

MUSICAL RHETORIC IN SWEELINCK'S *CHROMATIC FANTASIA*

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, humanism, religious reform, and the emergence of vernacular literature all influenced *musica practica*.¹ These trends, together with the revival of rhetoric, set in motion music's gradual transition from a subset of mathematics to the realm of language—that is, from the quadrivium to the trivium.² The so-called “doctrine of figures,” which arose in the late Renaissance, was the first attempt to explain music's new semiotic potential. Yet no definitive system emerged explaining how to apply rhetorical figures to music. After establishing a broad historical context, I will offer a reading of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's *Chromatic Fantasia* using rhetorical terminology drawn from contemporaneous sources. Modern scholars have noted that Sweelinck's fantasias, which date from the early seventeenth century, often divide into *exordium*, *medium*, and *fnis*—a tripartite structure, posited as early as the sixteenth century and based on rhetoric.³ Yet no author has examined the specific means by which Sweelinck unites musical-rhetorical figures and form to create a compelling musical argument.⁴ I contend that three figures—stretto, suspension, and proportion—work to support the rhetorical function of the *exordium*, *medium*, and *fnis*. In particular, a repeated four-voice stretto, termed a “pillar,” simultaneously articulates the two principal divisions of the form and consolidates the three contrapuntal devices.

Traditionally, the art of rhetoric is divided into five canons, as shown in Example 1. The canons outline the process of crafting a speech, from the initial selection of a topic, to organization, style, memorization, and delivery. The first three canons, which address the written text, received more attention than the latter two in Renaissance textbooks on rhetoric. George Kennedy has argued that there is a tendency for written forms of rhetoric to displace oral ones.⁵ The same is true in music

¹ Claude Palisca, *Music and Ideas* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006): 1-12.

² Warren Kirkendale, “Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach,” *JAMS* 32 (1979): 1.

³ Pieter Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 1997): 339-41. Max Seiffert was the first to identify the tripartite structure of Sweelinck's fantasias. See Max Seiffert, “J.P. Sweelinck und seine direkten deutschen Schüler,” in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1891), 156-168. Also published separately (Leipzig, 1891).

⁴ This essay owes much to the scholarship of Pieter Dirksen, yet my reading of the *Chromatic Fantasia* differs from Dirksen's in significant ways (see note 63). Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, 384-400. Harold Vogel also presents a fanciful reading of the *Chromatic Fantasia* based on the Orpheus myth in “Sweelincks 'Orfeo' Die 'Fantasia Crommatica,’” *Musik in Kirche* 2: 98-104.

⁵ Kennedy terms original oral forms of rhetoric as “primary,” whereas written forms are “secondary.” George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999): 2-3.

—whereas counterpoint was originally an improvised art, it gradually became a written one.⁶ Factors influencing this transition include the rise of print culture and the emerging notion in the late Renaissance of the musical work as a unique object.⁷

The traditional Aristotelian division between content and form, outlined in the first two canons, is particularly relevant in analysis. In the rhetorical tradition, the content, or topic for discourse was often borrowed. Such *loci topici*, or commonplaces, may include definition, cause and effect, or comparison.⁸ Example 18 in the appendix shows three musical commonplaces in Renaissance instrumental music, among them the descending chromatic tetrachord of Sweelinck's

⁶ Tinctoris recognized this division in 1477, and by the late sixteenth century, Heinrich Faber and Johannes Nucius held written counterpoint to be *superior* to the improvised kind. For Tinctoris's division between composed and improvised music, see Margaret Bent, "'Resfacta' and 'Cantare Super Librum,'" *JAMS*, 36, no. 3 (Autumn, 1983): 371-391. Regarding Nucius, see George J. Buelow, "Nucius, Johannes," *Grove Music Online*, accessed February 17, 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20166>. Regarding Faber, see Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 50.

⁷ Lydia Goehr has argued that the work-concept in fact originated in the eighteenth rather than the sixteenth century. I address this issue more in connection with Listenius. Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Music of Musical Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

⁸ Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997): 67. Johann David Heinichen mentions *loci topici* numerous times through the introduction to the *Der General-Bass in der Composition*; see *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen*, rev. ed., trans. George Buelow (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986): 307-80.

Chromatic Fantasia.⁹ As Claude Palisca writes, “Zarlino assumes that the composer, as often as not, starts with ideas of other known or anonymous composers, but this does not confer a license to plagiarize; rather, it is a challenge to embellish familiar music with new treatments and elaborations.”¹⁰

Embellishment falls under the third canon of rhetoric—*elocutio*. In a verbal context, *elocutio* deals with style and syntax, as distinct from form or content.¹¹ Style could be high, medium, or low, chosen to match the audience and occasion. In musical terms, Christoph Bernhard makes a similar three-part division of style in his 1657 *Tractatus*, each with corresponding musical figures. Example 2 gives the four figures allowed in Bernhard’s *stylus gravis*, which corresponds to the *prima prattica*

