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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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Der vorliegende Band ergänzt und kommentiert  
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Henrike C. Lange

## Berkeley als geistige Lebensform: Alfred Einstein's Arrival in the Bay Area

»Man ist eigentlich nur kurz am Leben und im grossen betrachtet fast immer tot. Man ist also gewissermassen wie zu Besuch da und braucht diese Episode nicht gar zu ernst zu nehmen. Wenn man diese Kunst einigermaßen gelernt hat, geht schon bald der Zug ab.«

Albert Einstein in a letter to Alfred Einstein, March 1944<sup>1</sup>

### **Ankommen / Arrival**

About a year prior to the 2022 conference in Munich's Orff Centre, Sebastian Bolz's invitation reached me two thirds into what would be a total of eighteen months of lockdown for us out here in California.<sup>2</sup> Though, by spring 2022, we were partly back on campus, eventually the pandemic aftermath did not allow transatlantic travel in the middle of the semester. But if we had learned anything from the pandemic, it was to look at the inevitable in the best possible way – and it was in this spirit that I welcomed the Orff Centre audience to Berkeley and the San Francisco Bay Area that morning in March. It was fairly easy to set the scene

1 Albert Einstein to Alfred Einstein 19.03.1944, US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 4, Folder 288.

2 Warm thanks to Sebastian Bolz for his initiative and excellent stewardship of the edition. Thanks to Moritz Kelber, Katelijne Schiltz, the participants of the fruitful conference in Munich, the active audiences there and on telecon, and the staff at the Orff Centre in Munich for facilitating the remote connection to Berkeley smoothly and with such remarkable elegance. Special thanks to Andrew Stewart for taking me out on his boat prior to the conference to capture the photo of El Cerrito from the bay, and to Berkeley archaeologist Christopher Hallett for locating Alfred Einstein's grave. Very special thanks to Tom McLeish FRS for many years of conversations about early music and madrigals as well as about Albert Einstein in the context of physics, the history of science, and theology. *Grazie mille* to all my students in Italian Studies 30 at UC Berkeley in the early 2020s and especially to those who delivered research-based creative projects on Dante and music, such as Colin Chamberlin's »*Piobaireachd* Journey Through *Inferno*« with Great Highland bagpipes and Yueyi Che's unforgettable Dante composition for the ukulele.

for reflections on Einstein, exile, Dante, and music in Berkeley – that is, in Berkeley 2020–2021 (Fig. 1–3). Under the shelter-in-place lockdown, I had taught my classes on Zoom from the same corner between my study and our backyard, and we had to constantly reinvent the wheel of online pedagogy while trying to keep our distant students connected to complex historical material. During that time I gave my Dante lectures for the Department of Italian Studies three spring terms in a row, as well as, among others, a lower-division course on the history of triumphs from antiquity to the present day and an upper-division seminar on medieval / Renaissance / Baroque art and animals for the Department of History of Art. All three are highly interdisciplinary courses, each integrating perspectives from literature, music, history, and art history with questions of the here and now. In that endeavour, music reliably helped to amplify certain themes and points. Music has also been one of the lifesavers for many across continents in surviving multiple degrees of isolation, fear, and stasis throughout the various phases of the COVID-19 lockdown. So listening to early music and reflecting upon the work and life of our long-gone colleague Alfred Einstein while re-reading *The Italian Madrigal*, and especially Einstein's thoughts on Dante, was a most welcome proposition, and especially benefitted those students who came to my office hours with questions on their »Dante and music« projects (songs and compositions for *voce sola*, the piano, guitar, violin, Great Highland bagpipes, and ukulele, to name just a few). As Melina Gehring put it, prefacing her approach to Einstein's archive and legacy, not only is exile history self-referential (*selbstreferentiell*) – it should aim to be self-reflective (*selbstreflexiv*).<sup>3</sup> So I was also invited to reflect on some of the conference's broader themes in dialogue with our current Berkeley – with a campus and a city so entirely different from what Alfred Einstein (30 December 1880 – 13 February 1952) encountered upon his arrival in the Bay Area during the final two years of his life.

In his letters Alfred Einstein writes lucidly about the many facets of his complex experience in this country, caught between the love of freedom and a personal sense of liberation on the one hand, and, on the other, disgust at nationalisms and the ugly echoes of it in the identities forced upon him (as a »deutscher? jüdischer? Bindestrich-Americaner?«, Einstein writes signing a letter in 1948).<sup>4</sup> Studies in *Exilforschung* and *Exilgeschichte* of German, mostly German-Jewish migrants and »European transplants«, as Erwin Panofsky called himself, help, from other corners of the arts and humanities, to contextualize the field-specific themes in historical

3 See Melina Gehring, *Alfred Einstein. Ein Musikwissenschaftler im Exil*, Hamburg 2007 (Musik im »Dritten Reich« und im Exil, 13), p. 10.

4 Alfred Einstein to Eric Blom, 25.08.1948, US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 4, Folder 167.



Fig. 1: The Berkeley Campus seen from the San Francisco Bay



Fig. 2: El Cerrito seen from the San Francisco Bay



Fig. 3: The distance between Berkeley and El Cerrito seen from the San Francisco Bay



Fig. 4: View of the Bay from Einstein's house in El Cerrito

content and historiography.<sup>5</sup> For Einstein, this process begins with a differentiation between the complex labels of »emigration« on the one hand and »exile« on the other, as Melina Gehring submits.<sup>6</sup> Panofsky himself began his famous reflection on his exile and position in America with a well-considered note of caution:

»Even when dealing with the remote past, the historian cannot be entirely objective. And in an account of his own experiences and reactions the personal factor becomes so important that it has to be extrapolated by a deliberate effort on the part of the reader. I must, therefore, begin with a few autobiographical data, difficult though it is to speak about oneself without conveying the impression of either false modesty or genuine conceit.«<sup>7</sup>

Now, we have no such records from Einstein's hand. He was busy writing letters and conducting his research. But most of all, in the end, his renewed relocation – a final act of transplanting – to Northern California meant that from here maybe further reflection would have been possible, looking back at Smith as another closed chapter in his life. But Einstein did not live long enough in the Bay Area to develop a clear vision in the rear-view mirror: what is striking is the shortness of his life near Berkeley, and that his arrival at the Golden Gate was also not exactly necessitated by the allure of the University of California's reputation, or by the promise of early music in the Bay Area (where, decades later, there would be a significant community of instrument builders and practitioners of medieval and early modern music). His move was much less fortuitously triggered by the sudden onset of cardiac illness while en route to California. Einstein had intended to give a summer course in Berkeley, but after falling seriously ill in Oklahoma City, the peaceful El Cerrito became an ideal final destination (Fig. 4).

In the community of scholars of various affiliations around the Bay over the past century, in the case of Alfred Einstein we are left to consider someone's arrival that did not lead to a realization of local and regional opportunities, but was

5 Erwin Panofsky, »Three Decades of Art History in the United States: Impressions of a Transplanted European«, *College Art Journal* 14 (1954), pp. 7–27 (later republished in epilogue to: Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Chicago 1982). On Alfred Einstein's emigration and exile, see in particular Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*. See also 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, and Lewis A. Coser, *Refugee Scholars in America: Their Impact and their Experiences*, New Haven 1984.

6 While exile for some could turn into a blessing (»Was aber als erzwungene Auswanderung begonnen habe, hätten viele im Nachhinein als Segen empfunden«), the word »emigration« might be inappropriate where it risks seeming and functioning as a »Bagatellisierung«; see Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 20.

7 Panofsky, »Three Decades of Art History«, p. 7.

an endpoint to a life, an ultimate arrival, the multiplication of a life's relationships into an archive. In Einstein's case, what would establish him here more fully was rather a family's touch in making this life's harvest available to local researchers and students. Somehow this turn of events and its aftermath integrates and interlocks timelines and temporalities of Einstein's life in a most unusual way with a place where he experienced a serene arrival, but did not have time to really develop new relationships. The existence of the valuable archive, the Alfred Einstein Collection, here, harbours the melancholy of how extensively it records his life *before*, while his life *here* was cut so very short. Of course, merging a temporal marker with a spatial marker at the same time indicates the integration and merging of life phases: Einstein brought himself, his memories, and many notes with him, and it is here that some of these found their resting place – the papers on campus, his remains in the peaceful *Waldfriedhof* (Fig. 5–6) that Einstein describes in his letter as a lovely feature in the landscape panorama around his home in El Cerrito (see below). Sebastian Bolz considers it most likely that Einstein would already have gone through his notes and correspondence prior to crossing the Atlantic, and that he might also have destroyed parts of his papers both then and later for a variety of reasons. As a next step for future research, one would have to systematically cross-check the diaries which document his correspondence against the collection at Berkeley to try and distil a record of the missing parts.<sup>8</sup>

But as historians who primarily reconstruct form, context, and meaning around art from antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the early modern age, we are used to working with the few things that have survived rather than calling off the search just because the record is patchy. In comparison to the lack of archives of original writings or drawings by, say, Dante or Giotto, there still is an abundance in Einstein's archives even if we are seeing only a small section of a lifetime's sum total. A more optimistic perspective on Einstein's short life in Berkeley would then explore, for this special occasion, a few possible avenues: what might have been, had Einstein spent maybe 10 or 15 years here? How could he have connected to, and influenced, certain new trends at the time, and changed some of the ways in which medieval and early modern studies at UC Berkeley was to develop across the arts and humanities? Or so go our mute, unanswerable, worthwhile questions.

