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STRICT AND FREE REVERSED: THE LAW OF COUNTERPOINT IN KOCH'S *MUSIKALISCHES LEXIKON* AND MOZART'S *ZAUBERFLÖTE*

KEITH CHAPIN

ABSTRACT

In his article 'Contrapunkt' in the Musikalisches Lexikon *(1802) Heinrich Christoph Koch described the intense, suspension-filled and motivically saturated style that he and his contemporaries knew from the music of J. S. Bach in a distinctly odd manner. To show how a composer might write such music, he took a relatively consonant passage in the 'free' style, as he called it, and then ornamented it to create a 'strict' appearance. By generating the strict from the free style, Koch unconsciously registered the eighteenth-century shift from intervallic counterpoint towards chordal harmony. But as he described the strict style in this and other articles in the dictionary, Koch also intimated that the 'strict' style meant something quite different to him than it had to theorists of preceding generations. No longer an icon of immutable law and harmony, it seemed bizarre and dissonant, knocked from its theoretical, pedagogical and symbolic pride of place. This article first examines the theoretical issues of pedagogy and style that Koch wrestled with as he sought to make the traditional terminology of the strict style fit the compositional environment of his time, then analyses the symbolic implications of Koch's notion of the strict style. Finally, it suggests how the symbolism of the strict style, as implied by Koch, might be manifested in the chorale fantasy sung by Two Armed Men in Schikaneder and Mozart's* Die Zauberflöte. *The law of the Temple of Wisdom is not immutable, but rather represents the law of the old order, commanding respect but admitting change.*

In his article on 'Contrapunkt' in the *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1802 Heinrich Christoph Koch described the strict style or *strenge Schreibart*. The chief characteristics of the bound or fugal style (*gebundene* or *fugenartige Schreibart*), as he also called it, were the frequent use and strict treatment of dissonance, more specifically of dissonance arising through suspension and resolving properly. To elucidate the discussion, he showed how one might produce a short passage in the strict style (Figure 1). His terminology, however, clashed oddly with his method. The point of departure was a cantus firmus set to a bass in the free style, as he explicitly called it. 'In the following passage a bass in the unbound or free style is set to a cantus firmus. The bass is set up such that notes falling on the off-beats are all consonances, namely all thirds.'[1] From this point of departure he progressively generated the strict style by adding suspensions and finally ornaments. In other words, Koch used the 'free style' as origin for the 'strict', reversing the traditional pedagogical priority of the 'strict' over the 'free'. In practice, Koch did not act differently from traditional pedagogues of counterpoint – he used a

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1 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: Hermann, 1802; facsimile edition, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), columns 384–385. Further references to the *Musikalisches Lexikon* will be given in parentheses in the text.

progression of consonant intervals to generate an ornate texture based on the controlled use of dissonance – yet his terminology remains odd. While it certainly reflects the centrality of a chordal 'free style' (oriented around tonic, subdominant and dominant) to the compositional pedagogy of his time, it also suggests that the symbolic import of both 'free' and 'strict' had changed, that if the 'strict style' was still associated with law and order, it had lost some of its former weight and aura.[2] This shift in symbolic significance has a parallel in Mozart's *Zauberflöte*, specifically in the scene of the Two Armed Men. The counterpoint signifies law, but not immutable law. It suggests a templar constitution amenable to modernization.

Figure 1 Derivation of the strict from the free style in Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802). Used by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel

To explain and interpret Koch's curious approach to the strict style in his *Musikalisches Lexikon*, this article will first review the complex historical and theoretical reasons for Koch's reversal of terms, then

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2 The word 'symbolic' here designates the range of associations (each with its own historical, political and social foundations) that adhere to various musical techniques and practices. Such symbolic associations are 'ideological' through and through, though this latter word is problematic. It conjures up the impression that such associations are somehow false, or that they can be tossed aside to arrive at the 'real' meaning of the strict style.

investigate the aesthetic ideals that Koch invoked as he struggled to make the traditional terminology fit the new compositional practices,[3] and finally suggest how the symbolic significance of the strict style might affect interpretations of Schikaneder and Mozart's singspiel. If Koch used the word 'strict' primarily to address technical issues of dissonance treatment, he could not avoid invoking ideas about human agency, natural constraint and, at the broadest level, time and history.[4]

1 THE STRICT STYLE IN A REGIME OF GALANT HARMONY

Koch's reversal of terms was primarily a reflexive move, a response to the shift in compositional technique that had occurred over the course of the eighteenth century. As musicians reoriented their technique away from intervallic counterpoint and towards fundamental bass and chordal harmony, theorists often tried to describe the new compositional situation using traditional or hallowed terminology.[5] Koch continued to use the opposition between free and strict styles, even though their sense had changed and the sensibility that had given rise to the terms had been lost.

It was Koch's attempt to generate the foundations of 'simple counterpoint' (that is, non-invertible counterpoint, or essentially what is known today as chordal harmony) from harmonic principles that made his life as a lexicographer difficult. He took as his point of origin not intervals, but rather three 'essential' major chords. Despite the two-voice texture, his example of a primordial counterpoint makes the priority of tonic, subdominant and dominant clear (Figure 2); the G in the final bar appears to be a printer's error, though it does not appear in the list of errata.[6] He thereby followed a well-worn path in eighteenth-century pedagogical theory, scouted by Jean-Philippe Rameau and Johann Friedrich Daube, among others.[7] As intuitive as Koch's starting-point was, however, it posed a terminological problem. Such simple chord progressions had long been the province of the galant or free style, and Koch took the association for granted. Thus an approach to composition that had once been a 'free' relaxation of the rules became the basis for the regulated combination of notes. The approach flew in the face of the traditional priority given to dissonance control and voice leading in compositional pedagogy, a priority to which 'strict' and 'free' owed their substance and their origin. While the practice of dissonance regulation and smooth voice leading originated with the development of polyphony in the ninth century, the two terms grew out of the codification of intervallic counterpoint that had occurred during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Girolamo Diruta's distinction between *contrapunto osservato* and *commune* in the *Seconda parte del Transilvano* (1609) was an ancestor to Koch's strict and free styles.[8] Although Koch followed a hallowed

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3 While Koch faced the same difficulties in the *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (1782–1793), they come to the fore in the *Musikalisches Lexikon* because he there addressed a broader range of aesthetic issues. The dictionary will be the focus in what follows, though passages from the *Versuch* will make their appearance where appropriate.

4 On Koch's intellectual world see Nancy Kovaleff Baker, 'The Aesthetic Theories of Heinrich Christoph Koch', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 8/2 (1977), 183–209, and 'Introduction', in *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch*, ed. Baker and Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 111–119.

5 On the move towards chordal harmony see Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 96–157.

6 He identifies tonic, subdominant and dominant as 'essential' chords because they are major triads in the major mode, in contrast to the 'accidental' minor triads (the supertonic, mediant and submediant). He ignores the minor mode for theoretical reasons, and he does not seem overly concerned with the sequence of the chords. Rameau would not have allowed the subdominant to follow the dominant in this fashion.

7 Johann Friedrich Daube, *General-Bass in drey Accorden* (Leipzig: J. B. Andrä, 1756). On Daube's theories on three chords see Lester, *Compositional Theory*, 200–204, and Susan P. Snook-Luther, 'Introduction', in *The Musical Dilettante: A Treatise on Composition by J. F. Daube* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 9–10.