⁹ Sweelinck may have learned of this theme through John Dowland since he knew Dowland’s music, having made a keyboard intabulation of his *Pavane Lachrimae*. Vogel, “Sweelincks ‘Orfeo,’” 100. Alan Curtis lists seventeenth-century pieces using a chromatic scale as principle theme in *Sweelinck’s Keyboard Music: A Study of English Elements in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Composition* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1972): 135. See also Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth During Fourth Centuries of Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Regarding the theme’s origins in lute music and the chromaticism of Cipriano de Rore’s madrigals, see Vogel, “Sweelincks ‘Orfeo,’” 100. Brian Vickers discusses an anonymous *De musica* (between 1559 and 1571) described the advantages of chromaticism, and surprising harmonic changes: they “do not allow the listener to become numb but excite him with the newness of the sound to pay closer attention.” Brian Vickers, “Figures of Rhetoric/Figures of Music?” *Rhetorica* 2, no. 1 (1984): 14. The second example is the ascending hexachord, which was also a common borrowed theme. Numerous composers, including Frescobaldi, Byrd, Froberger, Bull, and Scheidt set the hexachord in keyboard works. For a discussion of pieces based on the hexachord theme, see Dirksen, “The Sweelinck Paradox: Researching, Analysing and Playing the Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck,” in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 2002): 98-101. The third theme comes from Giovanni Battista Chiodino’s 1610 *Arte prattica*, where he gives thirty-two *loci communes musicales* in the form of duos, which represent the basis for *a mente*, or improvised music. Some of Chiodino’s *loci* are sequential, a topic which returns later in this essay. Johann Andreas Herbst translated Chiodino’s treatise in the *Musica poetica* of 1643, including all thirty-two *loci communes*. William Porter, “Johann Herbst’s *Arte prattica & poetica: A Window into German Improvisational Practice in Mid-seventeenth Century*,” in *Orphei Organi Antiqui: Essays in Honor of Harold Vogel*, ed. Cleveland Johnson (Orcas, WA: Westfield Center 2006): 253.

¹⁰ Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 52.

¹¹ Quintilian termed this difference *res* and *verba*, or substance vs. verbal expression. Gideon O. Burton, “Silva Rhetoricae” <http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Encompassing%20Terms/Content%20and%20Form.htm> (accessed 20 January, 2016).

and the style of the *Chromatic Fantasia*.¹² Bernhard calls the figures “licenses” (*licentiae*) or exceptions to normal rules of good writing.¹³ Just as figures of speech embellish normative speech patterns, so do musical figures ornament the strict style of vocal polyphony codified by Zarlino. These figures were systematized within the *musica poetica* tradition.

Musica poetica emphasized the rhetorical nature of music and viewed the musical work as a unique and lasting object.¹⁴ Nicolaus Listenius was the first to describe *musica poetica* in 1537. He writes that *theoretica* is the art of knowing, *practica* is the art of doing (i.e. performance), and

Poetica is that which strives neither for knowledge of things nor for mere practice, but leaves behind some work after labor. For example, when someone writes a musical song, the goal of this action is the consummated and completed work. For it consists in making or fabricating something, that is, a kind of labor that leaves behind itself, even after the artist dies, a perfect and completed work. Therefore the musical poet is someone engaged in the occupation of leaving something behind.¹⁵

¹² However, according to Bernhard, the chromaticism of the theme was itself a rhetorical figure belonging to the *stylus luxurians*. Bernhard terms chromaticism *passus duriusculus*, and gives the descending chromatic tetrachord in D as an example. Christoff Bernhard, *Tractatus*, trans. Walter Hilse as “The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard,” in *The Music Forum*, vol. 3, ed. William J. Mitchell and Felix Salzer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973): 103-4. See Bernhard, *Tractatus*, trans. Hilse: 76-90, for the four figures of the *stylus gravis*.

¹³ Palisca, *Musica and Ideas*, 228. According to Quintilian, “every figures of this kind would be an error, if it were accidental and not deliberate.” Quintilian, *Istitutio oratoria* 9.3: “Esset enim omne schema vitium, si non peteretur, sed accideret.”

¹⁴ Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 51. See also John Butt, *Music education and the art of performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 164.

¹⁵ Nicolaus Listenius, *Music [Musica]*, trans. Albert Seay (Colorado: Colorado College Music Press, 1975): 3. The preceding passage is: “*Theoretica*, whose goal is knowing, is that which is concerned only in the contemplation of skill and the understanding of the subject. Hence the theoretical musician who knows this art, truly content in this, presents no example of his work in performance. *Practica*, whose goal is doing, is that which delights not only in the intricacies of skill, but extends into performance itself, leaving out no part of the act of performance. Hence the practical musician, who teaches others something more than the recognition of art, trains himself in it for the goal of any performance.” Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 49.

The rise of *musica poetica* supports Kennedy's claim that rhetoric tends to move from oral to written forms.¹⁶ It also contradicts Lydia Goehr's argument that the modern work-concept arose in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷ Goehr dismisses Listenius for not conforming to modern notions of the work-concept, but I would argue that Sweelinck occupies a middleground—the majority of his music making was likely improvised, yet his written compositions were admired enough to be copied many times over, albeit sometimes only in part.¹⁸ Regardless *musica poetica's* emphasis on the written work developed in tandem with new forms of musical analysis.

New analytical methods viewed music through a language metaphor, and thus drew upon terminology borrowed from rhetoric, grammar, and poetry.¹⁹ One of the most obvious examples is that a speech and an imitative composition both treat a subject, or *soggetto*.²⁰ The first known instance of a rhetorical figure being applied to music is Johannes Stomius's use of the term *mimesis* in 1537.²¹ In rhetoric, *mimesis* is a mocking imitation of another's mannerisms, but Stomius and others used it to refer to imitative counterpoint.²² Although the mapping of rhetorical terms onto musical ones was rarely a one-to-one correspondence, the practice of adopting rhetorical figures for music analysis and composition flourished, culminating in its early stages with Joachim Burmeister's 1606 *Musica Poetica* and Bernhard's 1657 *Tractatus*.²³

¹⁶ Palisca notes that “before the fourteenth century, most music was anonymous, and even thereafter music was frequently copied and transmitted without attribution.” Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 50. But by the fifteenth century, composers were signing their work with greater frequency, indicating a new sense of ownership. Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 50.

¹⁷ Goehr, *The Imaginary Muse*, 115-118.