Deprived of the time that Alfred Einstein could have had here, we can still revisit places in space and in spirit to think about the scholar and his legacy from a variety of points of view – as well as about a Berkeley that he never lived to see – that, however, has learned from him and his archive, and teaches his work with appreciation in the Department of Music. Well known to the colleagues in music,

8 US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 2, Box 1.



Fig. 5: El Cerrito's *Waldfriedhof*: The view from Einstein's grave towards the Bay



Fig. 6: El Cerrito's *Waldfriedhof*: The view uphill towards Einstein's grave

the presence of his archive has become a factor in this working knowledge of the Alfred Einstein–Berkeley connection.<sup>9</sup>

Fast forward to the 2020s: celebrating the new edition of Einstein's book, it is also worth sharing from the now (e.g., between 2022 and 2025, between the time of the conference and the time of publication), here, some general thoughts about disciplines and distances, about times and changing perspectives. Focusing on the »Zwischenräume«, we can find these in the silent breaks and pauses in the musical score, the silence of everything that happens to be absent in the archive, or on the map between Germany and the edge of the American continent, hiding the unimaginable reality of endless mountains, deserts, prairies, cities, and an ocean in between. We shall nevertheless try and establish the conditions of a critical connection between the very short moment of Alfred Einstein's arrival at Berkeley and the present moment in a globalized, pandemic, pandemonic kind of Berkeley of circa 2020–2025.

What happened in the meantime? Hitchcock's famous *Vertigo* (Paramount Pictures, 1958) serves to demarcate the break in time that we are facing when we think of Alfred Einstein's San Francisco Bay and our own – this classic, itself showing a long-lost city and time, was not even in production for another few years when Einstein passed in 1952. In that movie, supporting character Gavin Elster points to some paintings of San Francisco on the wall, lamenting to main character Scottie Ferguson that »the old city« of the first nugget had forever disappeared: »Well, San Francisco's changed. The things that spell »San Francisco« to me are disappearing fast.«<sup>10</sup>

Little did the screenwriters know what the tech boom and, eventually, the lockdown would do to the city, rendering it almost unrecognizable. Much the same goes for our home campus across the Bay (Fig. 7–9): Berkeley was a village around a picturesque university campus founded in the 1860s; town and campus had barely survived the ferocious fire of 1923 that the diablo winds had pushed downhill a few decades before, erasing most of the traditional Californian wood-

9 For one (still) somewhat recent example in our own living memory of Einstein's inclusion in later Berkeley musicology discourse, see former Acting Chair of History of Art Anthony Newcomb: »The New Roman Style and Giovanni Maria Nanino«, *The Journal of Musicology* 36 (2019), pp. 167–194. Bridging generations between local history and historiography, musicology and transnational music historiography, Newcomb included references to Einstein as well as to Sebastian Bolz in one of his final publications.

10 In conversation, Sebastian Bolz entertained the possibility that the Old West nostalgia known from the world of opera with Puccini's *La fanciulla del West* (*The Girl of the Golden West*) could also have been an association in Einstein's own conscious or subconscious approach to his own coming to California. See also William Wallace Allen and Richard Benjamin Avery, *California Gold Book, First Nugget*, San Francisco et al. 1893.



Fig. 7: Campanile Esplanade on the Berkeley Campus



Fig. 8: Berkeley Campus: Doe Memorial Library and Sather Tower (Campanile)



Fig. 9: The sky above Berkeley

en architecture from the late nineteenth century and spectacular buildings such as the old main library (today, the oldest building on the Berkeley campus as well as the only truly »historic« building that Alfred Einstein would have recognized or accepted as such is South Hall, built in 1873).<sup>11</sup>

After the new architectural form of the campus had been established, after Oppenheimer had conducted his research, experiments, and realization of the atomic bomb in the years up to 1945, after the Loyalty Oath Controversy (1949–1951) during the McCarthy era, the 1950s would mark a definite watershed. In the following decade, Berkeley's political relevance became further established with the free speech movement and the echoes that it sent back east into student protests in Paris, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Berlin. Simultaneously Berkeley was vast enough to become an echo chamber for the now aging voices of exiles, likewise contributing to its reputation as a magic mountain, a *Zauberberg* where intellectual healing could take place. Or at least this is what the poem »A Magic Mountain« by Czeslaw Milosz imagines; marked »Berkeley, 1975«, it reads like a sum of the

11 The fire of 1923 consumed some 640 structures, including 584 houses on the Northside, also known as »Nut Hill«, adjacent to the campus of the University of California in Berkeley on 17.09.1923.

experiences of those lucky enough to arrive, to form a community here, or even to write poetry inspired by the eternal spring, the sunlight, the »generations of hummingbirds«, and the sound of the foghorns from the Bay that Einstein was looking at from his home in El Cerrito.<sup>12</sup>

Other academic trends would follow, many of them rejecting or simply ignoring the necessarily European perspective that the generation of exiles around Einstein brought to the American universities. On the other hand, the exiles' presence and their personal need to re-root both their life and their scholarly existence, very often into a language that was not their own, take part in the transformations that eventually also become »America« – like small streams of water flowing into big rivers and eventually oceans, unrecognizable but present in a new form. Erich Auerbach (1892–1957) writes poignantly after the end of the war how all that remains is simply to hope that his study will find its readers after the catastrophe.<sup>13</sup> Having escaped the fascist dictatorship of the Nazis in Germany,

12 »A Magic Mountain // I don't remember exactly when Budberg died, it was either two years ago or three. / The same with Chen. Whether last year or the one before. / Soon after our arrival, Budberg, gently pensive, / Said that in the beginning it is hard to get accustomed, / For here there is no spring or summer, no winter or fall. // »I kept dreaming of snow and birch forests. / Where so little changes you hardly notice how time goes by. / This is, you will see, a magic mountain.« // Budberg: a familiar name in my / childhood. / They were prominent in our region, / This Russian family, descendants of German Balts. / I read none of his works, too specialized. / And Chen, I have heard, was an exquisite poet, / Which I must take on faith, for he wrote in Chinese. // Sultry Octobers, cool Julys, trees blossom in February. / Here the nuptial flight of hummingbirds does not forecast spring. / Only the faithful maple sheds its leaves every year. / For no reason, its ancestors simply learned it that way. // I sensed Budberg was right and I rebelled. / So I won't have power, won't save the world? / Fame will pass me by, no tiara, no crown? / Did I then train myself, myself the Unique, / To compose stanzas for gulls and sea haze, / To listen to the foghorns blaring down below? // Until it passed. What passed? Life. / Now I am not ashamed of my defeat. / One murky island with its barking seals / Or a parched desert is enough / To make us say: yes, *oui, si*. / »Even asleep we partake in the becoming of the world.« / Endurance comes only from enduring. / With a flick of the wrist I fashioned an invisible rope, / And climbed it and it held me. // What a procession! *Quelles délices!* / What caps and hooded gowns! / Most respected Professor Budberg, / Most distinguished Professor Chen, / Wrong Honorable Professor Milosz / Who wrote poems in some unheard-of tongue. / Who will count them anyway. And here sunlight. / So that the flames of their tall candles fade. / And how many generations of hummingbirds keep them company / As they walk on. Across the magic mountain. / And the fog from the ocean is cool, for once again it is July. // *Berkeley, 1975*«. Czesław Miłosz, »A Magic Mountain«, *The Collected Poems: 1931–1987*, transl. Czesław Miłosz and Lillian Vallee, New York 1988.

13 See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis. Dargestellte Wirklichkeit in der abendländischen Literatur*, Tübingen 1919, p. 518. See also Ottmar Ette, »Migration und Konvivenz«, *Literatur und Exil. Neue Perspektiven*, ed. Doerte Bischoff and Susanne Komfort-Hein, Berlin et al. 2013, p. 297–320: p. 310. Ottmar Ette addresses the embedded »Sehnsucht« and its meaning for the creation of a collectively healing new readership: »*En filigrane*, aber dadurch umso nachdrücklicher schreibt Erich Auerbach hier die Katastrophen des Zweiten Weltkrieges und der Shoah in einen Text ein, der die Gemeinschaft der überlebenden Leser wiederfinden, zugleich aber auch eine neue

Auerbach considers »what [he] believed [he] owe[s] to the reader«, stating that now only one task remains: to *find* the »reader«. Auerbach then expresses the wish that his text will reach his surviving friends as well as everyone else for whom it has been written, aiming at an imaginary reunion of constructive, positive forces, »of those who have preserved their love for our occidental history undimmed«, as he puts it:

»Damit habe ich alles gesagt, was ich dem Leser noch schuldig zu sein glaubte. Es bleibt nur noch übrig, ihn, das heißt den Leser, zu finden. Möge meine Untersuchung ihre Leser erreichen; sowohl meine überlebenden Freunde von einst wie auch alle anderen, für die sie bestimmt ist; und dazu beitragen, diejenigen wieder zusammenzuführen, die die Liebe zu unserer abendländischen Geschichte ohne Trübung bewahrt haben.«<sup>14</sup>

We might then extrapolate how for many authors of that generation in exile the re-connection around specialized topics and shared themes or interests helped in establishing a new home. Yet no matter where they went, or even if they went back, all this re-rooting and re-cultivating would pose new and individual challenges for Alfred Einstein (in musicology) as much as for Erwin Panofsky (in the visual arts) or Marcel Reich-Ranicki (in language and literature). Reich-Ranicki, who returned to his beloved German language and to the literary scene around the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, would become Germany's most important contemporary literary critic. In his memoirs, he shares a bitter memory of Albert

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Lesergemeinschaft erfinden will. Die Verzweiflung angesichts einer Geschichte der Vernichtung, die für Auerbach zum eigentlichen *Beweg-Grund* seines eigenen Lesens und Schreibens wird, macht in diesen Passagen nicht nur den Schrei im Schreiben hörbar, sondern zugleich unüberhörbar, dass diese Gemeinschaft der Lesenden von Auerbach nicht territorial fixiert gedacht und in Deutschland allein verortet wurde.« (ibid., p. 310). For the larger context see Kader Konuk, *East West Mimesis. Auerbach in Turkey*, Stanford 2010. For a wider interdisciplinary exploration of art, literature, materiality, historiography, intermediality, exile, and the history of catastrophes see also Henrike Christiane Lange, »Cimabue's True Crosses in Arezzo and Florence«, *Material Christianity. Western Religion and the Agency of Things*, ed. Christopher Ocker and Susanna Elm, Cham 2019 (Sophia Studies in Cross-Cultural Philosophy of Traditions and Cultures, 32), pp. 29–67. In the context of the re-building of a collective, ideal readership, Sebastian Bolz (in conversation) proposed a connection to the concept of »first letters« (»erste Briefe«) in exile history, referring to first contacts between migrants and non-migrants, which has also been transferred to »first concerts« as another form of re-opened cultural contact. See also Matthias Pasdzierny, *Wiederaufnahme? Rückkehr aus dem Exil und das westdeutsche Musikleben nach 1945*, Munich 2014 (Kontinuitäten und Brüche im Musikleben der Nachkriegszeit).

