narratives originating with August Wilhelm Ambros in claiming that Willaert was both a chromatic composer and one of the first madrigalists.<sup>27</sup>

Einstein had other reasons to elevate Willaert's stature, too. During the 1930s, Einstein considered it important to defend Willaert alongside the latter's student and the champion of his madrigal history, Rore. Like Rore, Willaert was neither fully Netherlandish nor Italian and for that reason had been unfairly marginalized. Einstein wrote:

»there is no doubt that [Willaert's students, including Rore] were proud to have been Willaert's pupils, but they did not reckon with the fact that the twentieth century would show a nationalistic tendency in writers of musical history. What, a Netherlander the forefather of Venetian music? No, that cannot be allowed! Certain nations to-day must be as autochthonal in

25 Alfred Einstein to Edward J. Dent, 22 January 1938; and Alfred Einstein to Edward J. Dent, 23 July 1938. Cambridge University, King's College Archive Center, GBR/0272/EJD/4/123; see also the contribution by Sebastian Bolz in this volume, p. 30.

26 Einstein, »A Supplement«, p. 509; *DIM*, p. 137; and *TLM*, p. 138.

27 »Das steht folglich unverrückbar fest: Willaert ist Chromatiker.« Theodor Kroyer, *Die Anfänge der Chromatik im italienischen Madrigal des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1902, p. 39. »Das Madrigal, wie wir sahen, schon im 14. Jahrhunderte von Francesco Landino erwähnt, taucht als beliebte und vielverbreitete Musikform erst seit Adrian Willaert auf, der nicht mit Unrecht als sein eigentlicher Schöpfer gilt.« August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1893, p. 495.

matters of art as in anything else, if possible as far back as the great migration and, if it can be managed, as far as Romulus and Remus.«<sup>28</sup>

Einstein often described the two composers together: »Willaert and Rore and other great Italian Netherlands must now atone for their [Italian] contemporaries having been more open-minded than their late enlightened descendants.«<sup>29</sup> And: »With Willaert, and especially with his pupil Cipriano de Rore, a richer development of artistic means began.«<sup>30</sup>

Many of these statements can be read as responses to nationalism, and above all, Italian nationalism.<sup>31</sup> In 1939 Einstein ridiculed an edition of works by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli by suggesting that the nationalistic objective of the publication was to minimize Willaert's stature, thereby causing Andrea Gabrieli to appear miraculously out of thin air.<sup>32</sup> And in 1940 Einstein sarcastically bemoaned Fausto Torrefranca's *Il segreto del quattrocento*: »Italy must on no account be indebted to foreign influences and stimulants.«<sup>33</sup> Traces of this repudiation can be found in *The Italian Madrigal*: Einstein writes that »it is impossible to class Willaert wholly with the Netherlands or wholly with the Venetians, since he is both, standing above mere nationalism.«<sup>34</sup>

For all of this: in the 1943 German text and then six years later in the first English edition, Willaert was no longer prioritized: »these first and most important masters of the madrigal are Verdelot, Costanzo Festa, and Arcadelt.«<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile,

28 Einstein, review of Adrian Willaert (see fn. 8), p. 218.

29 »Willaert und Rore und andere große italienische Niederländer müssen es heute büßen, daß ihre Zeitgenossen vorurteilsfreier waren als die späten erleuchteten Nachfahren.« Alfred Einstein, »Musikalisches«, *Mass und Wert* 3 (1939), pp. 377–388: p. 387. Thanks to Sebastian Bolz for calling my attention to this article.

30 »Mit Willaert, und besonders mit dessen Schüler Ciprian de Rore, aber beginnt eine reichere Entfaltung von Kunstmitteln.« Alfred Einstein, *Geschichte der Musik*, Leiden 1934, p. 26.

31 See Kate van Orden's contribution to this volume.

32 Einstein, review of Adrian Willaert (see fn. 8), p. 218. See Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, *La musica strumentale in San Marco*, ed. Giacomo Benvenuti, 2 vols., Milano 1931 f.