¹⁸ Unlike Sweelinck's abundant output of vocal music, none of his over 70 keyboard works were published during his lifetime. Instead, the keyboard works were transmitted between students via manuscript copies. For instance, the *Ricercare Prima* of *Annuale*, Op. 8 by Giovanni Battista Fasolo (1600-1659) paraphrases the first thirty-four bars of Sweelinck's Chromatic Fantasia and then continues for twenty-five bars in original counterpoint.

¹⁹ Willibald Gurlitt lists musical terms derived from linguistics: theme, motive, phrase, metrics, rhythm, period, exposition, episode, accent, articulation, figure, style, composition. Willibald Gurlitt, “Musik und Rhetorik. Hinweise auf ihre geschichtliche Grundlageneinheit,” in *Musikgeschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. H. H. Eggbrecht, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1966): 65.

²⁰ Zarlino mentions this similarity in *Istitutione harmonische*. Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint: Part III of Le Istitutioni Harmonische*, trans. Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New York: W.W. Norton, 1976): 51-53.

²¹ Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 325.

²² Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 277, 325.

²³ For a discussion of the limitations of the music-language analogy, see Vickers, “Figures of Rhetoric: 31-40. He characterizes the two main weaknesses of the rhetoric textbook tradition as proliferation of categories and ambiguity of definition.

Theorists during this time not only characterized musical figures rhetorically, but adopted rhetorical terminology to conduct what we would call structural analysis. Example 3 shows the classical six-part model for an oration, together with Gallus Dressler's analogous tripartite division of *exordium*, *medium*, and *finis* for music.²⁴ Cicero, among others, described how one should establish authority (*ethos*) in the beginning of a speech, use logical arguments (*logos*) in the middle, and appeal to emotion (*pathos*) at the end.²⁵ My analysis of the *Chromatic Fantasia* combines Dressler's tripartite form with Cicero's descriptions and identifies musical figures in accordance with each function. The figures I will highlight were important to the genre of fantasia.

According to Pieter Dirksen, the idea of fantasia was central to the humanist aesthetic system, where it held the key to overcoming human limitations to create great works of art.²⁶ One of the most important definitions of fantasia comes from Michael Praetorius's 1619 *Syntagma Musicum*, which was written about the same time as the *Chromatic Fantasia*:

A capriccio or improvised fantasia is when one undertakes to execute a *fugue* [imitation] of one's choosing but dwells on it only for a short time, soon changing to another fugue as it strikes him. For since no text is permitted with proper fugues, one is not bound by words; one may make as many or as few *digressions*, *additions*, *abridgments*, twists, and turns as one wishes. Such *fantasies* and *capriccios* are especially suited for demonstrating one's skill and artistry; one may employ without further hesitation anything that is *permissible in music*, such as *suspensions*,

²⁴ Nicola Vicentino actually proposed a tripartite *dispositio* eight years before Dressler, but Burmeister adopted Dressler's terminology. Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. Maria Rika Maniates, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): xxxix and 245-249. Aristotle also wrote that a tragic drama or epic poem, in order to be a unified whole, must have a beginning, middle, and end. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 7.3 and 23.1.

²⁵ Gideon O. Burton, "Silva Rhetoricae" <http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Canons/Arrangement.htm> (accessed 19 January 2016).

²⁶ The concept of fantasy apparently transcended both logic and reason. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, 328.

proportions, [augmentation and diminution] etc., as long as the *mode* and *melody* are observed and remain within their bounds. [italics original]²⁷

Praetorius's definition mentions the three primary contrapuntal devices in my analysis of Sweelinck's *Chromatic Fantasia*: imitation (fugue), suspension, and proportion (augmentation and diminution).²⁸ It is clear Praetorius was immersed in the rhetorical tradition, because elsewhere in *Syntagma Musicum* he gives the first known instance of rhetorical advice for singers.²⁹ But what about rhetorical figures in instrumental music? According to Tim Carter, once musical-rhetorical

²⁷ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III* (Wolfenbüttel: The author, 1619): 21; trans. and ed. Jeffery T. Kite-Powell (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 38. "*Capriccio seu Phantasia subitanea*: Wenn einer nach seinem eignem plesier und gefallen eine Fugam zutractiren vor sich nimpt / darinnen aber nicht lang *immoriret*, sondern bald in eine andere fugam, wie es ihm in Sinn kömpt / einfället: Denn weil ebener maßen / wie in den rechten Fugen kein Text darunter gelegt werden darff / so ist man auch nicht an die Wörter gebunden / man mache viel oder wenig / man *digredire, addire, detrahire*, kehre unnd wende es wie man wolle. Vnd kan einer in solchen Fantasien und Capriccien setne Kunft und artificium eben so wol sehen laßen: Sintemal er sich alles deßen / was in der *Music tollerabile* ist / mit bindungen der *Discordanten, proportionibus, &c.* ohn einigs bedencken gebrauchen darff; Doch daß er den *Modum* und die *Ariam* nicht gar zu sehr überschreite / sondern in terminis bleibe." Praetorius's definition borrows heavily from Thomas Morley's definition of 1597. Thomas Morley, *A Plain and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musik*, ed. Alex Harman, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1952): 296. I have quoted Praetorius's definition because it makes clearer reference to the imitative nature of the fantasy, which is central to my reading. His tract was also part of the German tradition of Sweelinck's pupils. The term *stylus phantasticus* was coined by Athanasius Kircher in his 1650 *Musurgia Universalis*, where he borrows from Morley's definition and offers Froberger's monumental hexachord fantasia as a model. Dirksen, "The Enigma of the *Stylus Phantasticus*," 112.

²⁸ Although Praetorius does not identify these devices specifically as musical-rhetorical figures, Dressler names suspensions, imitative texture, and cadences as the three most important "ornaments of music." Paul Mark Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000): 26. Robert L. Tusler acknowledges the importance of stretto in Sweelinck's music in *The Organ Works of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck* (Bilthoven: 1958): 63.