8 Girolamo Diruta, *Seconda parte del Transilvano*, ed. Edward J. Soehnlen and Murray C. Bradshaw (Venice, 1609; facsimile edition, Buren: Knuf, 1983), 15–16. On the origins of this distinction see Claude V. Palisca and Werner

pedagogical practice – students would begin with simple consonances and gradually introduce dissonances – he transformed the relationship between strict and free styles.

Figure 2 Simple counterpoint utilizing the three 'essential' chords in Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802). Used by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel

The shift towards chordal harmony produced more than strange terms, however, for it skewed the technical characteristics of the strict style away from the simple regulation of dissonance. From his humble exercises in three-chord progressions, Koch proceeded in his elaborations on 'simple counterpoint' first to discuss the ins and outs of chord progression (up to the stage of simple modulations) and then to demonstrate how a student might elaborate a two-voice counterpoint, applying what is recognizable as a species approach to the pedagogy of the galant style. The student begins with a note-against-note 'equal counterpoint' (*gleicher Contrapunkt*) to a cantus firmus, proceeds to the various rhythmic activations of 'unequal counterpoint' (*ungleicher Contrapunkt*) and finally ends with the florid 'mixed counterpoint' (*vermischter Contrapunkt*). Koch's examples, however, incorporate arpeggios and dissonance treatment characteristic of chordal harmony and resemble no standard species exercise (Figure 3). Galant features include the leaps that emphasize the triadic harmony and the unequal fifths moving to the implied dominant seventh in the second bar (c–g² to B–f²), as well as the secondary half-diminished seventh chord that tonicizes the imperfect cadence. As Koch was well aware, such passages were hardly examples of a strict style.

Figure 3 Florid counterpoint in Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802). Used by kind permission of Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel

Koch distinguishes the strict style from these exercises in simple counterpoint in a rather slippery fashion. He first notes that any passage that sets multiple notes to the cantus firmus (in other words, passages that may incorporate dissonances) can be treated in a style that is 'quite noticeably different' from that of his examples. From there, his verbal sidesteps are fascinating to trace.

> Sobald zu jeder Note des festen Gesanges mehr als eine Note gesetzt wird, sobald kann dieses auch in einer Schreibart geschehen, die von derjenigen, die in diesen Beyspielen herrscht, sehr merklich verschieden ist, und die ihre Eigenheiten hauptsächlich durch den öftern und strengern Gebrauch der Dissonanzen erhält. Wenn man z. B. die in den Nachschlag fallenden Noten so einrichtet, daß sie nicht allein gegen die Noten des festen Gesanges consoniren, sondern auch, wenn sie bis zum

Krützfeld, 'Kontrapunkt', in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, revised edition, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter and Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994–), Sachteil 5, 611–616.

folgenden Anschlage liegen bleiben, eine Dissonanz machen, die in dem wieder darauf folgenden Nachschlage aufgelöset werden kann, oder mit andern Worten, wenn man die Noten die eine Stufe abwärts gehen, auf dem folgenden Grundtone aufhält, so entstehet, wenn alle diese aufge-haltenen Noten gebunden erscheinen, diejenige Setzart, die man den *strengen Styl*, oder auch die *gebundene* oder *fugenartige Schreibart* nennet. [columns 383–384]

As soon as one sets more than one note to each note of the cantus firmus, then one can write in a style that is quite noticeably different from that which is found in these examples. It derives its characteristics primarily from the more frequent and the stricter use of dissonance. For example, when one sets up the notes that fall on the weak beats such that they not only form consonances with the notes of the cantus firmus but also create dissonances when held over to the following downbeat, and when these dissonances can be resolved on the following weak beats, or, in other words, when one takes all those notes that move downward by step and suspends them into the following note of the cantus firmus, then, so long as these notes appear bound to each other, the style arises that one calls the *strict* style, or also the *bound* or *fugal* style.

After his general remark about the strict use of dissonance Koch first introduces the suspension with a laconic 'for example' (*z. B.*), as if merely to exemplify strict dissonance treatment. However, as the paragraph proceeds, the suspension quickly attains priority over other forms of dissonance. It is a priority that the suspension had never enjoyed in any earlier form of the strict style – neither in Renaissance vocal polyphony nor in its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century imitations and offshoots. Finally, by the end of the paragraph, Koch equates the 'strict style' (*strenge Schreibart*) with the 'bound or fugal style' (*gebundene oder fugenartige Schreibart*), adding fugue to the essence of the strict style (column 384). Thus 'strict style' seems at one point to refer to strict dissonance treatment generally, and thus to a traditional notion of the strict style, but in the end is linked firmly to the suspension – normally found in fourth-species counterpoint – and, more surprisingly still, to fugue. This was no momentary mishap of the pen, for Koch gave the suspension a similar priority in his instruction on the strict style in the *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (1782–1793). All its examples of the strict style give prominent place to the syncopation, and, in passages of three or more voices, to fugal procedures.[9] Indeed, Koch could hardly do otherwise. In a chordal regime the suspension became an almost necessary marker of the strict style.[10]

The definition of a single style as strict, bound and fugal adds further to the confusion surrounding it. By linking the suspension and fugal technique so intimately, Koch extended the 'strictness' of the strict style to technical procedures not necessarily associated with it. He linked it not just to dissonance treatment, but also to issues of thematic economy and periodic phrase structure. At one point in the *Lexikon* he defined this strictness purely negatively, noting that in the strict style 'the melodic parts cannot be so loosely concatenated' ('Strenge Schreibart', columns 1447–1448). Galant phrases, no matter how well articulated, flowed too easily from one to the next. In general, however, he associated such strictness with the monothematic and polyphonic textures of the keyboard fugue. If he implied this link when he treated the adjectives 'strict', 'fugal' and 'bound' as synonyms in the passage just quoted, he specified it with greater precision in the article 'Styl, Schreibart'. There he noted that the strictness was partly achieved through the suspension and 'partly through the stricter maintenance of the main theme and the figuration that appears in it'. As he went on to explain, 'Because only the main theme of the piece is developed and dismembered in the strict style, one dispenses with the concatenation of those melodic parts that stand in a more distant

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9 Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Adam Friedrich Böhme, 1782–1793), volume 1, 306–308, 346 and 365.

10 Rudolf Stephan once noted that the strict style in Moritz Hauptmann's account turned into a practice and theory of suspensions. Koch's approach makes clear that the problem existed already in the eighteenth century. See Rudolf Stephan, 'Über Mendelssohns Kontrapunkt', in *Das Problem Mendelssohn*, ed. Carl Dahlhaus (Regensburg: Bosse, 1974), 203–204.

relationship with each other and that are normally composed of different types of figuration' (column 1452). Thus, in Koch's formulations, the strict style was strict both in the sense that it controlled dissonances and also in the sense that it regulated the generation and multiplication of thematic ideas.

Once again, Koch acted with a good eye and ear for contemporaneous compositional practices and without revolutionary intent. It was not a new practice that he described, but rather a new way to think about the practice. When Koch equated strict and fugal styles, he paid tribute to the oft-noted prominence of J. S. Bach's fugues in late eighteenth-century north German theory.[11] While Koch did cite fugues from Carl Heinrich Graun's *Der Tod Jesu* at points in the *Lexikon* – works more in tune with his galant tastes – he tended to fit his presentation of both fugue and the strict style to the model of Bach's keyboard fugues. Bach's influence can be felt, first, in the emphasis on the double fugue over fugues without a fixed countersubject and, second, in the privilege given to thematically saturated textures (characteristic of keyboard fugues) at the expense, say, of fugues characterized by an alternation of fugal entries with homophonic choral exultations (found in many of Handel's and Graun's oratorio choruses). Despite the nod towards Leipzig, Koch probably had no great personal stake in Bach. By and large he regurgitated the theoretical and aesthetic remarks on the fugue and the strict style from Johann Nikolaus Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788), the 'metaphysical' history of which culminates with Bach, and from Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge* (1752–1753), which takes the *Kunst der Fuge* as the highest model of fugal art. Koch referred directly to both texts to explain the principles of double counterpoint, fugue and the strict style to his readers (columns 611–614).