33 Einstein, review of Fausto Torrefranca (see fn. 8), p. 392.

34 *TIM*, p. 326. And Einstein argues against a nationalistic reading of sixteenth-century secular music: »[Isaac's] spiritual successors – Josquin, Agricola, Maistre Jhan, Arcadelt, Verdelot, Nasco, Willaert, Berchem, Rore, Lasso, Monte, Wert, Macque, and many, many more – will take the same attitude toward the land of their choice. Nationalism in matters of art was then a thing unknown.« But such conclusions are not without qualifications: Einstein also describes the sixteenth century as »the century of a growing nationalism in Italian music« and »when the century has run its course, Italian music is the undisputed leader.« *Ibid.*, pp. 20 and 29.

35 »Verdelot, Costanzo Festa, Arcadelt – die drei ersten und wichtigsten Meister des Madrigals.« *DIM*, pp. 150; and *TIM*, p. 150.



Rore came to increasingly dominate Einstein's view of the genre.<sup>36</sup> One reason for Willaert's demotion was that the composer's supposed importance to the development of the madrigal had long been in conflict with Einstein's own aesthetic judgements. In 1939 Einstein criticized Willaert's musical style, which looked backwards – unlike that of Josquin des Prez – to the »great ›autonomous‹, liturgically conditioned music of the *quattrocento*.«<sup>37</sup> In *The Italian Madrigal*, Einstein damned the composer with faint praise, opining that Willaert was »perhaps not the greatest but certainly the most influential musician of his time.«<sup>38</sup> Einstein's assessments probably stemmed from the works by Willaert with which he was most familiar, namely the madrigals of *Musica nova* (Venice: Antonio Gardano, 1559). These are in fact the only transcribed madrigals in the Willaert volume in the Einstein Collection at Smith College.<sup>39</sup> Most of the madrigals of *Musica nova* probably date back to the 1540s, but Einstein was apparently not aware of this at the time.<sup>40</sup> It is not hard to move from this music to the conclusions Einstein drew: these madrigals are limited in their use of imitation, and are characterized by consistently low ranges, thick voicings, and remarkably continuous counterpoint. In other words, they are hard to appreciate.

36 Einstein presented on »Cipriano di Rore and the Madrigal« on 26 January 1940 at the New England Chapter of the American Musicological Society as noted in *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 6 (1942), p. 17. Sebastian Bolz has noted that Einstein wrote the conceptual note »Rore Mittelpunkt« at the beginning of his draft materials for *The Italian Madrigal* in »Cipriano de Rore, Alfred Einstein and the Philosophy of Music History«, *Cipriano de Rore: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Katerijne Schiltz, Turnhout 2016, pp. 451–477: p. 451, fn. 3. Other scholars in the United States noted Einstein's enthusiasm for Rore: in his introduction to a series of essays published shortly after Einstein's death, Paul Henry Lang remarked, »how he liked to discuss the young Mozart, or the young de Rore!«, *Essays on Music*, New York 1956, p. xii.

37 Einstein, review of Adrian Willaert (see fn. 8), p. 219.

38 *TIM*, p. 224; and *DIM*, p. 225.

39 Einstein's transcriptions of the madrigals (but not the motets) of *Musica nova* can be found in vol. 68 of the Einstein Collection at Smith College. See Lovell, »A Check-List«, p. 13. Three motets by Willaert copied in the Newberry Partbooks can be found in vol. 88. A handful of further transcriptions, most notably of pieces from the *Canzone villanesche alla napolitana* (Venice: Gardano, 1545), can be found in the Einstein Collection in Berkeley. See US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 2, Box 10, Folder 208 (Willaert, Adrian) and Folder 217 (Collection Canzonette).

40 On the origins of *Musica nova*, see Michele Fromson, »Themes of Exile in Willaert's *Musica nova*«, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 47 (1994), pp. 442–487; Jessie Ann Owens and Richard J. Agee, »La stampa della *Musica Nova* di Willaert«, *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 24 (1989), pp. 219–305; Martha Feldman, »Rore's ›selva selvaggia‹: The *Primo libro* of 1542«, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42 (1989), pp. 547–603; David Butchart, »La Pecorina« at Mantua, *Musica Nova* in Florence, *Early Music* 13 (1985), pp. 358–366; Anthony Newcomb, »Editions of Willaert's ›Musica Nova‹: New Evidence, New Speculations«, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 26 (1973), pp. 132–145; and Helga Meier, »Zur Chronologie der *Musica nova* Adrian Willaerts«, *Analecta Musicologica* 12 (1973), pp. 71–96.