²⁹ "Just as the task of an *Orator* is not only to decorate an oration with beautiful, charming and lively words, and with wonderful *Figures*, but also to *pronounce* correctly and to *move the affect*: in which he now lifts his voice, then lets it sink, now speaks with a powerful, now gentle, now with the entire full voice: So is it [the task] of a musician not only to sing but to sing with art and charm. Thus is the heart of the listener stirred and the *affect* moved, so that the song may reach its purpose, for which it is made and to which it is directed. [italics original]" Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, 229. Trans. by John Butt in *Music education*: 48. "Gleich wie eines *Oratoris* Ampt is / nicht allein eine *Oration* mit schönen anmutigen lebhaftigen Worten / unnd herrlichen *Figuris* zu zieren / sondern auch recht zu pronuncijren, und die *affectus* zu *movieren*: In dem er bald die Stimme erhebet, bald sincket lesset / bald mit mächtiger und sanffter / bald mit gantzer und voller Stimme redet: Also ist eines Musicanten nicht allein singen / besondern Künstlich und anmütig singen: Damit das Hertz der Zuhörer gerühret / und die *affectus* bewegt werden / und also der Gesang seine Endschaft / dazu er gemacht / und dahin er gerichtet / erreichen möge."

figures became conventionalized in vocal music, they were able to operate without a text in instrumental music.³⁰ Sweelinck's keyboard music often reduces to a *stile antico* vocal background with characteristically instrumental figuration.³¹ Furthermore, subjects for instrumental improvisation were often borrowed from vocal music, indicating an overlap between vocal and instrumental idioms.³² Sweelinck taught this unique style of keyboard polyphony to his numerous German students.³³

Sweelinck was among the earliest teachers of international repute.³⁴ A document from 1615 states that Andreas Düben's study with Sweelinck had been extended "...so that [Düben] can learn his craft more effectively and perfectly master the art of composing and learn the art of fugal playing from the *Fundament...*"³⁵ The *Fundament* refers to the stock of imitative, sequential, and cadential

³⁰ Tim Carter, "The search for musical meaning," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005): 184.

³¹ John Butt notes that "the preponderance of treatises on vocal diminution in Italian (and later German) sources suggests that virtuosity was often as much as [an] imitation of current vocal practice as the development of a distinct 'nonvocal' idiom." John Butt, "Germany and the Netherlands," in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (New York: Routledge, 2004): 163.

³² A document from 1541 describes a Venetian organist's examination, wherein a volume of motets was opened to a random page, and the incipit from one part was copied out and given to the candidate who had to improvise "a regular fantasia, without confusing the parts as if four voices were singing." Quoted from Pieter Dirksen, "The Enigma of the *Stylus Phantasticus* and Dieterich Buxtehude's Praeludium in G minor (BuxWV 163)," in *Orphei Organi Antiqui: Essays in Honor of Harold Vogel*, edited by Cleveland Johnson (Orcas, WA: Westfield Center, 2006): 109. "...sonar di fantasia regolamente, non confondendo le parti, come che quattro cantori cantassero," cited in Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nelle già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia*, (Venice: G. Antonelli, 1854-55; repr., Bologna: Forni, 1973): 28.

³³ According to Dirksen, the late Renaissance vocal style has frequent voice crossings. Because of the different timbres of the voices, contrapuntal independence is maintained. In contrast, Sweelinck avoids voice crossings, opting for a strictness of voice-leading not found in Venetian or English schools. Dirksen, "The Sweelinck Paradox," 97-98. Sweelinck's students included Jacob and Johann Praetorius (son of Hieronymus, not related to Michael), Heinrich Scheidemann, and Ulrich Cernitz, all of whom worked in Hamburg with an average tenure of 39 years. A century later Mattheson would describe Sweelinck as the *hamburgischen Organistenmacher*. Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (1740; facsimile reprint, ed. Max Schneider, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 332.

³⁴ Butt, "Germany and the Netherlands," 158. At least one student paid 200 guilders for a year-long apprenticeship with Sweelinck. This was an enormous fee, representing over half the annual stipend of 360 guilders Sweelinck received for his duties at the *Oude Kerk*. Therefore, it seems that the sizable fee Sweelinck charged his students allowed them both access to his compositions and guild-like permission to make copies. Dirksen, *Sweelinck: Sämtliche Werke*, 10.

³⁵ Pieter Dirksen, *Sweelinck: Sämtliche Werke für Tasteninstrumente* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2005-): 10.

formulae taught in the context of keyboard improvisation.³⁶ It resembles the motto of rhetorical pedagogy: *praeceptum, exemplum, et imitatio*—that is, learn the rule, study an example, and imitate the established masters.³⁷ Thus, the numerous organists who studied with Sweelinck were subjected to the same kind of internalization and embellishment of pre-conceived patterns that characterized the rhetorical curricula of the *Lateinschule* in Protestant Germany.³⁸ But as composers published their works in greater numbers, the concept of fantasia changed from primarily an improvised oral tradition to a notated genre.³⁹ This transition is consistent with Kennedy’s theory that rhetoric moves from oral to written forms.

Sweelinck used an unpublished treatise known as the *Composition Regeln* in his teaching.⁴⁰ The treatise borrows large sections from the third part of Zarlino’s *Istitutione harmoniche*, which deals with counterpoint. But the *Composition Regeln* makes no mention of musical-rhetorical form or figures—is it therefore inappropriate to apply rhetorical terminology to Sweelinck’s music?⁴¹ Example 25 in the appendix shows the only two surviving depictions of Sweelinck. Note the hand position in both images. In 1644 John Bulwer described how this position of fingers had a specific rhetorical meaning: “The two inferior Fingers shut in, and the other three presented in an eminent

³⁶ In the late fifteenth century, a *Fundamentum* was a pedagogical work for keyboard in three voices with an ornamented discant specifically designed to cultivate improvisation through various ornamental formulae. John Butt, “Germany and Netherlands,” in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (New York: Routledge, 2004), 140-141.