Yet the prominence of Bach's fugues may have contributed to the confusion involved in Koch's terminology, even as it also gave his dictionary relevance to the incipient cult of Bach. The problem is this. While theorists had always thought of fugue as the final flower of contrapuntal technique, fugue is not essential to most conceptions of the strict style, the essence of which is the control of dissonance and smooth part-writing. Johann Sebastian Bach's four-voice chorales, for instance, are certainly examples of a strict style, yet they do not use fugal procedures. The stumbling-block lies in Koch's tendency to confuse style and technique, to derive a vision of how a certain type of music should be fashioned (its style) from the necessary components of a composer's training (a matter of technique). In the *Kunst des reinen Satzes* (1771–1779) Johann Philipp Kirnberger treated invertible counterpoint and fugue as essential parts of the art of good composition. He was neither the first nor the last to do so. Yet Kirnberger sought to instruct his readers in the craft of composition, not to describe the necessary features of a given style of music. Whereas fugue was essential to composers who wanted to develop their own personal skills to the fullest extent, it was not essential to strict composition (*reiner Satz*) per se.[12] Thus Koch expanded the concept of the strict style beyond technical matters and pedagogical first foundations. It becomes a repository for all approaches to composition that set limits on the composer's freedom and fantasy. I will return to this tension between freedom and constraint later, but for now it is simply important to note that the adjective 'strict' functioned at both a technical and a symbolic level. As well as describing the limits on the use of dissonance that had always been the basis of a composer's training, it could also set ideas in motion that went far beyond pedagogy and technique.

The symbolic level of 'strict' can best be seen in the conceptual pair bound/unbound (*gebunden/ ungebunden*), which Koch tended to conflate with the pairs strict/free and galant/fugal. In their various

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11 See especially Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musiktheorie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Erster Teil: Grundzüge einer Systematik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 170–174, and Carl Dahlhaus, 'Bach und die Idee des Kontrapunkts', *Musica* 39/4 (1985), 350–352; Michael Heinemann, 'Paradigma Fuge: Bach und das Erbe des Kontrapunkts', in *Bach und die Nachwelt. Band 1: 1750–1850*, ed. Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (Laaber: Laaber, 1997), 112–129; Thomas Christensen, 'Bach among the Theorists', in *Bach Perspectives* 3: *Creative Responses to Bach from Mozart to Hindemith*, ed. Michael Marissen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 23–46.

12 As Dahlhaus noted in another context, the rising status of fugal techniques was linked to the development of instrumental music and was not an essential part of strict polyphony. Dahlhaus, *Musiktheorie im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, Erster Teil*, 172–173.

translations, 'bound' and 'unbound' acted as chameleons in the history of contrapuntal theory, designating a variety of technical phenomena depending on the theorist's concerns. As Koch made clear in the respective articles, the 'Bindung [or] Ligatura' was a suspension, the 'Bindungszeichen' a slur (columns 253–257). Although his theory is internally consistent in its equating of the suspension and the strict style under the rubric of the 'bound', it is likely that Koch consciously or unconsciously built on an august tradition of things 'bound'. 'Bound' hearkened back to Zarlino's distinction between *fuga legata* and *sciolta* (or *imitatione legata* and *sciolta*) – strict and free fugue or imitation. Zarlino, however, had meant something quite different from 'ligature' by the term 'legata', despite the cognate similarity of the two words. A *fuga legata* was a canon: the second voice was 'bound' to follow the first. A *fuga sciolta*, on the other hand, allowed the composer to break away from the cantus firmus or subject and into free counterpoint.[13] Zarlino's free fugues and imitations would both fall into the tradition of the strict style as Koch knew it. Other theorists used the term 'bound' in still other senses. Athanasius Kircher differentiated the *stylus legatus* (bound style) and the *stylus solutus* (free style) in terms of their use or avoidance of a chant cantus firmus, explicitly defining both as subdivisions of the *stylus ecclesiasticus*.[14] Johann Mattheson used *Bindung* to refer to the suspension, as did Koch, but when he described the 'gebundener, einstimmiger, und eigentlich-sogenannten Kirchen-Styl' (bound, monophonic and properly named church style), he derived the word *Bindung* from another province of musical notation, medieval ligatures.[15] Mattheson's bound style was monophonic, without metre and leagues away from Koch's concept of the style. In other words, 'bound' and 'unbound' could refer to any number of technical or notational features, and, at least by the eighteenth century, their general importance lay more in the symbolic implications of order and control than in their technical prescriptions.

In sum, Koch placed the strict style in a theoretical context oriented towards functional harmony, and as he did so he supplemented the traditional technical core of strict composition (dissonance control) with two other technical characteristics, the suspension and the fugal development of a single theme. Each technical issue could nominally be associated with one side in a series of binaries – dissonance control with the dichotomy strict/free, suspension with bound/unbound and thematic unity with fugal/galant – and each one is important to Koch for theoretical and historical reasons linked to the primacy of the galant style in compositional practice and the keyboard fugue in compositional theory. However, because he treated these different technical characteristics as equal features of the 'strict' style, the term 'strict' extended beyond the technical specificity of dissonance treatment and functioned powerfully at a symbolic level. Strictness implied control in general, no matter what the technical parameter.

2 THE SYMBOLISM OF THE STRICT STYLE

Words like 'strict' and 'free' have a symbolic significance in any age. However, as theorists attempted to deal with new compositional procedures using traditional terminology, they relied on the symbolic content of the terms to a far greater extent than before. In other words, Koch's terminological revisions were symptomatic of his time. Marpurg, for example, also worked creatively with technical terms in the *Abhandlung von der Fuge*. The striking polemics and politics of the Berlin theorist deserve a brief look here, both to demonstrate the extent to which old terms attained new meanings and to show the high stakes involved in things 'strict'. Marpurg relied on the same symbolic resonance of the strict/free dichotomy when he characterized Bach's fugues as strict and Handel's as free, even though both Bach's and Handel's fugues would be considered 'free fugues' in Zarlino's terms. Although Marpurg did give his own technical foundation to the strict/free

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13 See James Haar, *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul E. Corneilson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 121–148.

14 Erich Katz, 'Die musikalischen Stilbegriffe des 17. Jahrhunderts' (PhD dissertation, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, 1926), 43.

15 Johann Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister: Neusatz des Textes und der Noten*, ed. Friederike Ramm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 73 and 302. Page numbers refer to the original edition of 1739.

dichotomy – the strict fugue maintains its theme throughout the work without pause, he argued – he gave the distinction a qualitative and even nationalistic dimension when he placed the local hero over the internationally famous expatriate. In Marpurg's book, only strict fugues (monothematic fugues with a dense motivic saturation of the episodes, such as Bach achieved in the *Wohltemperiertes Clavier* or the *Kunst der Fuge*) deserved the title 'fugue of art' (*Kunstfuge*) or 'master fugue' (*Meisterfuge*).[16] The term *Kunstfuge* is to some extent understandable, if Marpurg simply meant by that the technical skill required by those working with canonic artifices. But Marpurg courted logical error and lunged toward the symbolism of the 'strict' when he assumed that motivic density necessarily implied mastery and qualitative excellence. It is all too easy to reply that Handel's choral fugues and Bach's fugues in the solo violin sonatas stand next to Bach's keyboard fugues in quality, though continuous and constant motivic saturation was not necessary or, indeed, possible. Koch may have been less inclined to overt stances on the repertory around him than Marpurg was, and as the product of a later generation he was certainly more open to the galant style, but he too approached the strict style at both technical and symbolic levels.