In the United States, there was less urgency for Einstein to defend the *oltremontani* against Italian nationalism. He also had less to say about Willaert, since his conclusions were published without credit by Armen Carapetyan.<sup>41</sup> But new information about musical sources proved equally influential: increasingly, Einstein doubted that Francesco Marcolini da Forlì's promised 1536 print of Willaert's madrigals was ever published, or that there had been an early »Pecorina« print of the *Musica nova* madrigals. Lacking these two phantom prints, Einstein rightly concluded that Willaert could not easily be considered an important early madrigalist.<sup>42</sup>

### Einstein and the Newberry Partbooks

On his arrival in the United States, Einstein was greatly respected by other scholars, owing to his immense knowledge, his numerous publications, and his willingness to share materials.<sup>43</sup> Two particularly close collaborations developed with

41 In 1946 Carapetyan concluded that the madrigals of Willaert's *Musica nova* long predated the late 1550s. Armen Carapetyan, »The *Musica Nova* of Adrian Willaert«, *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946), pp. 200–221. »Er ist recht hübsch und entspricht ungefähr dem was ich in meinem Wälzer in Princeton über die »Musica Nova« sage. C[arapetyan] kennt das Buch nicht; doch haben wir uns über dies Werk mündlich eingehend unterhalten, und er hätte das eigentlich vermerken können.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 1 July 1947, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19.

42 In 1947 Einstein wrote to Edward Lowinsky: »Ich habe lang nicht an die Existenz des »Pecorina«-Druckes geglaubt und ihn identifiziert mit dem Druck von 1540, der ja mit einem Lob-Madrigal auf die Pecorina beginnt. Aber das wäre dann kein Gardane-Druck gewesen, sondern einer des Marcolini, der ja 1536 eine Willaert-Publication feierlich ankündigt. [...] Ich habe auch eine Erklärung dafür, warum die römische Zensur gerade bei dieser »M[usica] N[ova]« die Hände im Spiel gehabt hat oder haben wollte. Was in oder für Ferrara gedruckt wurde, war in Rom suspect.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 1 July 1947. But by 1951 Einstein doubted even this: »Das Problem des Pecorina-Drucks ist mir immer noch ein Problem. Ich kann mir fast nicht vorstellen, dass ein ganzes Werk eines so berühmten Meisters wie Willaert verloren gegangen ist (der wackere [Pietro] Cerone ist doch eine sehr trübe Quelle); und ich glaube, es handelt sich einfach um die Verdelot-Sammlung von ca. 1538, die mit dem Widmungsadrigal auf die schöne Polissena beginnt. Die hat man dann die »Pecorina« getauft.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 23 February 1951, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19. Still, Einstein was not willing to entirely rule out the possibility: »Sie haben natürlich ganz recht: die »Pecorina« könnte ganz gut verloren sein. Marcolini verspricht 1536, in der Vorrede zur Lautentabulatur des Francesco da Milano, »ein Buch Messen, ein Buch Motetten, und ein Buch Madrigale« des celebratissimo VVigliart, und die Messen hat er ja wirklich herausgebracht. Nur, wenn es so eine Ausgabe von 1536 oder 1537 gegeben hat (Marcolini hat nachher wenig Musik mehr herausgegeben), dann kann sie kaum frühere Fassungen der Petrarca-Sonette von 1559 enthalten haben. Mit Sonetten wird auch Willaert um diese Zeit noch lange nicht fertig.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 11 April 1951, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19.