- 14 Auerbach, *Mimesis*, p. 518; »With this I have said everything that I thought to owe the reader. It only remains to find him, that is, the reader. May my study reach its readers; my surviving friends from before as well as everyone else for whom this has been written, so it may contribute to a reunion of those who have preserved their love for our occidental history undimmed.«; translation HCL.

Speer at a dinner party – reconnecting also meant an exchange with the »Fourth Reich« of the former *NS-Mitläufer*.<sup>15</sup>

There was no going back, but there was no fresh, clean, new beginning either. It would still take decades before society, individuals, and institutions began to address the deep and persistent connections between the German *Professorenschaft* under the Nazis and in *Nachkriegsdeutschland*. Art historian Martin Warnke reported both in personal conversation and in his early writings in newspapers (only republished much later) what this meant for the history of art as a German university discipline. To give one example, the first attempt at establishing a record of what had happened in the 1930s was, in this case, undertaken by a young German Lutheran pastor's son born in Brazil, who arrived in the ruins of Germany only in 1953, moving from his parents' mission in the jungle to a still visibly destroyed Gütersloh for his *Abitur* and further education. Reporting on the Auschwitz trials for the newspaper *Stuttgarter Zeitung* in 1964 shortly after finishing his doctoral studies, Warnke's speaking of truth to power was a true Lutheran kamikaze mission for a promising academic career.<sup>16</sup> The fact that this uncovering was a collective effort, shared by many displaced scholars of that generation across the disciplines, may have helped to create a wider interdisciplinary discourse in a quite natural way. However, should this be true, then it may be true only for the generation of Martin Warnke that does not share the enmeshment, conditions, and temporalities of the older Alfred, and Albert, Einstein.

Much has happened since Auerbach's and Einstein's great postwar books were finally published. The public success of the critic was exemplified in Marcel Reich-Ranicki's position in postwar Germany. If musicology played a similarly

15 See Marcel Reich-Ranicki, *Mein Leben*, Munich 2021 (Marcel Reich-Ranicki, *The Author of Himself: The Life of Marcel Reich-Ranicki*, Princeton, NJ 2001). On the ways in which the returned exile Marcel Reich-Ranicki considered the arts, especially the fields of literature, and more generally his intellectual life as homeland and as a saving grace, see, among others, *Die Literatur, eine Heimat. Reden über und von Marcel Reich-Ranicki*, ed. Thomas Anz and Marcel Reich-Ranicki, Munich 2008. On Reich-Ranicki's impressive relevance as a critic with many decades of life in West Germany, a different and exceptional model contrasting with most exiles' stories and in stark contrast to Einstein's destiny, see also a dissertation by Jasmin Ahmadi, *Der Papst und der Bienenkorb: Marcel Reich-Ranicki als ein Akteur im literarischen Feld der Bundesrepublik*, Frankfurt am Main 2015.

16 See Martin Warnke, »Wissenschaft als Knechtungsakt«, [first printed in the *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 25.04.1970, no. 95; a slightly shortened version of Warnke's *Referat* at the October 1970 *Kunst-historikertag* in Cologne], *Warburgs Schnecke. Kulturwissenschaftliche Skizzen*, ed. Matthias Born-muth, Göttingen 2020, pp. 55–65. See also Martin Warnke, *Das Kunstwerk zwischen Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung*, Gütersloh 1970; idem, *Zeitgenossenschaft. Zum Auschwitz-Prozess 1964*, ed. Pablo Schneider and Barbara Welzel, Zurich et al. 2014, and idem, »Eine angepasste Kunst ist wie ein Tisch, der allein durch seinen Gebrauch bestimmt ist«, *Hamburger Kunsthistoriker im Gespräch. Interviews mit Horst Bredekamp, Klaus Herding, Wolfgang Kemp, Monika Wagner und Martin Warnke*, ed. Saskia Pütz and Rainer Nicolaysen, Göttingen 2019, pp. 81–92.

prominent role in public life as literary criticism, then someone like Alfred Einstein, had he lived longer, would no doubt have promoted the importance of his discipline just as passionately. The 2022 report on the Munich conference by Florian Amort in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* rightly acknowledges the new edition's implicit question of »public musicology« in these terms.<sup>17</sup>

As historiography has shown, the old European model could not be transplanted, but was mutually inspiring on either side of the Atlantic.<sup>18</sup> Many new models emerged from the activities of that generation of exiles and their students, that is, my older colleagues' generation – most of whom remember several émigré faculty at NYU, Columbia, Yale, UCLA, and of course Berkeley. Walter Cook, the founding director of New York University's Institute of Fine Arts, famously joked, »Hitler is my best friend; he shakes the tree and I collect the apples.«<sup>19</sup> In a letter to Erwin Kroll of December 1947, Einstein wrote in much the same vein, probably somewhere between humor and despair: »Im Grunde kann ich meinem Führer nicht dankbar genug sein.«<sup>20</sup> His *Heimatland* lay in ruins while his adopted new homeland seemingly had good reason for a kind of winner's optimism.

But these waves of migration into a university system that had not yet been established were only one side of the development, the push factor; one pull factor in the decades following Einstein's time in the US was what could be described as the organic, liberating impetus of scholarly involvement in politics through research. The transplanting of formerly German *Wissenschaftsgeschichte* into what was now an international context in this newer, larger country gave scholars the freedom to both ask and answer more courageous questions. Einstein, who died in the early 1950s, would not be part of that generation. Maybe his wish to create an archive, library, or museum of reproductions of the great works of European art is part of his generational condition.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, fellow Berkeley professor Walter Horn (1908–1995) and his »Monuments Men« had just a few

17 See Florian Amort, »Was sonst noch sagbar ist / Eine Tagung über Alfred Einsteins Forschung zum Madrigal«, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 05.05.2022.

18 See Emily J. Levine, *Dreamland of Humanists. Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School*, Chicago 2013. On the time prior to the catastrophe (a perspective that would have mirroring versions in other branches of the sciences, arts, and humanities), see Kathryn Brush, »The Unshaken Tree: Walter W. S. Cook on German Kunstwissenschaft in 1924«, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 52/53 (1998/99), pp. 24–51.

19 Walter Cook as quoted in Erwin Panofsky, »Three Decades of Art History in the United States: Impressions of a Transplanted European«, republished in epilogue to *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, p. 332.

20 Alfred Einstein to Erwin Kroll, 21.12.1947, US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 6, Folder 567.

21 On these plans, see 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.

years prior been fighting to save, protect, and recover the originals of works of art such as the Ghent altarpiece or Charlemagne's crown jewels. But then again, the surviving scores of music, whether in original or copy, have the unmatched advantage over all other arts that music reproduces and renews itself in every performance. Despite the undeniable loss of musical sources, too, during World War II, Einstein's field was still blessed in a special way when it came to questions of renewable originality and freshness of the artistic experience in the potential of renewed experience of a musical source document, considering that most music is more portable than many of the works lost in bombed sites in Europe (e.g., Mantegna's frescoes in the Ovetari chapel that were sacrificed in the decision that another art historian enlisted by the Allies and later art history professor at UCLA, Albert Hoxie, had to make between the targeting of the Eremitani Church or Giotto's Cappella degli Scrovegni at the nearby Arena of Padua).

