Gascoigne and Practical Music: Playing Loath to Depart

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[ABSTRACT: Editors and critics of the important mid-Elizabethan poet and writer of prose fiction George Gascoigne have overlooked clear references to musical pieces and practices in his works. In particular they have missed an allusion to a song, ‘Loath to depart’, which forms a key motif in ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’, and have not understood the use of an Inns of Court dance, ‘Tinternel’, in a central scene in which F.I. recites a poem to music whilst dancing. I explicate these musical moments in ‘F.I.’, reconstructing the music and words in question, after first assessing the significance of other allusions to music across Gascoigne’s work. Whilst these point to an interest in the relations between music and verse metrics, to be expected from England’s first vernacular theorist of versification, they do not amount to evidence of Gascoigne’s skill as an instrumentalist or composer. But it is clear that he could dance and sing, and that he thought hard about the implications – social, moral, psychological, and literary – of musical practices. Gascoigne deploys music in his works and represents music’s social functions. I suggest that Gascoigne’s interest in practical music helps him both to develop and to represent an implicit ‘theory of practice’, whereby the complex social interactions of lovers are structured, served, and figured by the musical interactions of word and tune, instrument and body, or partners in a dance.]

My aim in this article is to draw attention to some musical references that have been overlooked by commentators on George Gascoigne, to think more generally about Gascoigne and music, and to see what these musical moments in Gascoigne might tell us. Gascoigne knew a lot of music, and a thing or two about music, and his poems and prose works take on new shapes when we make the due effort to listen to his sound world.
My starting point is a passage in ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’, Gascoigne’s highly innovative work of prose fiction, which was first printed in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573) and reprinted in modified form in *The Posies of George Gascoigne* (1575). The contents page of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* makes clear that the work is notable not only for its epistolary form but for containing songs: it is ‘a pleasant discourse of the adventures of master F.J. conteyning excellent letters, sonets, Lays, Ballets, Rondlets, Verlayes and verses’. That the moment in question, like the work itself, combines different media has eluded previous commentators, as has its significance and (it turns out) its influence on later literature. The lovers F.I. and Elinor have just spent their first night together, but as morning approaches they must ‘abandon their delightes, and with ten thousand sweet kisses and straight embracings, did frame themselves to play loth to depart.’ Gascoigne’s editor G. W. Pigman wrestles with this last phrase in his commentary: ‘A comma after “play” would clarify the sense. As day approached, they, loath to leave one another, set about playing amorously ... They are not pretending that they do not want to part’. There is nothing wrong with the punctuation: what F.I. and Elinor are playing, metaphorically but in earnest, is a tune called ‘Loath to Depart’, a farewell song originally, though we have lost the words, with a simple tune that also lent itself to dance.

This is just one case where music can help us to make sense of Gascoigne’s words, and where the conjunction of music and words, once recognized, can be the beginning of a new interpretation. I will return to ‘Loath to Depart’ and to ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’ later in this article, in order to develop such an interpretation, but what is needed first is a rapid and selective survey of musical moments in Gascoigne, in order to see how musical ideas are used, what musical practices are referred to, and how Gascoigne tends to think about music. What emerges is that although Gascoigne’s technical, academic musical expertise is doubtful, he had considerable experience of and interest in what to his contemporaries was known as
‘practical music’. He could dance, he could sing, and he could think about poetry – its
dimensions, contours, and rhythms – in relation to music. Music was one of the four faculties
of the quadrivium, supplementing the trivial (and undergraduate) arts of grammar, rhetoric,
and logic in higher university study. But this was for the most part music by analogy only:
concerned with the connections between a mathematically ordered universe (musica
mundana or the music of the spheres) and the orderly human mind and body (musica
humana), it paid little attention to the third corner of that Boethian triangle, music as it might
be performed and heard (musica instrumentalis), and when it did was less concerned with
practical music-making (musica practica) than with its mathematical theory (musica
speculativa). Gascoigne’s engagements with practical music focus our attention on the
meanings of, especially, dance and song as embodied practices; and they also show (through
his poet’s metaphorical use of one nexus of significations to point to another) how one kind
of practice can represent or comment on another. Music in the form of song and dance –
musical forms that bring together voice and instrument, words and music, or partners in a
dance – becomes a way of exploring the nature of other human exchanges, and especially
amorous and sexual ones. The role of musical practices in structuring, in Bourdieu’s terms,
the habitus of Gascoigne and his fictional characters has not been appreciated. Practical
music, Gascoigne shows us, is one of