43 Einstein represented the standard against which other émigré musicologists were judged. For example, at least one musicologist dismissed Otto Gombosi, noting that he had »done good



Gustave Reese and Edward Lowinsky, both of whom Einstein had corresponded with since the mid 1930s. Presumably responding to a letter by Reese, Einstein wrote in 1938 that he was eager to meet: »it is perhaps really possible that I shall be able to come to London before your departure« (given Einstein's travel schedule, it does not appear that the potential meeting materialized).<sup>44</sup> That same year, he sent a postcard to Lowinsky, thanking him for sharing a copy of his dissertation.<sup>45</sup> In the early 1940s, the three men assisted each other with their publications: in 1942 Reese helped Einstein translate and publish his edition *The Golden Age of the Madrigal*; Einstein, in turn, made available to Reese his whole transcription collection and provided Reese with a list of all the madrigal examples that were slated to appear in the second volume (ultimately, the third) of *The Italian Madrigal*.<sup>46</sup> In 1946 Einstein even made the book's proofs available to Reese through one of the project's translators, Oliver Strunk.<sup>47</sup>

Einstein developed a similar relationship with Lowinsky. Lowinsky, too, sought out Reese in 1942 by asking for help with his first English-language article, on Josquin's *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*; a few years later Einstein assisted Lowinsky with publishing his first monograph, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands*

work in his day, but is not, as far as I am concerned, an Einstein.« An unknown author to Harold Spivacke in English, 26 October 1947, US-CAua, Harvard Department of Music Correspondence, 1936–59, A-B1, Folder American Musicological Society. Both Erich Hertzmann and Armen Carapetyan consulted Einstein's transcriptions of the madrigals from *Musica nova*. Erich Hertzmann, *Adrian Willaert in der weltlichen Vokalmusik seiner Zeit*, Leipzig 1931, p. vi; and Armen Carapetyan, »The *Musica Nova* of Adriano Willaert«, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 1945, pp. ii–iii. Another student who consulted Einstein's transcriptions was Gordon Sutherland, who noted that Einstein »loaned [him] the manuscript copies which he made of seventeen [Jacques] Buus ricercari« in »Studies in the Development of the Keyboard and Ensemble Ricercare from Willaert to Frescobaldi«, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1942, p. iii.

44 »Es ist vielleicht wirklich möglich, dass ich vor Ihrer Abreise noch nach London kommen kann.« Alfred Einstein to Gustave Reese, 24 July 1938, US-NYp, JPB 92-71, Series 1, Folder 346. Einstein was home in Mezzomonte from May through August 1938. In September 1938 Einstein departed Mezzomonte for Switzerland; at the end of November, he traveled to Naples to secure the visas to the United States. Einstein did not travel in 1938 to London. Dower, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 11.

45 Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 17 January 1938, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19.

46 Alfred Einstein, ed., *The Golden Age of the Madrigal: Twelve Italian Madrigals for Five-Part Mixed Chorus*, trans. Gustave Reese, G. Schirmer 1942; Alfred Einstein to Gustave Reese, 25 April 1945, US-NYp, JPB 92-71, Series 1, Folder 346; and Alfred Einstein to Gustave Reese, 9 August 1947, US-NYp, JPB 92-71, Series 3, Folder 110.

47 Einstein considered Strunk's help invaluable, all the more so since he thought that Strunk may have had limited interest in the project. »Strunk's Opfer erscheint mir um so grösser, als ich gar nicht weiss, ob und wie weit er von dem Wert des Buches überzeugt ist.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 1 October 1946, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 10, Folder 19. On at least one issue, Strunk objected: Einstein aimed to publish the book not only in English, as it ultimately appeared, but also in Italian and German.

*Motet*.<sup>48</sup> Einstein was receptive to Lowinsky's project and respectful of the latter's expertise on sixteenth-century sacred music, even if he doubted the Protestant leanings of some of the figures in Lowinsky's text.<sup>49</sup> It was in the background of this relationship that Lowinsky introduced Einstein to the Newberry Partbooks.<sup>50</sup> Lowinsky discovered the partbooks in summer 1941, and quickly wrote to Richard Hill at the Library of Congress:

»A few weeks ago I was in Chicago. There I found in the Newberry Library a 16th century manuscript which interested me. This manuscript came from England but contained exclusively Italian music. There was among others a work dedicated to Henry VIII of England. We have some evidence that the manuscript originated from the Court of Ferrara.«<sup>51</sup>

Some months later, in December 1941, Lowinsky also wrote to Einstein: »Since the manuscript gives no authors and the [works by] Verdelot were identified by some Englishman, this of course means that these 12 madrigals existed in prints of the time.«<sup>52</sup> Note Lowinsky's implicit dating of the manuscript. If the madri-