Here we can identify a split – the foundation, the pioneering setting of a European-style, Yale-inspired University of California, Berkeley that attracted so many scholarly war migrants, involves a pushback for the European migrant into the Californian institution and environment. In many ways, Einstein would not be able to orient himself so easily in today's Berkeley – it is much less European now than it was in the 1950s – its architecture is very different, its international students today mostly come from Asia, and the population in California in general is now much less white, European / European-Jewish, or of European-Jewish heritage. Maybe the very existence of what we call »area studies« as in the Department of Italian Studies or the Centre for European Studies would have been an interesting phenomenon for him. It is easy to imagine that the appeal of Comparative Literature, for Einstein, could have been its generalist and universal approach, countering the anecdote that Einstein gives in the *Madrigal* on Stendhal's self-deprecating account of his »discovery« of Monti's most famous sonnet, »La Morte«, in *La Chartreuse de Parme*.<sup>22</sup> Not to mention computer science and data science with all their promise for audio and archival enterprises, and all their exciting potential for music composition and performance, things that we mostly practiced between 2015 and 2022 in the Arts + Design initiative at Berkeley. Einstein might have been both bewildered and inspired by the fact that the simple

22 See Einstein in *DIM*, p. VII: »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 (»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 einbilden, mit der Literatur eines Nachbarlandes vertraut zu sein.« See also Moritz Kelber's contribution to this volume.

existence of area studies indicates that Europe as he knew it – Dante, Mozart, »das Madrigal« – are not at all central to the standard curriculum of a college student here, now, unlike Einstein's student experience in the very old Europe before the catastrophe and also unlike the early twentieth-century universities in the US. In his own time and at least into the 1960s, Einstein could have continued to experience a warm welcome – as Potter states, »US music historians had harbored a deep admiration for German *Wissenschaft*. The arrival of scholars into a relatively young discipline merged both sides.«<sup>23</sup>

An eyewitness of historical developments can usually detect a mix of losses and gains, and so the loss in these trends that seem to be relevant in re-reading Einstein's *Madrigal*, reconsidering it in its context and for our times as well as for the future, seems to me to be the curious disappearance of genre studies. While the Department of Music will still be more easily able to teach genres for reasons of both practice and common sense, genre does not typically govern current classrooms in the arts and humanities, such as those housed on the different levels of Dwinelle Hall where Italian Studies is at home, or in Doe Library in my other department, History of Art. In order to attract today's Berkeley students, course titles are formulated under more general and more immediately striking headings, ideally emphasizing or signalling either timeless relevance or a specific trend in order to compete with the many lower-division educational offerings. They also seem to be more appropriate for a more universal, culturally inclusive community on a global campus. Twenty-first-century California has consciously taken some distance from formerly Eurocentric enterprises. Likewise, the formerly standard theme of just an artist or just a time period has mostly been replaced by already pre-formulated themes. Re-reading Einstein's *Madrigal*, it would then be fruitful to consider for teaching in a global context: what might we have lost with the disappearance of genre as an organizing principle in teaching and research?

Pivoting to the actual, historical presence of Einstein here in the Bay Area, we should add some additional notes on the *Exilmusikforschung* and the *Exilanten* in Berkeley. Having shared the same canon of European art, literature, theology, and history in their training, their initial work here – such as that of Walter Horn, the first professor of History of Art here at UC Berkeley, and a »Monuments Man« – consisted in establishing the collections of books and slides that were building worlds and worldviews from the position of their old-world education – as visible in the historical slide library's tiny folders, each lovingly encased between two small pieces of glass, with the largest part of the collection of those first decades documenting cabinets and cabinets of Italian, German, French, British works, a

23 Potter, »From Jewish Exile«, p. 67.

few Spanish, a few of US architecture and modern painting, and only one cabinet each for Indigenous, Pacific Island, and African geographical and tribal categories (we can find a parallel history in the UCB music library with its collection of scores of German nineteenth- and twentieth-century music, donated by a Jewish migrant, containing volumes that today are extremely rare in Germany; no less important and unlikely to be saved than the significant collection of Judaica in the Bancroft Rare Books and Manuscripts library, stemming from the collections of migrants since the nineteenth century). The lines of connection can be drawn further, as Walter Horn had been one of Erwin Panofsky's students in Hamburg. Professor Panofsky, having received a telegram that he was shortly to be dismissed from his Chair at the University of Hamburg during a stay in Princeton, issued several *Not-Dokortitel* (emergency doctoral degrees) for his students on the basis of their then hastily finished dissertations (in Horn's case, his study on the facade of the Church of St. Gilles, published in 1937). Aby Warburg had passed in 1926, several years before the dramatic moment of the transport of his library into its exile in London in 1933; however, the Warburg-Haus in Hamburg under Martin Warnke's care has re-established our capacity to study and honour the multiple dimensions of histories of the exiles there and from there.<sup>24</sup>

### »Die Zweisteins«

On to the *Zweisteins* – *der eine Einstein*, Albert, as »der grosse Unterschreiber« helped *dem anderen Einstein*, Alfred, to find his feet in America. Their double portrait in the 1947 photo from Princeton, having doubled itself into being present both in the Albert Einstein Archives, Jerusalem, and in the Alfred Einstein Collection in Berkeley, shows one smiling and the other displaying a more solemn expression.<sup>25</sup> However, their correspondence reveals their shared sense of humor and mutual enjoyment of their contact. Focusing especially on the time in Berkeley, on 23 May 1950, after Alfred's first heart attack, Albert wrote an affectionate and insightful letter about the exile's fraught experience in America:

»Ich möchte Ihnen sagen, wie leid es mir thut, dass Sie unterwegs krank geworden sind. Es wird schon bald wieder recht werden; aber dann erst heisst es der Gefahr begegnen: Ruhig leben und die Arbeitslast verringern, auch wenn es nicht leicht zu machen ist. Man muss es selber erkämpfen; die andern helfen einem nicht dabei, in diesem Lande schon gar nicht.«<sup>26</sup>

24 See <https://www.warburg-haus.de/> for references and links to current projects, publications, and the online lecture archive.

25 For the photograph, see Cristina Urchueguía's contribution to this volume, p. 344.

26 US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 4, Folder 288.

Albert had already written to Alfred after an operation back in March 1944,

»Lieber Herr Einstein,

Ich habe mit Bedauern gehört, dass Sie sich der Reparatur-Werkstatt anvertrauen mussten, und mit Vergnügen, dass es gut gelungen ist. Man ist eigentlich nur kurz am Leben und im grossen betrachtet fast immer tot. Man ist also gewissermassen wie zu Besuch da und braucht diese Episode nicht gar zu ernst zu nehmen. Wenn man diese Kunst einigermaßen gelernt hat, geht schon bald der Zug ab. [...]

Diese Brief ist nicht zu beantworten, bzw. erst dann, wenn bei mir die entsprechende Situation vorliegt. Herzliche Wünsche von Ihrem

A. Einstein«<sup>27</sup>

For Fall Term 2021 and Spring Term 2022 at UC Berkeley, I developed a series of courses for graduate and for undergraduate students on Aby Warburg in Berkeley – focusing not only on his visit here during his famous travels to and through America in 1895/96, but even more on the ways in which Warburg’s legacy in the discipline of art history can be reconsidered and re-thought from Berkeley today. Two of these courses were taught using historical objects from the rare books and manuscripts collection at the Bancroft.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, there could be a place for the honorary *Dantista* Einstein who, for the short time that he lived in Berkeley and El Cerrito, was joining an honour roll of later famous Dante scholars such as Charles Singleton and Steven Botterill, to name just two, and European medievalist historians such as Ernst Kantorowicz, himself another academic refugee of the Thirties. Here it is worthwhile including a quote from Randolph Starn, himself a Berkeley historian not only of medieval Italy, but also specifically of medieval Italian *exiles* in his book *Contrary Commonwealth*.<sup>29</sup> Poignantly, Starn’s classic study was, in 1982, still printed in Berkeley when the University of California Press still had an office on its home campus and a downtown location that, today, only shows the shadowy ghosts of the shop letters on the empty façade of an abandoned building.<sup>30</sup> But it is an archival *Fundstück* that Starn shared with me that features in the

27 US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 4, Folder 288, dated 19.03.1944, in different handwriting; Gehring interprets this as Alfred’s; Albert had only written »Sonntag«; Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 116.

28 Fall Term 2021: Undergraduate Seminar in History of Art »Aby Warburg’s Early Modernity: Time, Medium, Material« and Graduate Seminar in Italian Studies »Aby Warburg in Italy«.

29 Randolph Starn, *Contrary Commonwealth. The Theme of Exile in Medieval and Renaissance Italy*, Berkeley 1982.

30 Similarly, see Matt Krupnick, »UC Berkeley shutting down 136-year-old printing service«, *East Bay Times*, 24.04.2010, <https://www.eastbaytimes.com/2010/04/24/uc-berkeley-shutting-down-136-year-old-printing-service/>.

context of Einstein's exile generation, typewritten notes immortalizing his contribution to the 1991 celebration of the French translation of *The King's Two Bodies*: »Like other academic refugees of the Thirties, Kantorowicz came to these shores with a tale that could be plotted as a redemptive triumph of humanistic values and culture over inhumanity and barbarism,« thus Starn, as he quotes several stanzas from the beginning and the ending of Berkeley's poem (in an abbreviated form),

»the champion of academic freedom and what was left of the high humanist culture of old Europe. This was a story with a readymade audience in Berkeley [given that] Bishop Berkeley's lines from the poem *On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* were recited on Founder's Rock in 1868:

The Muse, disgusted at this age and clime [of Europe],  
In distant lands now waits a better time  
There shall be sung another Golden Age,  
The Rise of Empire and the arts  
Westward the course of empire takes its way;  
The first four acts already Past,  
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;  
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

The Berkeley Golden Age was formally implemented thirty years later in the international architectural competition of 1898. Contestants worldwide were asked to design a »new city of learning«, an »Athens of the West« [complete with Venetian Campanile-lighthouse and a] library that was to be its Acropolis.«<sup>31</sup>

Bishop Berkeley's own Bermuda mission was famously unlucky and unsuccessful, and his *Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* (containing the call »Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way«) is heavy baggage for an international and, ideally, diverse, equitable, and inclusive campus of our times.<sup>32</sup> The impossibility of a canon in a global university such as this, in years such as

31 Randolph Starn, »Kantorowicz in the Archives (10/4/91)«, Lecture for Kantorowicz's Histories: A Symposium exploring the Interplay of the Life and Work of the Eminent and Controversial Medieval Historian. Department of History, University of California at Berkeley. Berkeley, California (04.10.1991).