What did the strict style symbolize for Koch? While he drew frequently on Marpurg and Forkel, he was not of their cast and did not often make pronouncements with their exuberance. His thoughts on the strict style emerge best from the subtleties of his theoretical presentation of technique. There is no question that Koch did recognize that style was more than a technical matter. Although, as he noted in his article 'Styl, Schreibart', music pedagogues could characterize the style of a work 'with respect to differences in the treatment of the artistic material, or the type of tonal connections through which the feelings are expressed' (column 1451), such technical aspects of a style could only be the means to an end. The purpose of music was to arouse feelings. Yet as he moved from the technical concept of style (strict/free or bound/unbound) to aesthetic issues, he again fitted traditional terminology to a changed compositional environment, and in the process added to the resonance of the strict style.

When he moved on to the aesthetic issues of style – the feelings to be expressed – Koch actually elided three different concepts of style, at times with cavalier concern for logical connection: expression (feelings), function (church/chamber/theatre) and genre (fugue, motet, overture, sonata, concerto and so forth).[17] As he wrote, style can be classified 'with respect to the feelings that are expressed, and here three main types have been set and designated with the names *church*, *chamber* and *theatre style*' (column 1451). But expression (feelings) and function (church, chamber and theatre) are two different issues. Koch conflated them, even though he should have known better. After all, when he dismissed a further concept of style (the rhetorical distinction between high, middle and low), he actually quoted Forkel to the effect that one should not reduce church music to a single stylistic level (column 1455). Although Forkel, who borrowed his point from Mattheson without acknowledgment, critiqued the confusion of functional and rhetorical concepts of style (the church style was not necessarily the high style), the logic applies equally to Koch's conflation of functional and expressive criteria.[18] At least in this article, Koch took it as self-evident that the strict style was

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16 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge nach den Grundsätzen und Exempeln der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister entworfen*, ed. Michael Heinemann, 2 vols (Berlin: Halde und Spener, 1753; facsimile edition, Laaber: Laaber, 2004), volume 1, 19–20. It would seem that Marpurg had keyboard fugues in mind when he made this distinction. In the examples to the *Abhandlung* Marpurg includes both keyboard and vocal fugues from Bach, but only examples of keyboard fugues from Handel (the Fugues in A, B and C minor from the *Six Fugues or Voluntarys*, Op. 3, and the Allegro from the Suite in F sharp minor).

17 His categories are not complete. He does not even mention the concept of national style (French/Italian), probably because it had lost the centrality it had possessed in early eighteenth-century debates on opera. Nor does he reflect on the concept of personal style, which looms large in Sulzer's article on the subject in the *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*.

18 Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, 70. For the background of the polemics between Mattheson and Scheibe on matters of style, and for thought on style in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century generally, see Siegfried Kross, 'Mattheson und Gottsched', in *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. George J. Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 327–344, and Claude Palisca, 'The Genesis of Mattheson's Style

serious, proper to the church and included primarily canons, fugues, fugued choruses in motets and fugued chorales. But in the article on 'Kirchenmusik' he permitted a greater expressive range to composers of church music, and by implication demonstrated that he himself had too readily conflated strict, church and serious styles. There he noted the recent introduction of the galant style into the church, implicitly approving of the trend by refusing to condemn it. While he noted it as a novelty, he did not mind its presence one whit (columns 832–833).

It is important to note the fluid movement in Koch's discussions of technical (strict, bound and fugal) and other principles of style (function and expression), not in schoolmasterly fashion to reprimand Koch for bad logic, but rather because such logical inconsistencies had an effect on how musicians talked about and understood the styles that they tried to define. Even as it made the precise identity of styles unclear, the fuzzy use of terms increased their symbolic potency. In other words, because technical, functional, expressive, generic and often rhetorical criteria associated freely in a single stylistic category, the associations of each criterion contributed to the overall resonance and suggestiveness of the style. The term 'strict style' called forth a type of thinking that worked by means of associations, that flew on the wings of inspiration and that did not respect the bounds of logic. It operated as a symbol, generating enthusiastic reflection in those who recognized it. Of course, even when terms are used with technical precision, they can still resonate with symbolic significance. But it is when words are used imprecisely that their significance expands exponentially. Thus, the cult of counterpoint grew in the eighteenth century as musicians became less and less clear as to the concrete technical procedures that constituted it. The point is philosophical, dealing as it does with the modalities of human thought and the use of language, but it is one of essential importance if one is to understand the aura that surrounded the strict style.

The conflation of stylistic categories was not new. At least since the development of opera in the early seventeenth century musicians had conflated technical and functional concepts of style, linking free dissonance treatment with the theatre and conservative approaches to harmony with the church. However, the symbolic import of the strict style changed decidedly in Koch's presentation. To Koch, the strict style was not only austere and grave, as it had been for many theorists before him, but it was also dissonant and knotty, not simple and harmonious.

Koch arrived at this statement – strange in its symbolism if empirically correct from a galant perspective – again through the logic of his technical presentation. In the continuation of his article 'Styl, Schreibart', quoted above, he repeated many of the technical notes that he covered in his article on counterpoint, but he also explained how each technical feature contributed to the pious gravity of the church style. First of all, the strict style differed from the free through the 'more solemn path of the melody, and through the paucity of its ornaments'. The solemnity was in part owing to the many suspensions, which allowed fewer ornaments, and in part to the strict adherence to the main theme. Second, the strict style was formed through 'the more frequent use of dissonances, introduced as suspensions, through which the harmonies are bound more closely to each other, or in other words, through a more entangled harmony'. Third, 'the main theme never vanishes from sight, as it were', wandering from one voice to another so that every voice takes on the character of a main voice (columns 1451–1452). There are two oddities to this well-meant description. With words like 'dissonance' and 'entangled' Koch coloured the gravity and solemnity always associated with the strict style and moved it into a negative affective sphere. Second, by emphasizing the lack of ornamentation and the maintenance of the theme in all parts, he painted the strict style as one that restrained the composer's creative freedom. The strict style emerges from his depiction in shades dark and dank.

Koch was certainly aware of the technical issues that motivated these three characteristics – dissonance, knotted harmony and thematic austerity. But though he probably intended nothing more than a sober description of fugal features, his words overshot his mark. As noted above, the centrality of dissonance arose from the new priority given to the suspension in a regime of chordal harmony. Yet as consonance tended to

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Classification', in *New Mattheson Studies*, 429–423. Neither Palisca nor Kross dwells on this sticking-point between the two theorists.

have a metaphysical priority in Western traditions of music, the dissonant character that surrounds the strict style in Koch's description knocked it from its long rule on the throne of consonant strength.[19] Second, with 'entangled harmony' (*verwickelte Harmonie*) Koch referred to the sense that suspensions increased the continuity from chord to chord, tying them to each other, as it were. Yet *verwickeln* implies complication and tumultuous complexity, as one might find in the misunderstandings and missteps of a comedy before the final denouement. To use contemporaneous categories, the harmony in Koch's strict style was gothically bizarre rather than nobly simple. Although he did not use these terms explicitly, he did describe the strict style in terms that emphasized the danger of overladen excess. In a rare moment of heated opinion and in an unusually long footnote, he did weigh in against the more esoteric canonic arts. Sulzer, he argued, was wrong to demand that students practice 'in all possible artifices of harmony'. Though such artifices had had their place in the past, they were no longer in tune with the time (columns 737–738).