[t]he structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions
of existence characteristic of a class condition) [that] produce habitus, systems of durable,
transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring
structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and
representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being
the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a
conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor.\(^5\)

It is telling that Bourdieu himself, like Gascoigne, has recourse to a musical metaphor (in this case the orchestra and the conductor) in order to think about how larger systems of behaviour and of representation (which include music-making) are to be understood.

This is a new line of enquiry in Gascoigne studies, and depends upon the assemblage and assessment of some complex primary evidence. Much of the second half of this article is therefore necessarily engaged in hunting and weighing sources and analogues for two of the key musical references in ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’ – the song ‘Loath to Depart’ and the Inns of Court dance ‘Tinternel’. But first, I must look at musical references in Gascoigne’s other works.

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We can begin with a poem in the ‘The Devises of Sundrie Gentlemen’ (which follows on immediately from ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’ in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*) in which ‘A Lady ... doth thus bewray hir grief’ (‘Devises’, no. 38). The poem begins by calling for a lute and ends by addressing that lute, and so shares with its source, Wyatt’s ‘My lute, awake!’,\(^6\) a tendency, in personifying the lute, to juxtapose its companionable and sympathetic presence to the absent and unsympathetic beloved. The poem imagines a song without itself requiring to be sung; that may be a trivial but it is an important distinction. Along with that framing or rendering fictive of the idea of performance is a tendency to make music metaphorical: ‘Thou hast dischargd some burden from my brest’ (l. 59), the lady tells
the lute, punning as so often in Gascoigne on *burden* as physical or emotional load and as refrain, undersong, or ground in music – one part, that is to say, of a piece of music that has two sections or requires two performers. Metaphorical music is fairly common in Gascoigne: see for example the ‘plainsong tune’ of ‘Devises’, 36.9-10 or the discordant parsong of ‘Devises’, 62.35-40.

The very next poem in ‘Devises’, ‘Eyther a needellesse or a bootelesse comparison betwene two letters’, includes a rather bewildering stanza:

In song, the *G* cliffe keepes the highest place,
Where *B* sounds alwayes (or too sharpe or) flat:
In *G* sol, re, ut: trebles have trimme grace,
*B* serves the base and is content with that.
Believe me (sweete) *G* giveth sound full sweete,
When *B* cries buzze, as is for bases meete. (‘Devises’, 39.25-30)

The poem compares the *G* of Gascoigne to the *B* of Gascoigne’s wife’s other husband, Edward Boyes. It is not altogether clear that Gascoigne entirely understands what his musical terms mean in this stanza, and Pigman’s note engages with it at a level of musicological sophistication that few even of Gascoigne’s contemporaries could have followed. It is possible that he was given some ideas by his Gray’s Inn friend Francis Kinwelmersh: as well as being Gascoigne’s collaborator on *Jocasta* (a translation of Lodovico Dolce’s adaptation of Euripides’ *Phoenissae* put on at Gray’s Inn in 1566), which uses music between the acts, Kinwelmersh was the probable translator into English of a French treatise on adapting music in parts to be performed solo on the lute. The *G* clef was used for higher parts, as it still is (so we now call it the ‘treble clef’). *B* is the first letter of
‘bass’ and ‘buzz’, but is not a clef particular to bass lines. Gascoigne seems to allude to the medieval hexachord system, in which B was the only note that might be flattened or natural, and so is less stable and reliable than G. The puns and the metaphors here have escaped Gascoigne’s control; the stanza seems like a very clever put-down, but trained musicians would likely scratch their heads. It appears, therefore, that Gascoigne’s grasp of musical theory was limited; it was, after all, an expertise that was only acquired by students for the higher MA degree or skilled practitioners, and there is no evidence that he had been either.