³⁷ Patrick McCreless, “Music and Rhetoric,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 856. Burmeister also mentions this procedure. Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, trans. Benito V. Rivera as *Musical Poetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993): 151.

³⁸ Bernhard writes, “For the emulation of the most distinguished composers is no less profitable—indeed necessary—in this profession [composition] than in any other art, as a part of one’s practice, without which all precepts are useless.” Bernhard, *Tractatus*, trans. Hilse, 121-22. Melanchthon was also well known as a supporter of rhetorical pedagogy. Helen Kin Hoi Wong, *Musica Poetica in Sixteenth-Century Reformation Germany*, (Masters Thesis) The Chinese University of Hong Kong (2009), <https://helenmusicology.files.wordpress.com/2013/01/thesis-2009-musica-poetica-in-sixteenth-century-reformation-germany.pdf> (Accessed 3 February 2016): 25-33.

³⁹ Dirksen, “The Enigma of the *Stylus Phantasticus*,” 109.

⁴⁰ Ulf Grapenthin, “The Transmission of Sweelinck’s *Composition Regeln*,” in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 2002) 171-196. See also P. Walker, P., “From Renaissance ‘Fuga’ to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the ‘Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,’” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 7-8 (1986): 93-104.

⁴¹ Zarlino writes that “The musician has the same end [as the poet], namely to serve and to please the minds of his listeners with harmonic accents, and he also has a subject upon which to construct his composition, which he adorns with various movements and harmonies to bring maximum pleasure to the audience.” Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*: trans. Marco, 51.

posture in the extended Hand, is a speaking Action, significant to demand silence, and procure audience.”⁴² This implies Sweelinck intended that he—and by extension, his music—should be viewed through a rhetorical lens. Let us now turn to the analysis of the *Chromatic Fantasia*.

Example 4 is a large-scale plan of the entire piece. Gray sections indicate the four-voice subject strettis, or “pillars.” This term is borrowed from Vicentino, who likened a structural event in music to an architectural column.⁴³ I term these pillars *fuga realis*, which is a figure from Burmeister’s *Musica Poetica*, where it denotes overlapping imitation in all voices, or stretto.⁴⁴ The pillars function to articulate the two divisions of the tripartite form: the division between *exordium* and *medium*, and that between *medium* and *fnis*. In fact, the pillars represent the only repeated music in the entire piece.

Example 5 shows the four levels of subject augmentation and diminution.⁴⁵ The same four values—eighth, quarter, half, and whole notes—appear as ornamented suspensions in Example 6. Example 7 gives the two *fuga realis* pillars. They encapsulate the three primary contrapuntal devices of stretto, suspension, and proportion because they contain instances of each figure.⁴⁶ First, the passages contain the only instances of rearticulated suspensions in the piece (i.e., Bernhard’s *quasi-syncope*). Second, the two pillars are the only instances of four-voice subject stretto. Third, the second pillar is a repetition of the first in diminution, which illustrates the technique of rhythmic proportion. Notice the thirty-second note flourish which introduces the first pillar. Thirty-second notes are rare in the piece, and they seem out of place here. Perhaps they function to mark the pillar through contrast in rhythmic values.

⁴² John Bulwer, *Chironomia: or, The Art of Manuall Rhetorique* (London: T. Harper, 1644). Quoted in Willem Elders, *Composers of the Low Countries*, trans. Graham Dixon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 177.

⁴³ Rika Maniates writes that in Vicentino, the “structural elements of music are comparable to the columnar scaffolding of buildings...” Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, tran. Palisca, xxxix. See pp.149-150 for Vicentino’s remarks.

⁴⁴ Burmeister writes that *fuga realis* places the voices as near as possible—his example uses overlapping entries in paired imitation. Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, 159-60. Burmeister also says “We believe that more musical ornaments can be found besides the twenty-two that have already been discovered. To give an incentive to others who would make an effort to add to these ornaments, I saw fit to gather and present them here.” That is to say, Burmeister recognized the open-endedness of his theories. Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, xxi.

⁴⁵ Example 11c, the first statement of the subject in the piece, begins with a whole note. The initial note value of the subject appears to be variable, as it sometimes appears in the dactyl rhythm (long-short-short) and sometimes in equal values with a downbeat rest (or other pitch).

⁴⁶ Dirksen discusses the similarities of this passage to mm.68-78 in *Fantasia a1*. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*: 389.

I will now address the three sections of the tripartite form, beginning with the *exordium*. Example 8 is an overview of the *exordium*, which consists of a fugue with two countersubjects.⁴⁷ Recall that, according to Cicero, one should establish authority in the beginning of a speech.⁴⁸ This may include quotation of past authors or deliberate shows of modesty.⁴⁹ Indeed, the subject of the *Chromatic Fantasia* is likely borrowed from previous sources, and the use of triple invertible counterpoint is a sign of contrapuntal “authority.”⁵⁰

Taken together, the subject, countersubject 1, and countersubject 2 form what Peter Schubert and Massimiliano Guido term a contrapuntal “box.”⁵¹ A box is a set of melodies that work together in invertible counterpoint, forming the basis for an imitative composition. Example 9a in the handout shows the first contrapuntal box in the *Chromatic Fantasia*. The only permutation of voices that will not work in invertible counterpoint at the octave is countersubject 2 in the bass,

⁴⁷ My provisional definition of a countersubject is a melodic line that appears with the subject more than two times. This results in the labeling of sequential material that may or may not be structurally important, as well as an unwieldy number of countersubjects.