48 Edward E. Lowinsky, »The Goddess Fortuna in Music: With a Special Study of Josquin's *Fortuna dun gran tempo*«, *The Musical Quarterly* 75 (repr. 1991, orig. 1943), pp. 81–107. (The reprint erroneously gives the date of the original publication as 1945.) Edward E. Lowinsky to Gustave Reese, 17 February 1975, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 5, Folder 89 (Reese, Gustave). A draft of Lowinsky's *Secret Chromatic Art* was completed in German prior to Lowinsky's arrival in the United States. Over the next five years, the book was translated and heavily edited. Gustave Reese and Gerhard Herz read drafts, and Einstein edited the book while he and Lowinsky taught together during Summer 1945 at Black Mountain College. In 1941 Einstein also spent three weeks as a faculty member at Black Mountain College at Lowinsky's invitation. Dower, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 15; Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, trans. Carl Buchman, New York 1946, p. xi; and Alfred Einstein, review of Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*, New York 1946, *Notes*, Second Series 3 (1946), pp. 283 f.

49 »Aber ein ernstlicher Einwand ist, dass die von Ihnen zitierten Texte auch von Musikern komponiert worden sind, über deren Anhänglichkeit an die Kirche, über deren Erz-Catholizismus kein Zweifel besteht, z.B. von Lasso, der drei und vermutlich mehr dieser Texte in Musik gesetzt hat.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 1 February 1943, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19. Cf. Einstein, review of Edward E. Lowinsky (see fn. 48), which praises the book without reservation.

50 US-Cn Case MS VM1578.M91; see Edward E. Lowinsky, »A Newly Discovered Sixteenth-Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome«, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3 (1950), pp. 173–232: p. 198, fn. 77; H. Colin Slim, *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, vol. 1, Chicago 1972, p. 13; and Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 30.

51 Edward E. Lowinsky to Richard S. Hill in English, 31 July 1941, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Series 1, Box 21, Folder 5 (Hill, Richard).

52 »Da das [Manuskript] keine Autoren angibt und die Verdelots von irgend einem Engländer identifiziert wurden, heisst das natürlich, dass diese 12 Madrigale in Drucken der Zeit vorhanden sind.« Edward E. Lowinsky to Alfred Einstein, 3 December 1941, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19.

gals had already been printed at the time that they were copied into the manuscript, the Newberry partbooks could only postdate Einstein's »artistic pause«, a decade from roughly 1520 to 1530 during which in Einstein's estimation, relatively little important Italian secular music appeared.<sup>53</sup> This chronology centers a path of transmission through which early madrigal manuscripts were copied from printed editions. The significance of the Newberry Partbooks thus seemed limited: they could not be an important witness – as modern scholars believe today – to the emergence of the madrigal in 1520s Florence.<sup>54</sup>

It was not simple to acquire photocopies from the Newberry Library, an institution that could be uncooperative.<sup>55</sup> Annoyed by two years of inaction, Lowinsky changed his holiday travel plans to stop in Chicago on 31 December 1943 and make a list of composers, texts, and superius incipits, which he then relayed to Einstein.<sup>56</sup> But it was not until March 1944 that Einstein was able to see a copy of the microfilm that Lowinsky had secured. Einstein then made a series of transcriptions that today form volumes 65b and 88 of the Einstein collection (Fig. 1 shows the typed index for vol. 88).<sup>57</sup>

Unlike with respect to *Musica nova*, Einstein now transcribed the motets in addition to the madrigals.<sup>58</sup> He wrote to Lowinsky:

53 On the artistic pause, see *TIM*, pp. 139–141. Already in 1937, Einstein saw a gap between 1520 and 1530, noting that the frottole »are modest pieces [that] have so far been regarded with some disdain; but they are the point of departure for the development of the whole Italian secular music of the sixteenth century. True, this development did not bear fruit until about 1530, at which time the controversy (it must not be called a contest) between this homophonic-melodic »southern« art with the »northern« polyphonic tendencies began.« Einstein, review of Ottaviano Petrucci (see fn. 7), p. 315.