What, then, do we know about Gascoigne and practical music making? In an authorial or editorial note after ‘Devises’, 65 (‘Gascoignes good nyghte’), we are told the following:

These good Morowe and good nyght, together with his Passion, his Libell of divorce, his Lullabye, his Recantation, his De profundis, and his farewell, have verie sweete notes adapted unto them: the which I would you should also enjoy as well as my selfe. For I knowe you will delight to heare them.⁹

This might mean one of three things: that someone had taken the poems and set them to newly composed music; that they were written to fit existing tunes; or that after they had been written they had been fitted to existing tunes. The writing of contrafacta, poems to existing tunes, was widespread.¹⁰ But it is only clear that the tune has come first when it requires something unusual from the poem in terms of metre and/or verse form, and that is not the case with the vast majority of popular ballads (which tend to name a tune to which they should be sung) or with this list of Gascoigne’s poems. We should recall William Webbe’s well-known remarks:
Neither is there any tune or stroke which may be sung or played on instruments which hath not some poetical ditties framed according to the numbers thereof: some to ‘Rogero’, some to ‘Trenchmore’, some to ‘Downright Squire’, to galliards, to pavans, to jigs, to brawls, to all manner of tunes, which every fiddler knows better than myself, and therefore I will let them pass.¹¹

Webbe describes a matching of poem to tune, but not necessarily a writing of poetry to fit music: the framing of words to music might be done after a poem had been written. Most of the poems in that list in the ‘Devises’ have metrical properties that would enable them to be fitted to any number of four-square tunes, since they are written in ballad metre, poulter’s measure, or long metre, variations all of them on the simplest four-beat, four-line song form.

‘Gascoignes passion’ (‘Devises’, 53) is in pentameter, and so would require a little more ingenuity to find or create music. But ‘Gascoignes De profundis’ (‘Devises’, 66) has a more unusual form: eight lines of pentameter, two of dimeter, and then a final line of pentameter (11 abbaaccd₁₀eed₁₀). This is one case where it is likely either that Gascoigne wrote his poem to fit the particular formal properties of a distinctive piece of music, or that a unique setting was composed to fit his interesting form. That the same form, with a slight variation in the rhyme scheme (11 ababbcc₁₀eed₁₀), is used again in ‘O curteous Care’, the seventh poem of ‘Dan Bartholmew of Bathe’,¹² tends to confirm this view, and it is clinched by an exact repetition of the ‘De profundis’ form in a poem in ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’, ‘Dame Cinthia hir selfe’, which is described as follows:

This Ballade, or howsoever I shall terme it, percase you will not like, and yet in my judgement it hath great good store of deepe invention, and for the order of the verse, it is not common, I have not heard many of like proporcion, some will accompt it but a dyddeldome:
but who so had heard *F.J.* sing it to the lute, by a note of his owne devise, I suppose he would esteme it to bee a pleasaunt diddeldome...\textsuperscript{13}

The majority of Gascoigne’s poems flagged up as having musical settings, then, show a lack of sophisticated engagement with musical forms and the recourse to metrical and formal innovation that they could require: their affinities are with ballads and hymns rather than courtly song. But in this case there is evidence of something more interesting.