⁴⁸ “An exordium is an address bringing the mind of the hearer into a suitable state to receive the rest of the speech; and that will be effected if it has rendered him well disposed towards the speaker, attentive, and willing to receive information. Wherefore, a man who is desirous to open a cause well, must of necessity be beforehand thoroughly acquainted with the nature and kind of cause which he has to conduct. ... Therefore, the exordium is divided into two portions, first of all a beginning, and secondly, language calculated to enable the orator to work his way into the good graces of his hearers. The beginning is an address, in plain words, immediately rendering the hearer well disposed towards one, or inclined to receive information, or attentive. The language calculated to enable the orator to work his way into the good graces of his hearers, is an address which employs a certain dissimulation, and which by a circuitous route as it were obscurely creeps into the affections of the hearer.” Cicero, *De Inventione*, trans. C.D. Yonge, <http://www.classicpersuasion.org/pw/cicero/dnv1-2.htm> (accessed 28 January 2016): 1.15. “You may use any means you choose to make your hearer receptive; among others, giving him a good impression of your character, which always helps to secure his attention.” Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/rhetoric.3.iii.html> (accessed 28 January 2016): 3.14.

⁴⁹ *Ad Herennium* mentions *litotes*, or deliberate shows of modesty, as a figure of *ethos*. Gideon O. Burton, “Silva Rhetoricae” <http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Figures/Groupings/of%20Ethos.htm> (accessed 19 January, 2016).

⁵⁰ Burmeister and Vicentino also confirm that the *exordium* is usually a fugue, and Vicentino advises beginning slowly to gradually persuade the audience, which Sweelinck also does. Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, tran. Palisca, 246. Burmeister and Dressler state that the *exordium* ends with a cadence. The *fuga realis* pillar in m.55 signals the end of the fugue and the beginning of closing material, which leads to the first tonic cadence in m.70, marking the beginning of the *medium*.

⁵¹ Massimiliano Guido and Peter Schubert, “Unpacking the Box in Frescobaldi's Ricercari of 1615,” *Music Theory Online* 20.2 (2014), http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.14.20.2/mto.14.20.2.guido_schubert.html (accessed 20 January, 2016).

since it creates 4ths with the upper voices.⁵² But Sweelinck uses this ordering of voices once in m.29 (Example 9b). His solution is a combination of transposition and invertible counterpoint at the twelfth, necessitating a few altered pitches. Therefore, it would seem Sweelinck made a point of utilizing this rather inconvenient permutation of voices, perhaps in an effort to demonstrate his authority as a master of counterpoint, in accordance with the goals of the *exordium*.⁵³

Example 10 presents an overview of the *medium*.⁵⁴ According to Cicero, the middle of a speech should appeal to the listener's logic.⁵⁵ Recall that the middle sections of the traditional six-part *dispositio* includes the *confutatio*, or rebuttal of counterarguments. A musical-rhetorical equivalent to a counterargument is a countersubject, and Sweelinck introduces several new ones in the *medium*. Burmeister writes that the purpose of the *medium* is also to place the subject in a new context—in essence, “testing” the strength of one's argument. A musical analogy for this procedure might be the use of rhythmic proportion, which first appears in m.104 as subject augmentation.

The *medium* should appeal to logic, and the musical figure most closely associated with logic is imitation. In 1690, Angelo Berardi compared musical imitation to a syllogism.⁵⁶ A syllogism is a basic dialectical device in the form: if A = B and B = C, then A = C. For example, if Berardi compared imitation to a syllogism, and syllogism is a logical device, then imitation is (tangentially) related to logic. I have posited that imitation—specifically stretto—plays a key role in the *Chromatic*

⁵² Bernhard Van den Sigtenhorst Meyer also noted this in *Jan. P. Sweelinck en zijn instrumentale muziek* (Servire, Den Haag, 1946): 227.

⁵³ Dirksen has also argued that the purpose of triple invertible counterpoint here is to “give stability to the ‘novelty’ of an all-chromatic theme,” which may explain why the technique does not occur elsewhere in Sweelinck's oeuvre. The permutation fugues of the Hamburg school of Sweelinck pupils may be a continuation of this technique of triple invertible counterpoint. Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, 387.

⁵⁴ Dressler and Praetorius write that a new fugue marks the beginning of the *medium*. Accordingly, countersubjects 1 and 2 never appear again, and Sweelinck immediately establishes a new contrapuntal box at the beginning of the *medium*. Unlike the *exordium*, which should reinforce the mode with subject entries and cadences on the final and reciting tone, Dressler, Zarlino, and Calvisius write that the *medium* can be somewhat freer. Regarding Dressler, see Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 49-53; p.79 describes how Seth Calvisius and Zarlino adhered to the same belief.

⁵⁵ “Next, that the case should be clearly stated; then, that the point in controversy should be established; then, that what we maintain should be supported by proof, and that whatever was said on the other side should be refuted.” Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. J.S. Watson, http://pages.pomona.edu/~cmc24747/sources/cic_web/de_or_1.htm (accessed 28 January 2016): 1.31.143. See also Gideon O. Burton, “Silva Rhetoricae” <http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Canons/Arrangement.htm> (accessed 19 January 2016).

⁵⁶ Gregory Butler, “Fugue and Rhetoric,” *Journal of Music Theory* 21, no. 1 (Spring, 1977): 82, 96-97. Angelo Berardi, *Domumenti armonici* (Bologna, 1687), 36.

Fantasia, yet it appears only once in the *exordium* in the *fuga realis* pillar. In contrast, stretto comes to the fore in the *medium*, in accordance with Dressler and Vicentino's prescriptions.⁵⁷ Whereas the *exordium* saw stretto (i.e. logic) applied to the subject, in the *medium*, stretto is applied almost exclusively to countersubjects.