Third, throughout the eighteenth century north German theorists had suspected instrumental music of incoherence if it lacked unity of theme and affect, and imitative thematic procedures had long been linked to the viability of instrumental music. But through his intelligent comments on musical punctuation and periodic phrase structure, Koch had no need to demand strict thematic unity for the coherence of instrumental music. Morever, he lent a willing ear to those north German apologists for instrumental music who believed that music should reflect variations in human emotion.[20] Although a work had to 'express' a single primary 'feeling', as he noted in the article on the realization (*Ausführung*) of the formal disposition (*Anlage*), it might require multiple main themes to capture the various nuances of this feeling. 'The composer who articulates a movement repeats now this, now that main idea, according to how he wishes to modify the feeling that he expresses.' And, if the feeling called for it, he could even contrast the main ideas (*Hauptgedanken*) with subsidiary ideas (*Nebengedanken*). As thematic unity could threaten the 'variety' necessary for a work, the composer gave 'unity' to the work when he brought 'the essential parts contained in the layout (*Anlage*) through different turns' (columns 188–189). Because Koch was more open to such thematic diversity, the strict style attained a new aura of personal abnegation on the part of the composer.

Such negative symbolism is striking, but represents more a gradual shift than a wholly new development. Strict styles and first practices had always been associated with limits and controls – most particularly with the limits on the passions – yet the limits of the strict had been far more positively connoted in times past. The shift from the positive to the negative weighting of the strict style is due, first, to the new relationship between consonant styles and human emotions that arose over the course of the Enlightenment. For Koch's predecessors at the beginning of the century, the consonance of the strict style had symbolically represented a point at which the soul, rational in nature, lay in harmony with the body and with the universe around it. To introduce controlled dissonances was to tinker with the rational attunement between body, soul and world. The central link between rationality and dissonance control suffuses Johann Walther's *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (*c*1708), where music is defined as 'a heavenly-philosophical science, grounded in particular in mathematics, which deals with sounds insofar as one can elicit from them a good and artistic harmony or accord.'[21] Intellectuals gradually revised their opinions on the priority of reason and the inessential nature of the passions as the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries progressed, a complex and gradual shift fuelled in Germany by Pietism and *Empfindsamkeit*. Pietists emphasized the role of the passions in the communication between God and the soul, so that reason lost its metaphysical pride of place. Philosophers and critics also gradually opened the doors of their theories and treatises to the power of emotions, especially as they took excited note of French and British theories of sensibility. Writers like

19 On the symbolic resonances of consonance see David E. Cohen, 'Metaphysics, Ideology, Discipline: Consonance, Dissonance, and the Foundations of Western Polyphony', *Theoria* 7 (1993), 1–85.

20 On the apologies for instrumental music by Sulzer, Junker and Forkel see Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18th-Century Germany* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981), 143–188.

21 Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition*, ed. Peter Benary (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), 13.

Johann Georg Sulzer and Karl Ludwig Junker advocated an ideal of good taste that combined reason and emotion, and that could accommodate musical textures whose delicacy in emotional matters and relative consonance was a sign of subtle stirrings of the heart.[22]

Such trends coloured Koch's intellectual world. Because he inherited both Pietist and *Empfindsamkeit* thought, he could think of his galant style both as consonant and as laden with subtle feelings close to the soul's very nature. The distance from Walther's world can be heard in the *Versuch*, where Koch asserted the essential relation between the human heart and tonal combinations with sovereign confidence. 'Among the fine arts, [music] is *that which expresses feelings through the combination of tones*.'[23] If, bound by institutional traditions of church music, he still conceived of the strict style as proper to the church, it was merely because the strict style elicited a mood of gravity appropriate to religious devotion, not because the style realized any essential qualities of the human soul. If anything, the free style could accomplish this better through its affective diversity. In other words, the distinction between strict and free styles had once implied a hierarchical relationship between states of being. By Koch's day, they simply indicated different affective spheres, though the moral or religious ends that they furthered might still be subject to evaluation. It was not the music itself, but only its ends, that might be divine.

The second reason that the asceticism of the strict style took on negative colour was that conceptions of human fantasy shifted from the combinatorial manipulation to the spontaneous generation of ideas and themes.[24] For a composer such as Buxtehude or Bach, to explore the possibilities of a theme contrapuntally was to display combinatorial fantasy. The thematic unity of a work was a sign of the fecundity of the maker's imagination as he put the theme through its paces. For Johann Gottfried Walther in his *Musicalisches Lexikon* (1732), the genre of the 'Fantasia' demonstrated the 'good natural ability' (*ein gutes Naturell*) of a musician who 'plays or sets down something according to his own mind, as it occurs to him, without binding himself to certain limits of temporal regularity.'[25] Over the seventy years that followed, liberties multiplied exponentially in musical representations of free fantasy and imagination. The 'Fantasie' is, in Koch's words, 'the imaginative and inventive play of the artist left entirely to himself, expressed through tones and seemingly thrown forth, or [it is] an improvised composition in which the performer is bound not to a form, nor to a central key, nor to the continuance of a single tempo, nor to the maintenance of a certain character.' Although Koch intended only to define a quite specific genre, and certainly not to describe the features of all works of manifest fantasy and compositional 'genius', he none the less indicated the link that bound fantasy to novelty and originality at the time (columns 554–555).

Thus 'strict' was a term with powerful symbolic resonance that connoted self-abnegation on numerous levels – it suggested limits on expression and on thematic fecundity – yet did not link this control to a privileged state of the soul. Indeed, as Koch noted, the 'Contrapunktist' was a mere musical grammarian, not a 'poet' like the true composer (column 389). The theoretical details of Koch's argument were congruent with a general shift in outlook on the nature of the human imagination and its constraints. Koch was hardly the first to move double counterpoint, fugue and other such genres and textures into the negative symbolic sphere. Mattheson's and Scheibe's attacks on canon and counterpoint, amplified by the ever radical Rousseau's charge that 'our harmony is nothing but a Gothic and barbarous invention', echoed throughout

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22 Georgia J. Cowart, 'Sense and Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Musical Thought', *Acta musicologica* 56/2 (1984), 258–266.

23 Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, volume 1, 4. Emphasis in the original.

24 On the contrapuntal manifestations of combinatorial fantasy see Lawrence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 1–32, and Arnfried Edler, *Gattungen der Musik für Tasteninstrumente. Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis 1750* (Laaber: Laaber, 1997), 353–440. On the representations of free fantasy through surprising and drastic turns of phrase see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 'Das Ausdrucks-Prinzip im musikalischen Sturm und Drang', in *Musikalisches Denken: Aufsätze zur Theorie und Ästhetik der Musik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1977), 69–112.