That Gascoigne was developing his thinking about the relations between prosody and music is seen in ‘Certayne Notes of Instruction’, the prosodic treatise appended to *The Posies* (1575). In his discussion there of those ‘pauses or rests in a verse, which may be called “cesures”’, he observes that the caesura was ‘first devised (as should seem) by the musicians’ and gives advice on its placement in different metres.\textsuperscript{14} These two features of his discussion are directly connected. It was understood by the Elizabethans (as it is by and large now)\textsuperscript{15} that metres based on the insistent four-beat pattern could be presented as long or as short lines without that pattern changing: there was no metrical difference, for example, between a fourteener couplet and a ballad stanza (four lines alternating tetrameter and trimeter); again, poulter’s measure could be presented as two long lines, a hexameter and fourteener, or as a quatrain, 6, 6, 8, 6.\textsuperscript{16} Put another way, if a lyric in fourteeners could be fitted to a particular tune, that same tune would also match a lyric in ballad stanza. It is for this reason that Gascoigne’s guidelines on caesural placement rule that in hexameter the caesura falls after the sixth syllable and in heptameter after the eighth: it falls, that is to say, where the line break would fall in the short-line equivalent. A ballad stanza, a poulter’s measure couplet, two fourteeners, all fit into four bars of music in 4/4; caesura and line end coincide with the end of a bar (though of course the first syllable of each iambic line would come at the very end of one of these notional bars, before the first beat of the next), and in the shorter metrical
units (trimeter, or three-foot hemistich) they fall on the third beat with a rest on the fourth beat. Near the end of his short treatise Gascoigne offers the view that ‘the long verse of twelve and fourteen syllables, although it be nowadays used in all themes, yet in my judgement it would serve best for psalms and hymns’.\textsuperscript{17} Gascoigne’s move towards pentameter in his later extended verse confirms what he says here. He has realized that long lines of twelve or fourteen syllables and their counterparts, lines of three and four feet, belong to a world of ballad, metrical psalm, and hymn – belong, that is, in music. Serious non-musical poetry, Gascoigne has seen, is best written in pentameter.

Gascoigne twice tells us that he had pursued an interest in music. The first instance is a stanza in ‘The greene Knights farewell to Fansie’.\textsuperscript{18}

\begin{quote}
At Musickes sacred sounde, my fansies eft begonne,  
In concordes, discordes, notes and clifles, in tunes of unisonne:  
In Hyerarchies and straynes, in restes, in rule and space,  
In monacordes and moving moodes, in Burdens under base:  
In descants and in chants, I streined many a yel,  
But since Musicians be so madde, Fansie (quoth he) farewell.
\end{quote}

Gascoigne gives us a long list of musical terms with very little effort to moralize them, or make them work as metaphors or even as puns. These lines therefore stand apart from the poem’s other stanzas, which do more with the lexicons and contexts they evoke. This passage tells us that Gascoigne loved words, but it does not tell us that he loved music. Indeed, at face value it might be telling us that to the extent that Gascoigne studied music (and Boethian \textit{musica speculativa}, really a branch of mathematics, was only required study as part of the \textit{quadrivium} of the Master’s degree), it made little sense to him.\textsuperscript{19}
Much more interesting, though is the larger context of the second reference to Gascoigne’s interest in music, in *The Griefe of Joye* (a long poem presented in manuscript to the Queen on 1 January 1577). In the fourth song Gascoigne discusses the vanity of music and dance,\(^{20}\) giving us the familiar list of musical terms, lightly punned on at stanza 19:

> Amongst the vaynes, of variable Joyes,

I must confesse, that *Musicke* pleasde me ones

But whiles I searcht, the semyquaver toyes,

The glancing sharpe, the halfe notes for the nones;

And all that serves, to grace owre gladsome grones;

I founde a flatt, of follye owt of frame,

Which made me graunt my *Musicke* was but lame.