54 Fenlon and Haar, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 3.

55 The library initially avoided responding to Lowinsky's request for photocopies. Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 7 August 1943, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19. Einstein and Lowinsky later aimed to publish an article on the partbooks, but it was not clear that the library would grant permission. »Ich habe freilich die Leute von der Newberry Library noch nicht um Erlaubnis gefragt, etwas über das MS veröffentlichen zu dürfen; sie scheinen dort etwas eifersüchtig zu sein.« Alfred Einstein to Richard S. Hill, 2 December 1944, US-CPpa, Music Library Association Archives, Record Group 6, Notes, Box 3-MLA, Einstein, Alfred.

56 Edward E. Lowinsky to Alfred Einstein, 2 December 1943, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19. To this, Einstein responded that the description of the partbooks in the English or American source is not wrong; not only are the listed numbers by Verdelot, but »quite obviously all of them« (»sondern ganz offenbar alle«). Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 4 January 1944, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19.

57 Reproduced by permission of Marlene Wong and the Werner Josten Performing Arts Library at Smith College.

58 Einstein translated the motets in their entirety (save one, Verdelot's *Nil maius superi vident*, which is incomplete); these transcriptions are pp. 1–219 in vol. 88, corresponding to fols. 1–79 of the Newberry Partbooks.

[Einstein Collection, v.88]

[A COLLECTION OF EARLY MOTETS]

[ca.1535]

Copied from a microfilm of anonymous manuscripts  
in the Newberry library, Chicago, Illinois.  
Authorship supplied by Dr. Einstein.

Contents:-

I. Quousque non reverteris . . . . .	[Cl. de Sermisy]
II. O clemens o pia Noli virgo inviolata (2 pars)	
III. Aspice Domine . . . . .	[Cl. de Sermisy]
IV. Pater noster . . . . .	[A. Willaert]
V. Qui confidunt in Domino . . . . .	[L'Heritier]
Benefac Domine (2 pars) . . . . .	[L'Heritier]
VI. Ascendens Christus . . . . .	[L'Heritier]
Ascendo ad patrem (2 pars) . . . . .	[L'Heritier]
VII. Gaudeamus omnes . . . . .	[Verdelot]
VIII. Congratulamini . . . . .	[A. Willaert]
Recedentibus (2 pars) . . . . .	[A. Willaert]
IX. Victimae paschali . . . . .	[Verdelot]
Sepulcrum Christi (2 pars) . . . . .	[Verdelot]
X. Ad Dominum cum tribulatione <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	[Verdelot]
Heu mihi (2 pars) . . . . .	[Verdelot]
XI. Hesternae die . . . . .	[Verdelot]
Heri enim (2 pars) . . . . .	[Verdelot]
XII. Ecce tu pulchra es Favus distillans (2 pars)	
XIII. O Domine Jesu . . . . .	[Mouton]
XIV. Joseph sancte	

I. Si bona suscepimus . . . . .	[Verdelot]
II. In te Domine speravi . . . . .	[Verdelot]
Educes me (2 pars) . . . . .	[Verdelot]
III. O dulcissime Domine . . . . .	[Verdelot]
IV. Ave gratia plena . . . . .	[Verdelot]
V. Ave regina coelorum Gaude gloriosa (2 pars)	
VI. Quare fremuerunt gentes . . . . .	[Cl. de Sermisy]
Ego autem constitutus (2 pars) . . . . .	[Cl. de Sermisy]
Et nunc reges (3 pars) . . . . .	[Cl. de Sermisy]
VII. Ecce Dominus . . . . .	[A. Willaert]
VIII. Recordare Domine . . . . .	[Verdelot]
Adiuvans nos deus (2 pars) . . . . .	[Verdelot]
IX. Salve rex pater Eya ergo advocate (2 pars)	
X. Ego sum qui sum . . . . .	[Gombert?]
Stetit Jesus (2 pars) . . . . .	[Gombert?]
XI. Eripe me Domine . . . . .	
XII. Da pacem Domine . . . . .	[Gombert?]
XIII. Sancta Maria virgo . . . . .	[Verdelot]
XIV. Congregati sunt . . . . .	[Verdelot]
Disperge illos (2 pars) . . . . .	[Verdelot]

XV. Deus in nomine tuo Ecce enim (2 pars) Averte mala (3 pars)	
XVI. Nil mortales benignius <sup>1</sup> Ille Musarum naufragos (2 pars)	