25 Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexikon oder musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Deer, 1732), 239.

the century.[26] However, Koch does seem to be the first to crystallize the general attitude towards both counterpoint and human agency in a theoretical description of the strict style that accounted for the repertory most prominent in his day. Just as he managed to overcome the debates about the priority of harmony or melody,[27] he was able to avoid the polemics for and against double counterpoint, to accord it its importance even as he admitted its tenuous position at the end of the eighteenth century. Although Johann Friedrich Reichardt, who knew his Goethe, saw virtue in the 'gothic' qualities of counterpoint, Koch probably represented a majority in the early days of the Gothic Revival in his decidedly mixed feelings.[28]

3 STRICT STYLE AND HUMAN AGENCY

Unlike some of his more cantankerous colleagues among music theorists, such as Forkel or the Abbé Georg Vogler, Koch did not link his theoretical concerns directly to political maxims. Although he transmitted Forkel's communitarian spin on the fugue, he did so only through a quotation, the longest in the entire *Lexikon*. (His attentiveness to Forkel's exact words probably had less to do with concern for intellectual property than with an inner distance from the argument or a lack of expertise with its terms.) But even if Koch did not speak specifically on political matters, he circled around a notion of human freedom and the relative weight of law. The strict style lost its aura of absolute authority and was written into a linear model of history.

It was Koch's attention to the suspension and monothematicism that put the law of the strict style in a new light. By emphasizing these antiquated aspects, rather than focusing purely on a basic technique fundamental to all compositional styles, past and present (the regulation of dissonance), Koch helped to turn the strict style into something that seemed emphatically past, rather than universally present at all times. This is a significant shift. For Koch's predecessors and for many of his contemporaries, the strict style, sometimes associated with the *stile antico*, had received the imprimatur of history because it had shown itself to be untouched by the fashions of the moment. This notion of history accorded well with the strict style as long as its essence was dissonance treatment, for the distinctions between consonance and dissonance and the control of dissonance were at least relatively more stable than other compositional conventions. Moreover, as Carl Dahlhaus noted, the principles of dissonance treatment could be synthesized and codified more systematically than the procedures of Bachian counterpoint.[29] Because the rules seemed to build an internally coherent system, they also seemed to be resistant to the passage of time, to be ahistorical much as a scientific law might be.

By the late eighteenth century the wheel of history had caught up the absolutes of creation in its spokes.[30] Koch, who generally stayed away from grand historical narratives, nevertheless participated in the trend towards a historicized view of the world in the details of his theory. As he tried to accommodate the priority given to Bach's fugues among the theoreticians and connoisseurs of his day, he shifted his attention to stylistic features of a repertory that many in his day regarded as outdated and antiquated. Composers in Koch's day simply did not and indeed could not have the same respect for the suspension and principles of

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26 Jean-Jaques Rousseau, *Écrits sur la musique, la langue et le théâtre*, ed. Bernard Gagnebin (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), 851.

27 Nancy Kovaleff Baker, '*Der Urstoff der Musik*: Implications for Harmony and Melody in the Theory of Heinrich Koch', *Music Analysis* 7/1 (1988), 3–30.

28 In a essay accompanied by Bach's Fugue in F minor from the *Wohltemperiertes Clavier*, Book II, Reichardt, a friend of Goethe for a time, compared his awe of Bach to Goethe's awe of the Strasbourg Cathedral. Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin* 2 (1791), 196–197.

29 Carl Dahlhaus and Klaus-Jürgen Sachs, 'Counterpoint', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), volume 6, 564.

30 On the crisis of divine temporal frameworks in the natural sciences see Wolf Lepenies, *Das Ende der Naturgeschichte: Wandel kultureller Selbstverständlichkeiten in den Wissenschaften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hanser, 1976).

monothematicism that past composers had had for dissonance regulation. The suspension and mono-thematicism were markers of a quite particular repertory, rather than issues that all composers had to face, no matter what the repertory. Because Koch emphasized musical features that went in and out of fashion, his strict style took on a veneer of a different antiquity, one that had seen its day. It was part of history, not above it.

It would not do to overstate this shift. There were some in northern Germany, especially Forkel, who tried desperately to accord Bach's fugal procedures the same universal priority as dissonance regulation had once had. He was hardly successful. Moreover, theorists still accorded the strict style an august stature as the representative of the church. (Of course, Koch did not participate fully in the glorification of the new strict style, willing as he was to give the galant style its place in the church.) Finally, Koch still insisted on the centrality of dissonance regulation. No disciple of Schoenberg in advance of his time, he believed that combinations of tones obeyed 'rules grounded in the nature and the relations of tones' ('Harmonie', column 723), and that a composer bowed to these laws in the strict style. Yet despite such qualifications, Koch did compromise the ostensible universality of the strict style when he painted the strict style as dissonant and entangled.

The implications of Koch's shift for the conception of human freedom become clearer if one examines the two models of time that stand behind these two conceptions of the strict style: cyclical and linear. In the cyclical model, events seem to recur in regular cycles. Seasons recur year by year, and the moon waxes and wanes. In the linear model, events occur once, never to repeat themselves. Cyclical and linear conceptions of history map directly onto the two symbolisms of the strict style. While older generations of composers, as well as many theorists of Koch's own day, thought of the strict style as a fixed point from which other styles departed, Koch tended to think in terms of a linear development of history – the church could admit the galant style, and certain canonic artifices were to gather dust (columns 737–738) – and thus was willing to think of a strict style that was linked to a particular moment in history.

People always rely on some combination of linear and cyclical models to think about temporal matters, applying now one model, now the other. However, during the eighteenth century there was an increasing tendency to think about history by means of the linear model. As Reinhart Koselleck has noted, the term 'revolution' originally referred to things that revolve. Kings presented their rules as the rejuvenation of the dynasty, as the beginning of a new cycle, and historians delved into the past to derive lessons for the future, believing firmly that history repeated itself. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, people began to see revolutions as emphatic disruptions of the past, as new points in a line. Revolutions produced new orders and new leaders, and, as a result, historians began to mistrust prognostication based on the lessons of history.[31] The French Revolution accelerated this shift, but it was already under way well beforehand.

It is important to note the general shift from cyclical to linear approaches to time in order to emphasize that the symbolism of law and order that underpinned the strict style could in fact change. Counterpoint and the strict style did not necessarily symbolize immutable law. As Koch's ruminations on counterpoint show, the strict style could imply some sort of law that was historical rather than ahistorical. Indeed, Koch wrote his *Lexikon* at a time in which composers sought to alter the strict style, perhaps more resolutely than at any time before the twentieth century. In Vienna, Mozart integrated fugal textures into galant periodic phrases; Haydn played wittily with the metric placement of motives; Beethoven used experiments in voice leading to push at the limits of conventional harmonic progressions.[32] In Paris, Anton Reicha argued that just as science

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31 Reinhart Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft: Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1979), 38–86.

32 The literature on these composers' approaches to counterpoint is legion. A few of the most important articles are as follows. Mozart: Rudolf Stephan, 'Über Mozarts Kontrapunkt', in *Vom musikalischen Denken: Gesammelte Vorträge*, ed. Rainer Damm and Andreas Traub (Mainz: Schott, 1985), 25–29; Stefan Kunze, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: Sinfonie in C-Dur KV 551, Jupiter-Sinfonie* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1988); Elaine Sisman, *Mozart: The 'Jupiter' Symphony, No. 41 in C major, K. 551* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Robert L. Marshall, 'Bach and Mozart's Artistic

progresses, so should that most scientific of musical styles, the fugue.[33] In Berlin, Andreas Romberg sought to combine lyricism and contrapuntal brilliance in his symphonies.[34] And in London, Clementi used witty canons as well as 'contrapuntal withdrawals' to create mysterious dreamlike passages powerful in their transience.[35] The respect for the principles of strict counterpoint seems to follow pendular swings in history. If in the 1780s musicians began to experiment with counterpoint, in the 1840s they increasingly aimed at historical accuracy, and in the early twentieth century they again sought malleability. In other words, although the strict style always carried symbolic associations of law and order, this law had different implications at different times.