32 On the failed mission on Berkeley's »Summer Islands« (Bermuda), see Costica Bradatan, »Waiting for the Eschaton: Berkeley's »Bermuda Scheme« between Earthly Paradise and Educational Utopia«, *Utopian Studies* 14 (2003), pp. 36–50.

these, requires some constant reinventing of several wheels all at once and slotting them into a larger mechanism of recuperated reading, learning, listening, viewing, analysing, and communicating. This practice must be open and flexible. For me, music is always a sure way to capture my students' attention and help them travel back into times that looked and sounded so different. This is where Einstein's integrative study goes a long way. In the long historical perspective that Einstein did not live to see, but that his book keeps shaping, the most »Berkeley thing« – on brand with the current College of Letters and Science – about it is the striking interdisciplinarity of Einstein's *Madrigalbuch*.

A word of caution was voiced in the conclusion to the Munich conference in spring 2022: as Florian Amort distilled from the final discussion, many of the ways in which Einstein could approach a vast field of knowledge in a historical tradition with broad brushstrokes and generous rhetoric would not meet today's standards in many segregated and highly specific corners of musicology (»Es ist die plastische, meinungsfreudige und den ahistorischen Vergleich nicht scheuende Sprache«).<sup>33</sup> Finally, it might come as a surprise that an approach via »genre« has something to offer which no identity-focused approach is able to do in a rather neutral way – that is, the entirely new thinking, questioning, and new-establishing of the Canon, a canon, *any* canon, or new canons. For such efforts, »genre« can serve as a productive lens. Depending on what readers of Einstein's *Madrigal* are looking for, there are nuggets of knowledge relevant to the current demands of present-day Berkeley – but it was only possible for them to accumulate in that volume (or rather, the two printed volumes of the English edition, or the digital platform) because the overall question was kept narrow and only then entertained the »and« relationships with poetry, or even an explicit theme such as the »unity« of poetry and music. Where one might suspect a lack of focus on one single category, we can likewise identify a definite strength of the approach – breaching out into more questions, all emerging from the solid basis of the objects and the themes that they themselves indicate as part of their own context and future legacy.

33 Amort contextualizes this important issue with a few quotes as follows: »Doch was macht ›Das italienische Madrigal‹ so besonders? Erst bei der abschließenden Podiumsdiskussion wurde der Elefant im Raum beim Namen genannt: Es ist die plastische, meinungsfreudige und den ahistorischen Vergleich nicht scheuende Sprache. So schreibt Einstein beispielsweise, dass zu Beginn von Cipriano de Rores ›Per mezz'i boschi‹ die Stimmen in unregelmäßigen Abständen einsetzen und dasselbe Motiv bald aufwärts, bald abwärts gewendet ist – ein Bild für das Gegenteil eines Menschen, der ›sicher und furchtlos‹ durch die Wildnis geht. Es ist mehr als eine Vorahnung, es ist eine Vorausnahme des Vorspiels zum dritten Akt des ›Parsifal‹. Oder über den F-Dur-Beginn von Giaches de Werts ›Vezzosi augelli‹: Es ist nicht bloß der Beginn des Pastoralen in der Musik, sondern auch des Impressionistischen.« (Amort, »Was sonst noch sagbar ist«).

## Leaving and Legacy: Dante in El Cerrito

In this spirit, a thorough, prismatic, and complete genre perspective such as that adopted by Einstein in the *Madrigal* still constitutes an extremely fruitful analytical framework. Such an approach implicitly and ingeniously responds to the perplexities of the research trends of the mid-twentieth to twenty-first centuries, and seems to be necessary for the probing and testing of the Canon and its critical reflection and updating. Einstein surely would have agreed, especially after the repeated experience of further episodes of discrimination even in his American exile where he had to ask himself what he now was, or would have to be – having »left Germany more than twelve years ago and [feeling] very much at home in this country by now«, as a »deutscher? jüdischer? Bindestrich-Americaner?«, as he wrote in 1948 in that searching and bitter signature of the letter quoted above:<sup>34</sup>

»Nun bin ich es einfach müde, mir meine deutsche Abkunft vorwerfen zu lassen. Ich werde manchmal auch in der americanischen [sic] Presse der »German scholar« genannt, aber gewöhnlich [...] geschieht es ohne »dolus«; denn wohin käme dieses Land, wenn es nur die Nachkommen der Leute gelten lassen wollte, die auf der Mayflower herübergeschwommen sind.

[...] Ich will nicht reden von der ironischen Tatsache, dass man mir um 1933 mein Deutschtum abgesprochen und mich als den Juden Einstein bezeichnet hat.«<sup>35</sup>

The critical understanding of canons always matters for both ethical and practical reasons – a constant re-reading and re-examining that requires the bold critic, as Einstein was also the *Musikkritiker* and not only a neutral *Wissenschaftler*. Most arts and literature scholars since have sought to avoid this exposed and vulnerable position. Brilliant Jewish literary critics such as Marcel Reich-Ranicki and Harold Bloom lived the difference of the public critic as opposed to the academic, scholar, or historian.

The work of reading and evaluating needs to be done and re-done constantly; it can always only be finished or declared »ready« for submission for brief periods

34 Einstein to Blom, US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 4, Folder 167.

35 Ibid. Einstein encountered a similarly unfair and inappropriate attack by Norman Suckling who, in *The Monthly Musical Record* of July/August 1948, targeted Einstein's so-called »typically German inability to discern.« See Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 138. In this context, Einstein distanced himself from the UK with the following words: »Es bleibt mir nichts anderes übrig, als mich soweit wie möglich aus der englischen Öffentlichkeit zurückzuziehen und meine Rolle darauf zu beschränken, ein Opfer der erleuchteten Kritik des Vereinigten Königreiches zu bleiben, das heist [sic]: als typischer Deutscher und als »exile« behandelt zu werden.« Alfred Einstein to Eric Blom, 10.10.1948, US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box X, Folder 167.

of time, as every generation and every individual in each generation is always called to join the conversation. Readers, viewers, listeners, practicing musicians are always challenged anew, across languages, styles, and times, across countries and political ideologies, to negotiate their personal and collective experiences in context. Here Einstein, given more years, would have revitalized critical approaches, especially in the context of increasingly fashionable interdisciplinary turns in decades to come. He would still have struggled with his transition into the English language, but he might have found it ever easier to practice and experiment with the centrality of music in the classroom, not to mention the availability of media to play music in teaching and access recordings in research (one would like to have presented Einstein with his edition in a web-based, interactive version, with everything available from every internet-connected corner of the world in real time at the gentle tap of a finger).

In light of West Germany's teaching of the English language since the 1950s (offering English in schools as the first foreign language from the fifth grade onwards, and, in recent years, even in elementary schools), and the integration of English into the formerly Russian-heavy East German curriculum following the fall of the Iron Curtain in the late 1980s, we can safely assume that no German transplant from our current generations can truly imagine the feeling of being lost in translation in America. Einstein, in his love for this country, was still unable to blend easily into the new linguistic context at his age, especially when it came to facing students and lecturing after he finally landed in his first real academic position, age fifty-eight.<sup>36</sup> The doubling of quotes in this essay is intended to pay tribute to this fact, to signal an appreciation of the value of seeing both languages together for a finer perception and more precise thinking. Finally, choosing English as the language for this contribution to this conference is supposed to bring the inner conflict of German émigrés to a larger circle of readers, many with their own backgrounds of displacement in their families' history or own life; indeed, many of the students at Berkeley live the double layers of their native language and our campus lingua franca English every day. Nowadays, Einstein would have found more students with an understanding for his situation, and he would have been in an environment that would have allowed him to absorb English with much more ease than his own generation's experience and his youth in Germany afforded him.

36 See also Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 128.

### Einstein's *Madrigal* and the Interdisciplinary Challenge

Investigating the Italian madrigal from historical, literary, and art-historical points of view combined, with a commitment to interdisciplinarity, Einstein impresses with the inclusion of several paintings as plates as much as with the nonchalance with which he handles these select references. The lightness of touch is what makes the integration of the visual into musicology seem more natural, organic, self-evident. The flipside of this approach is that it does not explore the full potential of any deeper interdisciplinary argument or material specificity in the discussion of the comparanda. Einstein's textual references to his visual sources remain lamentably short, and sadly bypass other media (such as relief, sculpture, and the architectural settings of imagery, figures, and iconographies in relation to acoustics). He does not examine them by way of visual analysis or other methods that would do justice to the paintings in their own specific media condition in relation to music.

This was not for lack of methodological virtuosity on the musicologist's part; it is rather possible that the format, frame, sheer mass of material, and wide historical range of *The Italian Madrigal* predetermined that the book would not be the place for Einstein's most interesting approaches to interdisciplinarity or creative processes. For instance, Einstein's writing is much more powerful when considering the creative process in Mozart's handwriting in comparison to Beethoven.<sup>37</sup> This kind of engagement with core processes of artmaking or creativity would have been welcome in his study of the madrigal also, bringing musicological archives, visual evidence, and objects into a broader discussion of their cultural significance while commenting on differences between the creation of these works from the same historical-cultural context. However, Einstein includes several strikingly interdisciplinary notes elsewhere in his text: on painting on the one hand, and on Dante, visuality, and literary history on the other. Einstein's attention then also turns to more style- and taste-historical issues, with references to Dante and Petrarch's *fortune critiche* embedded in his analysis of later trends in reception, such as those of Elizabethan England.