In only two instances does countersubject stretto appear in all four voices simultaneously, as it does in the two pillars (Examples 12 and 13). It seems Sweelinck is placing the "counterarguments" under the same scrutiny as the subject in the two pillars in order to, as it were, test their validity. Brackets highlight each countersubject, showing how both examples are based on similar motives. The first pattern is "up a fourth, down a third, down a third"; the second pattern is "down a third, down a third, up a fourth." William Porter calls these "generating principles," which are analogous to Andreas Düben's *Fundament*.⁵⁸ These principles formed the basis for both written and improvised counterpoint in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, the "down three, down three, up four" pattern appears in a didactic keyboard treatise by Spiridionis a Monte Carmelo dating from 1671 (Example 14). This is only one of several such patterns in the treatise, which are subsequently embellished in myriad ways. (The ascending and descending chromatic tetrachord is even given as a model for embellishment.) Spiridionis writes in the preface that the student should memorize these patterns and transpose them into different keys, eventually embellishing them as well.⁵⁹ This practice has clear analogies with traditional rhetorical pedagogy. For instance, students of rhetoric kept books divided into two headings: common topics for discourse (content) and figures of speech (form). Students then applied the figures to the topics in

⁵⁷ Regarding Dressler, see Walker, *Theories of Fugue*, 49. Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, tran. Palisca, 247. In the middle of any sort of composition, the student "must not wait for one part to finish before introducing the other."

⁵⁸ William Porter, "Hamburg Organists in Lutheran Worship," in *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time: North European Reflections, 1610-2000*, ed. Kerala J. Snyder (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 71. See also Gregory Butler, "The Fantasia as a Musical Image," *MQ* 60 (1974): 602-615. Page 614 describes the *phantasia* technique, "used to refer to certain short, mechanical contrapuntal patterns, so called because they were the product of the composer's or player's imagination."

⁵⁹ Spiridionis, *Nova Instructio*, ed. Edoardo Bellotti (Colledara: Andromeda, 2003-5): x. From the original preface by Spiridionis: "Quelle *cadentia* di quest'opera che riterrai più interessanti, dovrei trasporle in tutti i toni, cominciando dalle più brevi e più facili. Dalla pratica della trasposizione, che è la parte fondamentale di questo lavoro, consegue la facilità di fare ogni sorte di cadenze intermedie e finali, nonchè di trasporre il Basso Continuo in qualunque tono." "Those *cadentiae* in this work which you consider to be the most interesting, should be transposed in all keys [modes?], beginning with the shortest and the easiest. From the practice of transposing, which is the fundamental part of this work, follows the ease of elaborating every kind of intermediate and final cadence, as well as transposing a Thoroughbass in any key." (translated by Aaron Carpenè) See p.27 and 33 of the *Pars Tertia* for the chromatic tetrachords.

various ways, just as Spiridionis applies figuration to the cadences, which represent *Fundament* patterns.

Another instance of *Fundament* patterns comes from Santa María's 1565 *Art of Playing Fantasia* (Example 15). The passages are four-voice strettis in the patterns "up three, down two" and "up four, down three." One can generalize that any equal rhythmic values alternating the intervals $[n, n - 1]$ or $[n, n + 1]$ in opposite directions will yield a three or four-voice stretto without dissonances.⁶⁰ These stock patterns formed the basis for improvisation at the keyboard and the fantasia in particular.⁶¹

Returning to the analysis of the *Chromatic Fantasia*, we see that the end of the *medium* drives forward through an evaded cadence in m.148, marked by a star. (René Descartes and Zarlino both discuss cadential evasion.⁶²) This event initiates subject diminution and an acceleration of the surface

⁶⁰ See Porter, "Hamburg Organists," 70-72, for a discussion of the $[-4, +3]$ pattern.

⁶¹ Butler, "The Fantasia as a Musical Image, 602-615. Porter mentions how many theoretical sources during this time mention the nightingale. The nightingale was thought to never sing its song exactly the same way twice. By analogy, the *Fundament* patterns yield infinite possibilities for embellishment. Improvisers and composers were measured by their ability to exploit this potential. Porter, "Hamburg Organists," 75-76.

⁶² René Descartes wrote that "during the course of a composition the avoidance of a [full] cadence has a charming effect." Zarlino terms this cadential evasion *fuggir la cadenza*. Zarlino only gives examples of cadences in two voices, and perfect type ending on an octave or unison, the imperfect on any other consonance. He writes that "a cadence is evaded [...] when the voices give the impression of leading to a perfect cadence, and turn instead in a different direction." René Descartes, *Compendium of Music*, trans. Walter Robert, American Institute of Musicology (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1961): 51; Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*: trans. Marco, 142, 151. It remains uncertain how Zarlino would apply his two-voice model to a fuller texture. Sweelinck's *Composition Regeln* reproduces the two-voice examples from Zarlino, but also includes cadences in three, four, five, and six voices, the majority having a falling fifth or rising fourth in the bass. Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Composition Regeln*, in *Werken van Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck* 10, ed. Hermann Gehrman (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901), 31-32, 36-37. Vicentino gives similar examples. Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, trans. Maria Rika Maniates, ed. Claude V. Palisca (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 184-85, 194, 208. Burmeister describes three types of cadences, but does not mention cadential evasion. Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, 107-121.

rhythm. The surface rhythm peaks at sixteenth-triplets, and the texture thins abruptly in m.171, marking the beginning of the *fnis*.⁶³