4 MALLEABLE LAW: THE LAW OF THE TEMPLE OF WISDOM

If, for Koch, the strict style could symbolize a historicized and mutable law, rather than an atemporal and immutable one, then it is worth asking if any music from the period bears out this symbolism. As a *locus classicus* of the strict style in a galant environment, the famous scene in the strict style from Schikaneder and Mozart's *Zauberflöte* offers a brilliant test case. Two Armed Men read Tamino the law of the Temple of Wisdom. What is the nature of this law?

In a stunning study of the scene Reinhold Hammerstein argued that the strict-style chorale fantasy opposed the predominant style of the singspiel both stylistically and symbolically. While he was at pains to disassociate the passage from overly literal Masonic or religious interpretations, and rightly so, he gave the strict style a fixity that it did not perhaps deserve.[36]

Maturity', in *Bach Perspectives* 3, 47–79. Haydn: James Webster, 'Haydn's Sacred Vocal Music and the Aesthetics of Salvation', in *Haydn Studies*, ed. W. Dean Sutcliffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35–69; Ludwig Finscher, 'Galanter und gelehrter Stil: Der kompositionsgeschichtliche Wandel im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Europäische Musikgeschichte*, ed. Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, Ludwig Finscher and Giselher Schubert (Kassel: Bärenreiter and Stuttgart: Metzler, 2002), volume 1, 587–665. Beethoven: Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Norton, 1966); Richard Kramer, 'Counterpoint and Syntax: On a Difficult Passage in the First Movement of Beethoven's String Quartet in C Minor, Op. 18 No. 4', in *Beiträge zu Beethovens Kammermusik: Symposion Bonn 1984*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg and Helmut Loos (Munich: Henle, 1987), 111–124; Richard Kramer, *Gradus ad Parnassum*: Beethoven, Schubert, and the Romance of Counterpoint', *19th Century Music* 11/2 (1987), 107–120; Richard Kramer, 'Between Cavatina and Ouverture: Opus 130 and the Voices of Narrative', *Beethoven Forum* 1 (1992), 165–189; Richard Kramer, 'Fuge D-Dur für Streichquintett op. 137', in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, ed. Albrecht Riethmüller, Carl Dahlhaus and Alexander Ringer (Laaber: Laaber, 1994), volume 2, 369–372; William Kinderman, 'Bachian Affinities in Beethoven', in *Bach Perspectives* 3, 81–108; Richard Kramer, '*Lisch aus, mein Licht*: Song, Fugue, and the Symptoms of a Late Style', in *Beethoven Forum* 7, ed. Mark Evan Bonds, Lewis Lockwood, Christopher Reynolds and Elaine Sisman (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 67–87.

33 Anton Reicha, *Philosophisch-practische Anmerkungen zu den practischen Beispielen* [1803]. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. 2510. On Reicha's attempt to update the fugue see Stefan Kunze, 'Anton Reichas "Entwurf einer phrasirten Fuge": Zum Kompositionsbegriff im frühen 19. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 25/4 (1968), 287–309.

34 Klaus G. Werner, 'Zwischen Emanuel Bach und Louis Spohr: Kontrapunkt und lyrischer Ton in den Sinfonien Andreas Rombergs', *Die Musikforschung* 53/2 (2000), 158–175.

35 R. H. Stewart-MacDonald, 'Canonic Passages in the Later Piano Sonatas of Muzio Clementi: Their Structural and Expressive Roles', *Ad Parnassum* 1/1 (2003), 71, 105–107. I would like to thank Dean Sutcliffe for drawing my attention to this article.

36 Hammerstein took exception to the religious and Masonic interpretations, respectively, by Hermann Abert, *W. A. Mozart*, seventh edition (Leipzig: VEB Breitkopf & Härtel, 1956), volume 2, 676, and Wilhelm Fischer, 'Der, welcher wandelt diese Straße voll Beschwerden', *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1950, 41–48. Recent studies frequently offer variations on Abert's and Fischer's interpretations: Alfons Rosenberg, *Die Zauberflöte: Geschichte und Deutung von Mozarts Oper* (Munich: Prestel, 1964), 101; Jean-Victor Hocquard, *Les opéras de Mozart* (Paris: Les belles lettres, 1995), 801–803; Helmut Perl, *Der Fall 'Zauberflöte': Mozarts Oper in Brennpunkt der Geschichte* (Zurich: Atlantis, 2000), 55–56.

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> The technical procedure itself that Mozart uses has a symbolic character. In the middle of a world of galant and expressive styles and forms, the strict counterpoint points to the old quadrivial interpretation of music as an art of numbers, such as can be found everywhere in Bach. Tamino awaits the last difficult trial, an ordeal that must be overcome. He must undergo a strict law. It is exactly this state of affairs that the strict counterpoint is able to characterize. In his dictionary J. G. Walther wrote about the strictest contrapuntal form, the canon, 'Canone (ital.), Canon (lat.), χάίþί (gr.) means: a rule or a law, which one must attend to'. The same was true for Mozart's time. In view of Mozart's inner engagement with his material, it seems permissible to say that Mozart, like his hero Tamino, submitted himself to this law, as it were.[37]

Hammerstein suggests that the strict style symbolizes a fixed entity. Law is law, no matter the age. It is, after all, written on a pyramid at the scene of the last trial. But does the singspiel offer a parable of a cyclical renewal (of a new generation taking up residence in an immutable institution) or of a linear revolution (of a new order taking its place and modifying the old ways)? It is a central question for the work, as it impinges on the ever-discussed issue of gender relations. Does the Temple remain a bastion of male privilege, or does Pamina's place next to Tamino in the festive final scene imply that change has come? If Koch's rather than Walther's dictionary serves as a sign of the symbolic significance of the strict style, then the law of the Temple of Wisdom would seem to allow change, as well as a place for Pamina in the new order.

The work itself suggests repeatedly that change is not anathema to the Temple of Wisdom, but rather an integral part of it. First, Tamino is allowed to undertake the trials. When Sarastro first proposes his initiation to the council of priests, the Speaker voices his concern. 'He is a prince,' he objects. Sarastro quickly retorts that Tamino is more than that, 'he is a human being!' (Speaker: 'Er ist Prinz!' Sarastro: 'Noch mehr – Er ist Mensch!'; Act 2 Scene 1).[38] Sarastro's point is that it is Tamino's humanity which enables him to undertake the trial, not his aristocratic rank. The Speaker's concern suggests that aristocrats are not normally initiated into the Temple, even if they are not expressly forbidden. (Pamina's father had associated with the priests, but it is not specified whether he was himself of their group.) This flexibility in the customs of the Temple is central to the work. It allows Tamino eventually to enter the Temple, but only after he learns to behave as himself. At the beginning of the singspiel, when Tamino asks Papageno who he is, Papageno responds that he is a human being, just like Tamino. Tamino proudly responds that he is a prince (Act 1 Scene 2). In the course of the trials Tamino learns to rely on his virtue, charity and circumspection – to rely on his humanity – rather than to pull princely rank.