Some of Einstein's bold and disputable statements appear in his assessment of music's subservient role in later duecento and early trecento Italy: »In Dante's time, music had as yet been a mere handmaid of poetry; for unity of poetry and music was even then a thing of the past. Now, toward 1350, music becomes the

37 See Alfred Einstein, »Mozart's Handwriting and the Creative Process«, *Papers Read by Members of the American Musicological Society at the Annual Meeting (September 11th to 16th, 1939)*, pp. 145–153.

full-fledged partner of poetry, its precious frame, equal in importance to the jewel for which it provides the setting.«<sup>38</sup>

Regardless, Einstein declares still something like a double triumph when he adds, more agreeably: »Music is the vehicle of poetry; it is its triumphal chariot.«<sup>39</sup> Among Einstein's select and rare references to earlier artistic periods, Giotto (and Cimabue) make the briefest of appearances in their typical historiographical position as the counterparts in the realm of painting and architecture to Dante in language and literature. It is not untypical for nineteenth-century approaches to Giotto and Dante to simply name them in a kind of rhetorical flourish to indicate how their stylistic shift from *maniera greca* to *maniera latina* in other arts compares to the ground-breaking, shattering impact of the »Mantovani.«<sup>40</sup> But given that Einstein in many other places shows a great interest in and sensibility for the visual parts of Italian artistic history, this remains a surprisingly vacuous and shallow note as it merely indicates dimensions of an (or rather, of *any*) epochal shift, and not the precise nature of the shift that would render this comparison more specific. Sadly for art historians, most of the group portraits of singers in oil paintings, frontispieces, and painted authors' portraits serve more as general historical documents and visual evidence rather than as elements in a discussion of resonances, interrelations, and echoes similar to Einstein's deeper exploration of the context of music and poetry (though he also includes Dosso Dossi's *Apollo and Daphne* and Sassoferrato's copy of Titian showing the music-centric *Three Ages of Man*, both in Rome in the collection of the Galleria Borghese).

Einstein is more precise with poetry than with the visual arts, declaring his own interdisciplinary ethics with an emphatic sequence of rhetorical questions: »Who could discuss Franz Schubert without knowing the German poetry written between 1750 and 1828? Who could write a history of the opera without knowing the history of the libretto? Yet these things have happened dozens of times.«<sup>41</sup>

38 *TIM*, p. 13; »Zur Zeit Dante's hatte die Musik der Dichtung noch gedient – Einheit von Dichtung und Musik bestand schon in diesen Zeiten nicht mehr: jetzt, um 1350, wird die Musik zum ebenbürtigen Schmuck der Dichtung, zu ihrer kostbaren Fassung, ebenso wertvoll wie der gefasste Edelstein selbst. Zum Teil ist die Dichtung bereits die Dienerin der Musik, etwa in den sogenannten Cacce, in denen die Beschreibung einer Jagd, eines belebten Naturvorgangs, einer Jahrmarkt-Szene dazu erfunden scheint, um die – uns heute bescheiden erscheinenden – Künste der Musik spielen zu lassen: zweier canonisch in mehr oder minder weitem Abstand sich folgenden Stimmen über einem stützenden instrumentalen »Bass« oder Tenor.«, *DIM*, p. 12.

39 *TIM*, p. 14.

40 »Im Allgemeinen aber geben italienische Musiker den Ton der »Mantuaner« Kunst an; die meisten sind Oberitaliener, aus Verona, Brescia, Padua, Venedig, Mailand, Vicenza und aus Mantua selber.« (*DIM*, p. 38).

41 See also *TIM*, p. vi; »Vor allem aber: die Geschichte einer Kunstgattung, in der Poesie und Musik sich zur Einheit verbinden, kann dargestellt nur werden auf Grund der Kenntnis von Musik und

In a different context, Einstein combines his thinking on visual approaches with his discussion of Dante (whose *Divine Comedy* has indeed been the subject of theatrical and filmic – and even ballet – reinterpretations over the past seven hundred years) via the idea of the *tableau vivant*: he considers the motivation of late sixteenth-century approaches by Luzzasco Luzzaschi, Giulio Renaldi, Giovanni Battista Mosto of Udine, Domenico Micheli of Bologna, Francesco Soriano, and Pietro Vinci as having turned »to Dante, not for Dante’s sake, but because his text furnished them a welcome opportunity for musical audacities«, for »experiments in expression of the chromatic or ›harmonic‹ sort.«<sup>42</sup> Further on, Einstein explains the image/sound problem in more detail: »What seemed important to the musicians was simply the piling up of expressive images of sound and fancy as pegs on which to hang their music.« No wonder, then, that the next remarkable piece is the 1586 Lodovico Balbi rendition of the description of Minos in Hell (*Inferno* V, 4) in a six-voiced composition – precisely, »a composing so neutral, so devoid of any tendency to ›painting‹, to chromatic extravagance [...], that one might think it intended merely as ground-color or background music for an intermezzo or *tableau vivant*. For in that case there was no need for ›painting‹.«<sup>43</sup>

As exciting as this passage is for the art historian, the follow-up comparison to Wagner’s double representation (both on stage and in the orchestra, as in the Alberich scenes of *Rheingold*<sup>44</sup>) makes another great leap across time, styles, and conditions or possibilities (even across media and production limits), but is unfortunately not explored further in all its spatial, architectural, and theatrical dimensions that extend between the interests of musicology and art history.<sup>45</sup> Likewise, Einstein’s short notes on Dante in the later musical panorama appear regrettably disconnected from the cosmic dimensions in Dante that relate to the

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Dichtung, von Dichtung und Musik. Wer könnte über Franz Schubert sprechen ohne Kenntnis der deutschen Dichtung zwischen 1750 und 1828; wer eine Geschichte der Oper schreiben ohne Kenntnis der Geschichte des Libretto’s! Und doch ist das dutzende Mal geschehen. Dieser Fehler hat hier vermieden werden sollen.« (*DIM*, p. VI).

42 *TLM*, p. 203; »Sie haben zu Dante gegriffen nicht um Dante’s willen, sondern weil der Text ihnen die willkommene textliche Unterlage bot für musikalische Wagnisse, für Ausdrucks-Experimente chromatischer, ›harmonischer‹ Art.« (*DIM*, p. 202).

43 »– eine Composition von so neutraler Haltung, so ohne Neigung zur ›Malerei‹, zu chromatischen Extravaganzen (nur mit besonderer Klangfarbe: drei Sopranen stehen drei tiefe Bässe gegenüber), dass man glauben möchte, sie habe lediglich als Untermalung oder Begleitmusik für ein Intermedium oder ›lebendes Bild‹ gedient. Denn dann war Malerei nicht nötig.« (*Ibid.*, p. 203).

44 »Ungleich Wagner, der etwa im ›Rheingold‹, in den Alberich-Szenen, die Dinge zweimal darstellt, auf der Bühne und im Orchester, pflegt das 16. Jahrhundert sie nur einmal zu sagen.« (*Ibid.*, p. 203).

45 See, by contrast, the art-historical reading of architecture built for music in Joseph Clarke, »Wagnerism Embodied«, *Log* 23 (2011), pp. 59–69. See also Joseph Clarke, *Echo’s Chambers. Architecture and the Idea of Acoustic Space*, Pittsburgh 2021.

music of the spheres – which is where we could probably make the best and most productive case for interdisciplinary work on Dante from the perspectives of musicology, art history, and studies in linguistics and literature.

Einstein does engage more subtly with the different temporalities of literary and musical trends associated with the Italian madrigal and indicates how these can run backwards, forwards, stop, or become ruptured or entirely detached, as intimated in the rather dramatic emphasis with which Einstein ends (with the exception of England's Elizabethan madrigalists) on the »seven seals« that separate later times and places from the organic way in which Dante's text and imagination organized themselves into the Dantesque madrigal tradition:<sup>46</sup>

»Compare with this the misapprehension with which the nineteenth century usually approached this music: the gesticulating and sputtering conductor urging on or holding in check two dozen singers, who sincerely thinks he has done justice to the peculiarity of the genre if he does without his baton. Add to this the giving of each part to from four to six persons, the dynamic exaggeration, the transfer of this delicate chamber music to murderous concert halls, its performance before a public innocent of the slightest knowledge of the relationship between text and music; and one will not be surprised that – excepting in England, where the devoted cultivation of the Elizabethan madrigalists has kept its stylistic tradition alive – the madrigal has remained to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a mystery, sealed with seven seals.«<sup>47</sup>

It is noteworthy that for Einstein, it is the subtlety of the *voci di camera* that makes for such a definite sealing: »The madrigal demands *voci di camera*, and only from

<sup>46</sup> TIM, p. 245.

<sup>47</sup> See *ibid.*; »Im Madrigal ruhen von Anfang an die Keime des Konzertierens. Das Singen im Chor hätte dem Gesellschafts-Ideal der Zeit als eine Ungehörigkeit aufs heftigste widersprochen; von den immer überwiegenden männlichen Stimmen steht jede für sich, der Bass, der Tenor, der Altist oder Falsettist, und alle huldigen der Dame, oder den Damen, wenn es zwei sind. Man erinnere sich des »Dialogo« Doni's: vier Jünglinge, und also vierstimmige Madrigale; im zweiten Teil sieben Cavaliere und eine Dame, und also die entsprechende achtstimmige Besetzung. Damit vergleiche man den Missverstand, mit dem das 19. Jahrhundert sich meist dieser Musik genähert hat: der fuchtelnde und fauchende Dirigent, der zwei Dutzend Sänger beschwört und im Zaum zu halten sucht, und »der Eigenart der Gattung« Rechnung zu tragen glaubt, wenn er auf den Taktstock verzichtet; die Besetzung jeder Stimme mit 4–6 Personen, das dynamische Übermaß, die Verpflanzung solch blütenhafter Kammerkunst in mörderische Konzert-Säle, vor ein Publikum, das von der Beziehung von Text und Musik nicht das Geringste mehr versteht ... Und man wundert sich nicht, dass – mit Ausnahme Englands, das dank der liebevollen Pflege der elisabethanischen Madrigalisten niemals ganz die Stil-Tradition solcher Musik verloren hat – das Madrigal dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert ein Geheimnis geblieben ist, siebenfach versiegelt.« (DIM, p. 246).