This reference to serious musical pursuits (though in his past) may encourage us to wonder, as Gillian Austen has done, whether Gascoigne might have set his words to music and been prepared to sing the 194+ rhyme royal stanzas of *The Griefe of Joye* before the Queen.\(^{21}\) Gascoigne does call the four poems ‘songes’ as well as ‘Elegies’ in the prefatory epistle (514), and each is a ‘songe’ within the text. He ends the first song like this:

> But synce my lute, hath broke the treble string,

Let pause a whyle, untill I maie devise,

Some newfownd notes, to chaunt in cherefull wise./

My playnesong tunes, (I feare) to long have bene,

And I wax hoarce, to sing before a Queene. (stanza 43)
In other places too he describes his poem as a performed song, but what Austen rightly describes as a ‘fictive performance space’, could surely not have become the model for a real performance. Even when Gascoigne comes closest to describing such a thing, in the passage just quoted, he is using musical terms metaphorically: lute strings do not break on cue, and Gascoigne is certainly not to be imagined singing *The Griefe of Joye* as ‘playnesong’ (the monophonic, unmeasured note sequences of the medieval liturgy; or a simple melody upon which another singer would improvise a descant), if he is to be imagined singing at all.

In a verse ‘Preface’, Gascoigne addresses his ‘mynd & muze’ and tells them ‘the Queene shall reade your verse’ (516); that, after all, is why he has presented her with a manuscript. Sung performance would have been not only an odd but an unprecedented thing: there are no comparable instances of philosophical verse being performed as song in the period, and the reasons for that are practical ones. Music tends to obscure thought rather than to reveal it, and songs (even lengthy ballads) do not work on this scale: after a dozen or so repetitions, delight becomes annoyance. Gascoigne’s language of song is conventionally metaphorical, and would have been read as such. This is not to say that music does not have a role to play in delivering some of *The Grief of Joye*, but it is music of the mind. The passages in *The Grief of Joye* in which Gascoigne thinks about music and dance show us that the idea of music in his poems and fictions can be the stimulus to moments of extraordinary insight and originality.

Gascoigne gives us a depiction of how music can affect the mind. He engages with classical ideas about the ability of different kinds of music to create different states of mind and stresses that too much music can therefore be a bad thing: ‘And what they dreamt, yt makes them doe yn deede’ (stanza 15). This idea of music creating or stimulating or giving a shape to certain kinds of behaviours will come back in ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’.
Gascoigne the poet and reader also finds that music shapes words and meanings in a wonderful passage a little further on (stanzas 20-21):

Of trothe my braynes, so full were of such pelfe,
That somme reporte, contynually dyd ryng
Within myne eares, and made me seeme to singe.

I could not reade, but I must tune my words/
I could not speake, but as yt were by note/
I could not muze[, but] that I thought some byrds,
With[in] my brest did rellease [sic, for ‘rehearse’?] all by rote/

Reading, speaking, and thinking are, here, to sing a song that has already been written. Music is able to impose a pattern of familiarity on the new, to encase meaning in rhythm, to give unconscious imaginings a local habitation and a name, to point out resemblances between this and that. As might have happened, for example, when Gascoigne wrote ‘Dame Cinthia hir selfe’ and sang it to the music which went with his ‘De profundis’, as we have already seen.

After demonstrating the vanity of music, Gascoigne turns to dance, and here too the patterns of art create new and undesirable connections between mind and body, thought and action. Dance is rather more than metaphor for state of mind or pattern of behaviour here. It creates those things (stanzas 29, 30, 32):

What should I count, oure tossings and oure turnes,
Owre frysks, oure flyngs, and all owr motions made/
Butt fewell geven, unto the fyre whiche burnes,
Within owr brests [...] 

[...]

And thence proceede, the movings which we make, 
As forward, backward, lefte hande turne, and right/ 
Upwards, and downewards, tyll owre hartes do quake/ 
[...]

But dyd yt hurte theire owne myndes and no moe, 
The losse were light, and easie to be borne/ 
[...]

The mery night begetts a madder morne/ 
For he that (over night) did (syngle) trace, 
Can (shortely after) daunce a dooble pace./

*Single* and *double* are simple dance steps within the Inns of Court measures that Gascoigne would have learned to dance at Gray’s Inn (of which more anon). The criticism of dance that has always been made is here in Gascoigne too: dance with someone and you’re more likely to wake up in bed with them.