Example 16 gives an overview of the *fnis*. According to Cicero, the end of a speech should use emotional appeals in order to leave a lasting impression.⁶⁴ Praetorius writes that “At the end of [a Fantasia] the first imitation is generally repeated, thus concluding the work.”⁶⁵ Johannes Nucius, who is in the generation after Burmeister, uses the term *complexio* to refer to this repetition of an initial passage at the end.⁶⁶ The recurrence of the *fuga realis* pillar in diminution would seem to confirm Sweelinck’s long-range planning in this regard.⁶⁷

Sweelinck never repeats the initial contrapuntal box, but elements of countersubject 2 do return. Example 17 illustrates how a fragment of countersubject 2 in the *exordium* becomes countersubject 16 in diminution in the *fnis*, where it appears in stretto with itself over the subject in the bass. I call this an instance of *congeries*, which is the rhetorical “piling up” of synonyms for emphasis.⁶⁸ For example, the treatise *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which dates from the first century

⁶³ Given the clear articulation in m.149, one might ask why the *fnis* should not begin there, as Dirksen has posited. Dirken, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, 386. Measure 171 is better for several reasons. First, Dressler stated that the medium should be the longest section. Second, Burmeister said that the *fnis* begins where all motion stops; the abrupt change of surface rhythm in m.171 supports this. Lastly, subject stretto begins in m.171, leading to the repetition of the initial structural pillar in diminution. The presence of the pillar serves to articulate the beginning of *fnis*.

⁶⁴ “In the conclusion of our speech, whatever was in our favour should be amplified and enforced, and whatever made for our adversaries should be weakened and invalidated.” Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. J.S. Watson, http://pages.pomona.edu/~cmc24747/sources/cic_web/de_or_1.htm (accessed 28 January 2016): 1.31.143. Burton makes it clear that Cicero connects emotion with the end of a speech in: “Silva Rhetoricae” <http://rhetoric.byu.edu/Canons/Arrangement.htm> (accessed 19 January 2016). Aristotle writes that the epilogue “merely reminds us of what has been said already.” Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, trans. W. Rhys Roberts, <http://classics.mit.edu/Aristotle/rhetoric.3.iii.html> (accessed 28 January 2016): 3.13.

⁶⁵ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. and ed. Jeffery T. Kite-Powell (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 32. “Seynd auch etliche ohne Text mit surken [?] Fugen / und artigen Fantasien oft 4.5.6.8.u. Stimmen componirt: Dahinten an die erste Fuga von fornen meistentheils repetirt und darmit desgeschlossen wird.” Vicentino states that the end should be planned out first so as to lead naturally to it. Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, tran. Palisca, 248.

⁶⁶ Buelow, “Nucius, Johannes,” Grove Music Online.

⁶⁷ Numerous sources postdating Sweelinck also mention stretto and pedal point as characteristic of the end of a fugue. Both these techniques appear at the end of the *Chromatic Fantasia*. Butler, “Fugue and Rhetoric,” 94-98.

⁶⁸ My definition differs from Burmeister, who says *congeries* is “the piling together of perfect and imperfect consonances.” Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, 185.

BCE, gives the example of a prosecutor who says, “[The defendant] is the betrayer of his own self-respect, and the waylayer of the self-respect of others; covetous, intemperate, irascible, arrogant; disloyal to his parents, [and] ungrateful to his friends...”⁶⁹ *Congeries* is a figure of *pathos*, or emotion, so it fits well in the *fnis*.

Another instance of *congeries* is the double subject diminution beginning in m.184. Like the two pillars, these subject entries saturate the texture with chromaticism.⁷⁰ This climactic passage serves to prolong and intensify the “dominant” pedal point, and an analogous passage immediately follows over a “tonic” pedal, together creating the most definitive cadential bass motion of the piece.⁷¹ Thus, the *fnis* acts as a summary of the entire fantasia through the repetition of the initial pillar in diminution, while also reusing elements from an earlier countersubject in stretto. At the same time, the arrival of the subject in double diminution serves to leave a lasting impression, not unlike an orator who speaks faster and more emphatically at the end of a speech.⁷²

In sum, the repeated pillars serve to articulate the two divisions of the tripartite form while encapsulating the three primary contrapuntal devices of stretto, suspension, and proportion. The *exordium* establishes authority through the contrapuntal box in triple invertible counterpoint and the use of a borrowed subject; the *medium* invokes logic by applying stretto to the countersubjects; and the *fnis* evokes emotion through *congeries* and double subject diminution. Thus, musical-rhetorical figures and form unite to create a compelling musical argument. The goal of historically informed analysis such as we have explored here is to engage the sources as deeply as possible in order to establish the context and means available to the original author, while also recognizing that we cannot recover actual thinking from the past. Just as those who heard the ancient orators ultimately reached their own conclusions, so too will the past speak differently to each generation of listeners.

⁶⁹ *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.xl.52; quoted from Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991): 1, under the definition of the synonym “Accumulatio.”

⁷⁰ The accented 7^{ths} with the bass in mm.184-191 represent Bernhard’s *quasi-transitus*, or accented passing tone, another one of the four figures allowed in the *stylus gravis* (Example 2).

⁷¹ Terms such as “tonic” and “dominant” are anachronistic during this period of transition between modality and tonality. (Sweelinck’s keyboard works likely date from the first quarter of the 17th century.)

⁷² Vicentino advises varying the “movement of the measure” in accordance with the words, just as an orator does. Vickers, “Figures of Rhetoric,” 14. The *supplementum* (mm.192-93) is defined by Burmeister as a passage occurring after the final cadence where the tonic pitch holds and the other voices make consonances around it. Roman numeral analysis would label these harmonies iv, VI, and V/iv (all triads containing scale degree one), which is why I call the *supplementum* a “subdominant reference,” even though the term is anachronistic. Burmesiter, *Musical Poetics*, 151.

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