*voci di camera* could solo singing, that is, monody, develop successfully. Madrigals are to be sung softly, and the text is to be properly brought out. In the madrigal is implicit from the beginning the principle of concerted music-making.«<sup>48</sup>

Before Einstein goes on with Sannazaro, Ariosto, Tasso, and Guarini, his comparative approach to the reception of Dante and Petrarch in the musical tradition takes one more surprising turn: while these two authors, separated by a long generation (Dante Alighieri, 1265–1321; Francesco Petrarca, 1304–1374), are usually seen in terms of a certain »anxiety of influence«,<sup>49</sup> with Petrarch aspiring to match or surpass Dante’s skill and inspiration, Einstein casts them in »antithetical« terms (it is along this unexpected road that, eventually, Einstein arrives at his surprising comparison between Dante and Bach):<sup>50</sup>

»In the favor of sixteenth century composers, Dante is completely overshadowed by the later and lesser poet Petrarch, who is his very antithesis. [...] The great realistic mystic and mystic realist of the Middle Ages resists the spirit of the century with its formalism and conventionality. Yet the indestructible and uncanny power of attraction in the *Divine Comedy* never ceases to fascinate the representative spirits, even in the sixteenth century.«<sup>51</sup>

Einstein presents this development rather amusingly as the popularity contest that it probably was: »since the editio princeps of 1472 the editions of the *Divine Comedy* stand at least as one to six in comparison with those of Petrarch’s *Canzoniere*.«<sup>52</sup> However, in that adventurous likening of Dante to Bach, Einstein determines that

»Dante’s literary fate in the midst of an intellectual current so opposed to the spirit of his work may be aptly compared with the fate of Johann

48 TIM, p. 245; »Das Madrigal verlangt »voci di camera«, und nur aus solchen konnte sich der Solo-Gesang, die Monodie entwickeln. Man singt leise, und bringt das Wort zur Geltung. Im Madrigal ruhen von Anfang an die Keime des Konzertierens.« (DIM, p. 246).

49 For this concept, see Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence. A Theory of Poetry*, Oxford 1973. See also Bloom’s later alterations to his concept in idem, *The Anatomy of Influence. Literature as a Way of Life*, New Haven 2011, and idem, *Take Arms Against a Sea of Troubles. The Power of the Reader’s Mind over a Universe of Death*, New Haven 2020.

50 See TIM, p. 210.

51 Ibid.; »Dante ist in der Gunst der Componisten des 16. Jahrhunderts dem späteren und kleineren Dichter und Antipoden, Petrarca, völlig unterlegen. Nicht nur unterlegen: er kommt gegen diesen Rivalen überhaupt nicht in Betracht. Der grosse realistische Mystiker und mystische Realist des Mittelalters widersteht dem Geist des Jahrhunderts und seinem Formalismus und Conventionalismus. Die unzerstörbare und unheimliche Anziehungskraft der »Divina commedia« fesselt auch im 16. Jahrhundert immer noch und immer wieder die Geister.« (DIM, p. 200).

52 TIM, p. 210; »Ein äusserliches Zeichen dieser Anziehung ist die Tatsache, dass die »Divina commedia« es seit dem ersten Druck von 1472 doch wenigstens zu dem sechsten Teil all der Ausgaben gebracht hat, die der »Canzoniere« Petrarca’s erlebte.« (DIM, p. 200).

Sebastian Bach in the period of ›gallant‹ music: through all the changes of literary fashion he is upheld, until his hour strikes anew, by the secret respect of the masses and perhaps also by the understanding of a few men who are independent of their time.«<sup>53</sup>

The damning verdict then follows: »So far as we can determine, Dante's poetry was, to musicians, as good as dead until the last third of the century.«<sup>54</sup> There was no room for a happy matching of both traditions as, so Einstein's argument runs, »Palestrina chose a music little in harmony with Dante's aggressive words [*›Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro‹*].«<sup>55</sup> Einstein further pays attention to some of the stylistic breaks between Dante and Petrarch in pointing out Bembo's note (from *Prose della volgar lingua*, 1525): the »voci rozze e disonorate« (›those rough and unconventional phrases, of which Dante has been guilty in his urge to express things which cannot possibly be expressed in a pleasing manner.«).<sup>56</sup>

Einstein considers style and medium as factors in selecting appropriate parts from Dante's *Divine Comedy* for musical illustration, interpretation, or inspiration, and seems disappointed when imagining what could have been done with certain, neglected parts of Dante's poem, giving one fascinating example from the *Inferno* and three more obvious ones from the *Purgatorio*:

»This explains why the madrigal failed to make use of the hundreds of passages in the *Divine Comedy* for whose musical setting the part-song would have been an adequate medium: the description of Fortuna (*Inferno*, VII), the wonderful opening of the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*: »Era già l'ora che volge il disio / Ai naviganti ...;‹ the Pater noster (*Purg.*, XI), the description of the Terrestrial Paradise (*Purg.*, XXVIII); Dante's powerful maxims and apostrophes.«<sup>57</sup>

53 *TIM*, p. 210; »Man mag Dante's literarisches Schicksal innerhalb einer ihm nicht gemäßen geistigen Strömung etwa dem Schicksal Johann Sebastian Bach's in den Zeiten der ›galanten‹ Musik vergleichen; – durch allen Wechsel literarischer Mode-Strömungen hält ihn ein geheimer Respekt der Masse und vielleicht das Verständnis einzelner Unzeitgemässer lebendig, bis seine Zeit sich wieder erfüllt.« (*DIM*, p. 200 f.).

54 *TIM*, p. 210; »Für die Musiker war Dante, soweit wir es feststellen können, bis ins letzte Drittel des Jahrhunderts hinein so gut wie tot.« (*DIM*, p. 201).

55 See *TIM*, p. 202.

56 See *ibid.*; »So kommt es, dass das Madrigal sich die hundert Stellen der ›Divina commedia‹ hat entgehen lassen, für deren Composition der mehrstimmige Gesang das adäquate Mittel oder Organon gewesen wäre: die Schilderung Fortuna's (*Inferno*, VII); der wundersame Beginn des Canto 8 des ›Purgatorio‹: Era già l'ora che volge il disio / Ai naviganti ...; das Pater noster (*Purgatorio*, XI); die Schilderung des irdischen Paradieses (*Purgatorio*, XXVIII); Dante's mächtige Sentenzen und Apostrophen.« (*DIM*, p. 201 f.).

57 See *ibid.*

With his fine sense of humor, Einstein goes on to compare this list of lost opportunities to that of the realized and known, surviving compositions – not even a dozen pieces, in Montanari's *Primo libro delle Muse a tre voci* (1562), for the visually and emotionally rich first lines of the *Commedia*.<sup>58</sup> Nothing good came of this obvious choice: »The style is somewhat pedantic, in keeping with the small number of parts; for at this time, at the height of the madrigal's development, all composition for three voices has a somewhat pedagogic flavor.«<sup>59</sup>

Finally, giving credence to Einstein's utterly damning judgement of the »weak and basic« Montanari and the »uninspired« Balbi,<sup>60</sup> one must be relieved that Luca Marenzio focuses on Dante's *canzoni pietrose* instead in the opening of his 1599 book of madrigals for five voices. Einstein immediately brings in Vincenzo Galileo's setting of the first canzone, the text giving »Marenzio an excuse for all sorts of ›programmatic‹ audacities« and making Marenzio »the only legitimate Dante composer of the sixteenth century.« But overall, Einstein recognizes the historical importance of Dante despite such disappointments. Speaking more to historians, he registers the loss of material which, in itself, invalidates many of the generalized value judgments one must resort to for sketching a teachable, broad panorama around the few remaining objects. For his subject, Einstein finds this to be especially true when considering the unknown number of unknown artistic endeavours with an unmeasurable amount of genuine originality that left them almost necessarily without followers or imitators (thereby depriving the record of potential doubles or variations).<sup>61</sup> It is in this context that Einstein picks up a few more lukewarm leads in the archive:

»The name of Galilei reminds us that Dante stands at the beginning of monody. As Pietro de Bardi reports [...], the *lamento* of Count Ugolino [...] (*Inferno*, XXXIII), was set to music about 1570 by Vincenzo Galilei, for a tenor and a ›corpo di viole esattamente suonate.« It has not come down to us; nor did Galilei's choice find imitators.«<sup>62</sup>

58 For the visual potential of Dante's *Divine Comedy* as explored by visual artists across seven centuries, see the edited volumes by Matthew Collins and Luca Marcozzi, *Reading Dante with Images: A Visual Lectura Dantis*, Vol. 1, Turnhout 2021, Vol. 2 forthcoming (2025).

59 See *TIM*, p. 202; »Die früheste Composition findet sich im ›Primo libro delle Muse a tre voci‹ (1562) und stammt von Giovanni Battista Montanaro, Lehrer des Francesco Soriano, und wohl ein Römer, der die ersten Verse der ›Divina commedia‹ in Musik gesetzt hat – etwas lehrhaft der geringen Stimmen-Zahl entsprechend, denn Dreistimmigkeit hat in jener hohen Zeit des Madrigals immer den Beigeschmack des Pädagogischen.« (*DIM*, p. 202).