*Which brings me to ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’, where this is exactly what happens. It all starts with a dance, or rather with a letter, which is followed by a dance, which leads immediately into a poem, thereby establishing some of the key components of the work:*
This letter by hir received (as I have hard him say) hir answere was this: She toke occasion one daye, at his request to daunce with him, the which doinge, she bashfully began to declare unto him, that she had read over the writinge [...] Wheruppon he brake the braule, and walkinge abrode devised immediatly these fewe verses followinge.\textsuperscript{26}

There is a certain amount of straightforward conversation and action in \textit{F.I.}, and a great deal of texts in prose and verse and of dancing and other highly choreographed pursuits (parlour games, hunting, and so on). The letters, poems, dances, and other social rituals advance the action, of course, but they are also there to highlight how rigidly codified and \textit{performed} are all the interactions, exchanges, and happenings in the fiction. A good example is the episode in which the first extended conversation (or verbal swordfight) between F.I. and Fraunces (a kinswoman of F.I. living in the house in which he is staying and Elinor is mistress) is punctuated by a series of dances:

The violands at ende of the pavion staied a whyle: in which time this Dame sayde to \textit{F.J.} on this wyse [...] When \textit{F.J.} [...] thus aunswered [...] Herewith the Instruments sounded a new Measure, and they passed forthwardes, leaving to talke, untill the noyse ceassed: which done, the gentlewoman replied [...] (157)

And so on: thrust, riposte, dance, thrust, parry, riposte, counter-riposte, dance, their conversations choreographed so that dispute is cooperation, \textit{discordia concors}, a harmony out of discord. Music is the sign as well as the vehicle of this idea of Gascoigne’s about codified and performed human interactions. Music is a thing that mediates: it mediates between words and actions by being the vehicle of both song and dance; it mediates between written and
voiced words when it takes a poem and enables it to be performed as a song; it mediates between love and sex, by bringing two people physically together in a dance. (‘Yn daunce the hande, hath libertye to touche, | The eye to gaze, the arme for to embrace’.)

F.I.’s performance of a poem to music is therefore of key significance. It comes after the long sequence of exchanges with Fraunces and then Elinor’s abrupt departure, in apparent jealousy at just how much talking F.I. and Fraunces have been doing. Fraunces comments:

Sir you may now perceyve that this our countrie cannot allowe the French maner of dauncing, for they (as I have heard tell) do more commonly daunce to talke, then entreate to daunce. [...] Mistresse and I (because I have seene the french maner of dauncing) will eftsones entreat you to daunce a Bargynet: what meane you by this quod Mistresse Fraunces. If it please you to followe (quod he) you shall see that I can jest without joye, and laugh without lust, and calling the musitions, caused them softly to sound the Tyntarnell, when he clearing his voyce did Alla Napolitana applie these verses following, unto the measure.

G.T.

In prime of lustie yeares, when Cupid caught me in
And nature taught the way to love, how I might best begin:
To please my wandring eye, in beauties tickle trade,
To gaze on eche that passed by, a carelesse sporte I made.

[42 more lines follow]

These verses are more in number than do stand with contentation of some judgements [...] I note that by it he ment in cloudes to discipher unto Mistres Fraunces such matter as she wold
snatch at, and yit could take no good hold of the same. Furthermore, it aunknown very aptly to the note which the musike sounded, as the skillfull reader by due triall may approve. This singing daunce, or dauncing song ended [...] (159-61)