<sup>1</sup> No. XVI copied in MS. Verdelot III (v.65b)

Fig. 1: Typed index for volume 88 of the Einstein Collection at Smith College



»It is the work throughout of a ›calligraphist scribe‹ made only for a head of state, and some uncorrected mistakes – a note too many here, a rest too short there – clearly show that it can never have been put to practical use. Very interesting is the almost total absence of ›accidentals‹: particularly interesting for me, because I began my musicological sins in the distant past by comparing the editions of 1535 with that of Claudio Merulo. Only a few of the numbers are new to me, so I hardly have anything to add to my ›Magnum Opus.‹ Incidentally, this ›Magnum opus,‹ the most extensive of said sins, has long been translated, and the present stage of the manuscript is a revision by my friend Roger Sessions, which I fear will only take a long time, for Sessions is a very overworked man.«<sup>59</sup>

Einstein never had the opportunity to examine the partbooks himself; perhaps for that reason, he never challenged Lowinsky's assertion about the manuscript's dating.<sup>60</sup> And the delays that both Lowinsky and Einstein experienced matter: they help explain why the Newberry Partbooks are not considered in *The Italian Madrigal*. Substantial revisions to the text would have been possible in 1941: indeed, between 1939 and August 1943, Einstein incorporated into his text the *Motetti e canzone libro primo*, the sole copy of which is held by the Morgan Library in New York.<sup>61</sup> But further substantial changes would not have been easy to make in 1944, at least not without upsetting his translation team. And since the Newberry Partbooks seemed to postdate early madrigal prints, it was not worth interrupting the publication process to include the source.

Our story takes one final turn. The close collaboration between Einstein and Lowinsky continued, and in 1947 Einstein assisted Lowinsky when the younger

59 »Es ist durchaus das Werk eines ›calligraphischen Copisten‹, wie man es nur für einen Potentaten angefertigt, und manche uncorrigierte Fehler – eine Note zuviel, eine Pause zu wenig – zeigen deutlich, dass es nie für den praktischen Gebrauch gedient haben kann. Sehr interessant die fast völlige Abwesenheit von ›accidentals‹: besonders interessant für mich, der dereinst in grauer Vorzeit seine musikwissenschaftlichen Sünden mit einer Vergleichung der Ausgaben von 1535 mit der des Claudio Merulo begonnen hat. Neu sind mir nur ein paar der Nummern, und so hab' ich zu meinem ›Magnum Opus‹ kaum eine Ergänzung zu machen. Dies Magnum Opus, die umfangreichste besagter Sünden, ist übrigens längst fertig übersetzt, und das derzeitige Stadium des Manuscriptes ist eine Revision durch meinen Freund Roger Sessions, die nur, fürchte ich, lange Zeit in Anspruch nehmen wird, denn Sessions ist ein sehr überlasteter Mann.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 26 March 1944. Sessions and Einstein had a longstanding friendship. The two men met in 1931 and 1932 in Berlin, as well as in 1933 at the Maggio Musicale in Florence. Frederick Prausnitz, *Roger Sessions: How a »Difficult« Composer Got That Way*, Oxford 2002, p. 298.

60 The manuscript also contains little that would signal its date unless one investigated the paper and scribal concordances, neither of which scholars often investigated at the time.

61 *TIM*, pp. 135–139; *DIM*, pp. 134–138. Einstein first detailed his discovery in »A Supplement«.

scholar spent a year on sabbatical in Italy by providing Lowinsky with contact information for his friend Federico Ghisi as well as Leo Olschki's son Aldo. Although Einstein was familiar with Olschki's collection, he had not previously described the Medici Codex, which Lowinsky famously (re-)discovered during this trip.<sup>62</sup> Lowinsky identified the manuscript's importance (including correctly dating its copying to between 1516 and 1518) and explained why it had been kept hidden: »Reason: the Italian export ban on manuscripts before 1550 and old Olschki's fear of being forced by the government to sell far below the legitimate price and being prevented from selling abroad.«<sup>63</sup> Although Einstein responded that he had in fact held the Medici Codex in his hands a couple of times, he did not offer details or say whether he had previously recognized the source's significance.<sup>64</sup> On the whole, it appears that Leo Olschki curated which sources Einstein should carefully examine and write about when he was in Florence in the mid 1930s. Olschki's curation had the effect of directing the scholar's attention to sources clearly dating from after 1550.