60 See *TIM*, p. 204.

61 See *ibid.*

62 See *ibid.*

So eventually, but only after having gazed down this rabbit hole and finding no more materials to work with, Einstein's disentanglement of the strands of response and reception leads the critic to a final, cool statement: »We are farther removed from Dante than ever before.«<sup>63</sup>

### **Berkeley, Lübeck, and the Idea of Freedom**

To finish with the real experience at the Bay, »in der völligen Muße und Zurückgezogenheit, die nur ein kulturneutrales Silicon-Valley bietet«,<sup>64</sup> on the Saturday prior to the conference, we went on a little intellectual pilgrimage in the memory of our long-lost Dante in his exile in El Cerrito – first to 509 Village Drive in El Cerrito, the house that Einstein moved into after an initial period in Berkeley, and that he described with such relief and gratitude in a letter to Nicolas Slonimsky of 21 January 1951:

»Es ist ein nördlicher Vorort von Berkeley von einigen zehntausend Einwohnern, erst halb bebaut und unfertig in einem anderen Sinn wie sonst so vieles in diesem gesegneten America [das ich, nebenbei, sehr liebe, und dem ich unendlich dankbar bin.] Vor uns liegt die Bay von Frisco in ihrer ganzen Ausdehnung, mit den beiden Brücken, und hinter uns ein Waldfriedhof, was ebenfalls sehr passend ist. Aber vorläufig schauen wir noch immer vorwärts.«<sup>65</sup>

Soon after this note, in 1952, Alfred Einstein suffered a second stroke. He passed away on 13 February 1952. The »Waldfriedhof« is the peaceful Sunset View Cemetery, where Alfred and his wife Hertha are resting in the Urn Garden (Fig. 10–12); we found them at the top of the hill, right next to the waterfall, under the shadow of a tree.

In conclusion, between El Cerrito and Berkeley, the concept of »Berkeley als geistige Lebensform« is as hard to grasp now as it would have been for Einstein, even given more time here at the University of California and in its surroundings. It poses a challenge because our idea of a »geistige Lebensform« stems from Thomas Mann's thin-lipped, yet (at its heart) welcoming Lübeck in North Germany – almost Denmark, almost England. Mann's famous 1926 speech celebrated the city's *700-Jahrfeier* – no less than seven centuries of local culture compressed into the small brick-and-timber city and her pride in her fierce freedom and in-

63 See *ibid.*

64 See the introduction to Wulf D. Rehder, *Der Deutsche Professor*, Frankfurt am Main 1998, p. 7.

65 Alfred Einstein to Nicolas Slonimsky, 21.01.1951, US-BEm, Archives Einstein Coll. 1, Box 7, Folder 851.



Fig. 10: El Cerrito's *Waldfriedhof*: Einstein's grave can be found on top of the hill, next to the waterfall



Fig. 11: The position of Einstein's urn grave in 2022



Fig. 12: The grave of Alfred Einstein and his wife Hertha on El Cerrito's *Waldfriedhof*

dependence.<sup>66</sup> Lübeck is provincial compared to Hamburg or Munich, invisible compared to the vast extension of America. But right there, in those values and ideals of freedom and independence, we can also find again Einstein's *Amerika*. His hopes, according to Gehring, were never just about his personal situation, but also about America as »Exil für die Kunst«, as »Zufluchtsort für die Freiheit des Geistes« – and such high hopes are inextricably linked with the idea of freedom in America.<sup>67</sup> The 1960s free speech movement at Berkeley, and the fate of free speech and its struggles in recent years, are likely to have kept someone with Einstein's commitment to truth all but occupied, concerned, dedicated to communication, today more likely to be writing not letters, but emails and blogs. The impetus is clear and could not be more important, as, in 1939, Alfred Einstein ended his essay »Krieg, Musik, Nationalismus und Toleranz« with the following warning and declaration of love for his America, in the hope of finding in it some version of a free and diverse country that would combine meritocracy and unbiased excellence:

66 »Rede gehalten am 5. Juni 1926 im Stadttheater zu Lübeck aus Anlass der 700-Jahrfeier der freien und Hansestadt Lübeck.« See Thomas Mann, *Lübeck als geistige Lebensform*, Lübeck 1926.

67 See Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 120.

»So lange dieser Krieg, ein Krieg um die Freiheit des Geistes, dauert, so lange ist Amerika der einzige Zufluchtsort dieser Freiheit. [...] Amerika hat eine herrliche Chance und eine herrliche Verpflichtung; nicht nur gute amerikanische Musik zu produzieren, sondern gute Musik zu pflegen, woher sie auch kommen möge. Es hat die herrliche Chance und Verpflichtung der Toleranz. Und Toleranz in Dingen der Kunst hat immer ihre ewige Frucht getragen.«<sup>68</sup>

Granted, it is a long way from Germany to California: the idea of the genius of place in Mann's Lübeck was, long before exile became the »new normal« for the Manns and the Einsteins, as intimately narrow in extension as the surroundings of an old patriarchal house. What, then, does the concept come to mean when displaced people are trying to put down roots elsewhere, to gather the fragments and pieces of the puzzle, to establish relationships across time and space, and to create a new archive at the end of the world, as Alfred Einstein's trusted women did for him?

One productive view to take of this, and one that the theoretical physicist Albert Einstein would have encouraged, is that even the Lübeck of the Buddenbrooks is but a blink of the eye in the actual depth of history and the vast extension of both the cosmos and the human imagination. Looking, for instance, at the stunning display of changing landscapes over not decades and centuries, but millennia in the anthropological Moesgaard Museum in Aarhus, Denmark, one can consider and appreciate human existence and civilization in entirely different dimensions beyond our familiar categories, and that is in itself a liberating experience. Seen over millennia, neither the distance between Dante and Einstein, nor that between Munich and Berkeley seems to be of any relevance. What emerges are the connecting elements in nature, in physics, in the passage of time, and in human experience that, then, only in a further step on the surface of these interconnected depths, brilliantly differentiates itself into so many fine-grained expressions, sciences, arts, and communications: in a letter from Einstein to Einstein, in the splitting of an atom, in the recuperation of friendship and relationships after a war, and in the unwavering belief that any of this matters, that anything in the world can be healed. So maybe a temporary *genius loci* emerges from all those fragments and their relationships, and it can emerge far away from where

68 See Alfred Einstein, *Nationale und universale Musik*, Zurich 1958, p. 264. See also Alfred Einstein: »War, Nationalism, Tolerance«, *Modern Music* 17 (1940–1941), pp. 3–9. In »Krieg, Musik, Nationalismus, und Toleranz«, Einstein had underscored: »Der schlimmste Feind der Freiheit, Unabhängigkeit, Wahrheit in der Kunst – und in der Wissenschaft – ist der Nationalismus.« See also Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 143.

home used to be. Or so it was for the Buddenbrooks, the Manns, and the Einsteins, exchanging and preserving dynamics between people in their documents, things, objects, and archives, papers in nine archival boxes with 1091 folders in Collection 1, and then all those random *Sonderdrucke*, clippings, scrapbooks and diaries<sup>69</sup> in Berkeley's Einstein Collection Part 2 of »memorabilia« donated by Hertha and Eva only much later, in 1960, 1967, and 1970. But being random does not equal being unnecessary or superfluous: all this needed to be gathered and to come together so that we have many avenues to take with our students when we meet around a text from 1300 or a piece of music from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Alfred Einstein, whom I had introduced for the Munich conference paper as »Dante in El Cerrito«, Einstein's exile, and his eventual arrival in the Bay Area, resonated in many ways with the Dante year of 2021. During that year, I had an opportunity to highlight Einstein's work in Italian Renaissance musicology in my Dante lectures on the airwaves around our remote lockdown campus, looking from Dwinelle Hall or from the balcony on the fourth floor of Doe Library down towards the Golden Gate (figs. 13–14). The distance during that time had an unwelcome resonance with the multiple exiles for my displaced international students in lockdown under COVID, three times relevant. It was local, global, and psychological in the understanding of Dante's anxiety, pain, fear, and near-despair in the dark forest of the First Canto of the *Inferno*, under the impression of a global pandemic, the breaking apart of social cohesion and community, and heretofore unimaginable environmental catastrophes such as multiple life-threatening fires and suffocating wildfire smoke that swallowed the light of the sun, moon, and stars for weeks. More positively and resiliently, it was about surviving the brutal isolation through it all, like bamboo growing stronger at the fractured nodes. And then, even more strongly, the moments of breaking through to the stars, the sky, many times by means of the language of music and the power of the word with which we connect through time and space. For this ultimate creative act, Dante's elaborate work offers anchors throughout time, many artistic traditions, and multiple channels of communication.<sup>70</sup> We meet where we put all the scattered pieces of the puzzle back together in the act of reading, listening, singing, and remembering (Fig. 15–17).

69 See Gehring, *Alfred Einstein*, p. 15.

70 See also Henrike Christiane Lange and Tom McLeish, »Conclusion: The Moon and the Sun in the Afternoon«, *Eclipse and Revelation: Total Solar Eclipses in Science, History, Literature, and the Arts*, ed. eadem, Oxford 2024, pp. 326–337: p. 331 f.



Fig. 13: Berkeley Campus, seen from Doe Library



Fig. 14: View of the Golden Gate Bridge from the Berkeley Campus with Dwinelle Hall



Fig. 15: Berkeley before the lockdown (2018): Undergraduate students from Celli@Berkeley, public performance between Sather Gate (1913), Wheeler Hall (1917), and the Campanile (1914)



Fig. 16: Berkeley before the lockdown (2019): An anonymous pianist playing the public piano that was installed on Sproul Plaza between circa 2014 and 2020, also known as »Sproul Piano« (see <https://dangeng.github.io/blog/2018/08/05/berkeley-piano/>)



Fig. 17: Caffè Strada at the corner of Bancroft Way and College Avenue in Berkeley, California

## 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                                                                                                                              |

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