Second, the formalities of the trials by fire and water change to allow Tamino and Pamina to undergo them together. When the two Armed Men read the law of the Temple, they describe a solitary wanderer on the path of purification: 'Der, welcher wandert diese Straße voll Beschwerden, wird rein durch Feuer, Wasser, Luft und Erden' (He who wanders this road full of trouble will become pure through fire, water, earth and air; Act 2 Scene 28). The text continues, always referring to a single initiate. Although it is common in German to use the masculine personal pronoun 'he' (*der*) to designate any individual, regardless of sex, the 'he' referred to in the law of the Temple clearly applies to applicants who wish to join the uniformly masculine membership of the priesthood. However, Pamina and Tamino undergo the trial together, sealing their matrimonial bond. At the end a choir refers to them in the singular again, but this time as a pair: 'Triumph, du edles Paar, besieget hast du die Gefahr! Der Isis Weihe ist nun dein!' (Triumph, you noble pair, you have conquered the danger! The consecration of Isis is now yours!).

The novelty of the pair's joint undertaking of the final trial is musically well marked. Both mood and style shift dramatically just after the Armed Men read the temple law. Indeed, when Pamina arrives on the scene,

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37 Reinhold Hammerstein, 'Der Gesang der geharnischten Männer: Eine Studie zu Mozarts Bachbild', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13/1 (1956), 21–22.

38 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Die Zauberflöte*, ed. Gernot Gruber and Alfred Orel, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Serie II, Werkgruppe 5, Band 19* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), 193. Hereafter the opera will be cited by act and scene in the main text.

they seem no less surprised than Tamino. To Tamino's incredulous question as to whether the voice is truly Pamina's, they respond that it is indeed. Their response records astonishment more than mere affirmation.[39] The surprise is transmitted by one of the most drastic and bizarre stylistic shifts in the work. The reading of the law by the Armed Men (a chorale fantasy in C minor, replete with suspensions and dissonant character) concludes with Tamino's acceptance of its terms (a quasi-recitative section that modulates to F minor, but that remains in the austere world of the strict style). As Pamina's voice cuts the air, the music modulates abruptly to D flat major. Although the move from F minor to D flat is one between closely related keys, the style shifts radically. The quaver motives that punctuated Tamino's austere recitative become a rather jovial galant accompaniment as Tamino and the Two Armed Men rejoice in the reunion of the lovers. And, in direct contravention of the dire warnings they had just uttered, the Armed Men blithely prognosticate Tamino and Pamina's successful initiation into the Temple: 'Welch Glück, wenn wir euch wieder sehn, froh Hand in Hand in Tempel gehn' (What happiness it will be when we see you again, going happily hand-in-hand into the Temple).[40] The stylistic shift from strict style to galant marginalizes the law of the Temple, just as the Armed Men forget their grim admonishments with singular speed.

Finally, it seems that Pamina herself is allowed to become one of the initiates into the Temple.[41] Indeed, the rules of the temple shift markedly as Act 2 proceeds. When Sarastro first advocates Tamino's admission to the trials, he mentions Pamina only as the promised reward for Tamino's bravery: 'Pamina, das sanfte, tugendhafte Mädchen, haben die Götter dem holden Jünglinge bestimmt' (The gods have designated Pamina – that gentle, virtuous maiden – for the noble youth; Act 2 Scene 1). Later, after Sarastro witnesses the Queen's cry for vengeance, he prophesies Pamina and Tamino's marriage, but not their equal entry into the temple: 'Der Himmel schenke nur dem holden Jüngling Mut und Standhaftigkeit in seinem frommen Vorsatz, dann bist du mit ihm glücklich, und deine Mutter soll beschämt nach ihrer Burg zurückkehren' (Should heaven grant the noble youth courage and stoicism in his designs, then you shall be happy with him and your mother shall return filled with shame to her fortress; Act 2 Scene 12). He sees Pamina merely as a pawn, not as one fit for trials. None the less, she does undergo trials, indeed trials far more trying than those of Tamino. Her mother asks her to assassinate Sarastro, but she shows her honour by refusing the ignoble deed, and her charitable nature and familial devotion by asking Sarastro to take pity on her mother. Later she shows her devotion to Tamino through her suicide attempt. And, of course, it is she who leads Tamino by the hand into the trials by fire and by water. Her reward is her right of initiation. As Tamino and the Two Armed Men agree, 'Ein Weib, das Nacht und Tod nicht scheut, ist würdig, und wird eingeweiht' (A woman who does not shy from night and death is worthy and will be initiated; Act 2 Scene 28). Finally, at the end, both Tamino and Pamina appear in priestly robes, with the other priests of the Temple arrayed on either side of them. The implication is that one woman has cracked the gender barrier, though the signs of score and stage direction are admittedly subtle.

In any case, the Temple of Wisdom is no static society bound to an immutable law. The rules of the Temple are malleable. The Armed Men read a 'transparent' script that appears on a pyramid, not necessarily one chiselled into the stone, as Stefan Kunze claimed.[42] Accordingly, the strict style may symbolize the law of the Temple, but it does not necessarily symbolize the fixity of those laws. Rather, it symbolizes a legality that stands within a fluid tradition, a constitution amenable to interpretation rather than a construal based on

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39 Hocquard, *Les opéras de Mozart*, 805–806, hears irony in the response of the Armed Men.

40 The strange prognostication by the Armed Men probably arose from the simple transformation of personal pronouns from Tamino's happiness at seeing Pamina again: 'Welch Glück, wenn *wir uns* wieder sehn.' However, no matter what the intentions of Mozart and Schikaneder might have been, the change in pronouns gives the pronouncement of the Armed Men special significance. As they have presumably not yet seen Tamino and Pamina together, their second sighting would take place not before but after the trials.

41 Julian Rushton, 'Die Zauberflöte', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1992), volume 4, 1218; Hocquard, *Les opéras de Mozart*, 846–847, 851.

42 Stefan Kunze, *Mozarts Opern* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1984), 629. Kunze's assumption seems to be based on two engravings from early nineteenth-century productions reproduced in Hammerstein, 'Der Gesang der geharnischten Männer'.

original intent, to make a parallel with American constitutional law. The law of the Temple may oppose anarchy and the arbitrary exercise of absolute power, it might be said, but it does not do so by setting fixed procedures. Rather, modernity stands in dialogue with the past, drawing upon it but moving beyond it where need be. The overture, famous for its integration of galant thematic types and procedures into a contrapuntal context,[43] symbolizes the process of modernization that the subsequent action represents.

The *Musikalisches Lexikon* by Heinrich Christoph Koch shows a musician struggling to make the aesthetic, theoretical and compositional traditions of his time and geographical-linguistic area line up with each other. These traditions always have their own internal dynamics and are governed in part by their own internal issues, even as each constantly interacts with the others. If Koch made questionable assumptions and logical leaps as he tried to bind them together, he did so in the spirit of his time. He managed to produce a description of the strict style that acknowledged the role of chordal harmony (the 'free style') as the new foundation of compositional practice, that accounted for the technical features of Bach's keyboard fugues beloved by theorists (controlled dissonances, suspensions and monothematicism) and that captured the symbolic resonances of what seemed at the time a dissonant and bizarre music casting an ambiguous shadow from the distinguished past into the present. In their *Zauberflöte*, Mozart and Schikaneder produced a work in tune with this symbolism. For a time, change was in the air, and, at least in the minds of many, the free had achieved some hold over the strict.

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43 See Stephan, 'Über Mozarts Kontrapunkt'.