Einstein's encounters with the Newberry Partbooks and the Medici Codex point to the limits of his expansive source knowledge as well as his expertise on sixteenth-century music. Although modern scholars might reasonably assert that further attention to sources such as the Newberry Partbooks might have challenged Einstein's belief in the primacy of printed editions and his formulation of the notion of an »artistic pause«, any historiographical reexamination of *The Italian Madrigal* should also take into account Einstein's surroundings and interactions in the 1930s and 1940s. By doing so, and by putting historiographical materials in dialogue with the text, we stand to enrich our understanding of the evolution of Einstein's history and better appreciate both its limitations and its strengths.

62 The Medici Codex (today, I-Fl MS Acquisti e doni 666) was first described in Arnaldo Bonaventura, »Di un Codice Musicale-Mediceo«, *La Bibliofilia* 15 (1913), pp. 165–173. On the (re-)discovery of the manuscript, see Edward E. Lowinsky, »The Medici Codex: A Document of Music, Art, and Politics in the Renaissance«, *Annales Musicologiques* 5 (1957), pp. 61–178: pp. 61–62, which describes how Olschki allowed Lowinsky to study the Codex in his own home in Florence and permitted him before leaving Florence to photograph the manuscript; and Edward E. Lowinsky, *The Medici Codex of 1518: A Choirbook of Motets Dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino*, 3 vols., Chicago 1968, vol. 1, p. v.

63 »Grund: das italienische Ausfuhrverbot für Manuskripte vor 1550 und die Furcht des alten Olschki, von der Regierung zum Verkauf weit unter dem legitimen Preis gezwungen zu werden und am Verkauf im Ausland verhindert zu werden.« Edward E. Lowinsky to Alfred Einstein, 23 August 1948, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19.

64 »Den Medici Codex hab' ich ein paarmal in der Hand gehabt.« Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, 9 September 1948, US-Cu, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, Box 10, Folder 19.

## Abkürzungen

<i>DIM</i>	Alfred Einstein, <i>Das italienische Madrigal. Versuch einer Geschichte der italienischen Profanmusik des 16. Jahrhunderts</i> , hrsg. von Sebastian Bolz, München 2025 (Münchener Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte, 83), DOI: 10.5282/ubm/epub.128701
<i>DDT</i>	<i>Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst</i> , hrsg. von Rochus von Liliencron u. a., Leipzig 1892–1931
<i>DTB</i>	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern</i> , hrsg. von Adolf Sandberger, Leipzig 1900–1920, Augsburg 1924–1938 (Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, Zweite Folge); Neue Folge (N. F.), Wiesbaden 1962 ff.
<i>DTÖ</i>	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</i> , hrsg. von Guido Adler u. a., Wien 1894 ff.
<i>Grove Music Online</i>	<i>Grove Music Online</i> , hrsg. von Laura Macy, fortgesetzt von Deane L. Root, Oxford 2001 ff.
<i>LexM</i>	<i>Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit</i> , hrsg. von Claudia Maurer Zenck u. a., Hamburg 2005 ff., <a href="https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/">https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/</a>
<i>MGG Online</i>	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart Online</i> , hrsg. von Laurenz Lütteken, Kassel u. a. 2016 ff.
<i>PäM</i>	<i>Publikationen älterer Musik</i> , hrsg. von Theodor Kroyer, Leipzig 1926–1940
<i>TIM</i>	Alfred Einstein, <i>The Italian Madrigal</i> , übers. von Alexander H. Krappe, Roger Sessions und Oliver Strunk, Princeton 1949

Zitate aus *Das italienische Madrigal* / *The Italian Madrigal* erfolgen in der Regel in der Sprache und Ausgabe des jeweiligen Aufsatzes. Im Sinne dieses Bandes, dem es um eine Re-Lektüre unter den Bedingungen von Original und Übersetzung geht, werden entsprechende Stellen bei Bedarf in den Fußnoten in der jeweils anderen Sprache wiedergegeben.

Sämtliche im Band enthaltenen Links wurden zuletzt überprüft am 14.03.2025.