The terminology points us in the direction of a performance that combines song and dance, that is, a ‘singing daunce, or dauncing song’. A bargenet or bargeret (from the French bergerette) is according to OED ‘A pastoral or rustic song and dance’, a gloss repeated by Pigman without further comment. Thomas Lodge wrote two songs that he called bargenets. One appears in Englands Helicon (1600), the source unknown; the other (not known to OED) is in Euphues Shadow (1592), where song is accompanied by dance. Bargenet was also a synonym for a basse dance or one of the Old Measures (on which see further below). Alla Napoletana means ‘in the Neapolitan style’. This points us to the popular Italian song type known as the villanella or Napoletana or villanella alla Napoletana or canzon villanesca alla Napoletana. Morley, in his landmark A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke (1597), defines it in his descending list of song types, after madrigals, and alongside canzonets: ‘Of the nature of these are the Neapolitans or “Canzone a la Napolitana”, different from them in nothing saving in name’. Next down the list comes ‘Villanelle or country songs, which are made only for the ditty’s sake [...] for in this kind they think it no fault (as being a kind of keeping decorum) to make a clownish music to a clownish matter’. Morley then mentions ‘Balletti or dances, and are songs which being sung to a ditty may likewise be danced’. Morley’s terminology is more precise than Gascoigne’s, without quite matching the categories of song distinguished by modern musicologists. But we are clearly in an area where song and dance might coexist, where there is a vague sense of Italian affinity, and where little is expected of the music other than that it fit the words – basic, popular, even rustic stuff; not intricate art songs.
And the ‘Tyntarnell’ to which F.I.’s poem is fitted? *OED* lets Pigman down here. It only manages ‘? Some form of instrumental music’, and all we get in Pigman’s glossary is ‘some kind of song’. But the *Tinternel* is much more than that. It is a dance, one of the ‘Old Measures’ or Inns of Court measures that Gascoigne would have learned at Gray’s Inn. The ‘Old Measures’ were a suite of social dances derived from the French *basse dance* and attested in a stable form in around 1570 (the date of the earliest surviving choreography source): The Quadran Pavan, Turkelony, The Earl of Essex’s Measure, Tinternel, The Old Almain, The Queen’s Almain, Cecilia Almain, and The Black Almain. Each dance was built from a different pattern of the same two combinations of walking steps, single and double (to which Gascoigne refers in *The Griefe of Joye*, quoted above), which might be performed going forwards, backwards, to the side, or in circles. They were performed by couples, probably ranged in a file, with the man on the left, holding the woman’s left hand in his right. An early mention of the old measures is in Elyot’s *The Governor*, part of that extended discussion of the symbolism of dance that T.S. Eliot so liked. Elyot famously tells us that ‘by the association of a man and a woman in daunsinge may be signified matrimonie’ and moralizes each of the steps of the Old Measures as branches of prudence: the *single* signifies providence and industry, the *double* election, experience, and modesty. In the *Gesta Grayorum* of 1595, the law students ‘danced the Old Measures, and their Galliards, and other kinds of Dances, revelling until it was very late’. This was a typical pattern, the stately old measures being followed by more lively stuff. Here follows a reconstruction of the tune of the Tinternel, based on a lute version by Anthony Holborne. The tune is found with slight differences in a number of contemporary musical sources.

[FIGURE 1]
F.I., Gascoigne says, applies ‘these verses following, unto the measure’. Measure here might mean dance (each of the Old Measures was a measure or dance) or metre. His poulter’s measure fits the tune very well because that tune is so plain: it is in simple time, and because it is a dance it has a restricted range of note values, so that the rhythm can be marked by feet as well as instruments. Gascoigne’s principal achievement is in matching iambic lines of verse to a tune that has an upbeat, so that metrical accent coincides with musical downbeat (or ‘ictus’), and in recognising that the long note in the second full bar equates to the extended caesura in a hexameter line (caesuras, we remember, were ‘first devised […] by the musicians’). Holborne’s version of the tune is here adapted and slightly simplified:

[FIGURE 2]

It is saying little, therefore, to claim that ‘it aunswered very aptly to the note which the musike sounded, as the skillfull reader by due triall may approve’. In terms of modern musical notation, we simply have a crotchet (or quarter note) to each syllable, with longer notes at caesura and line end. Because the Tinternel is a stately dance, with all steps on the ground, it is possible for F.I. to dance and sing or recite his poem, and that surely is what is meant when he entreats Fraunces ‘to daunce a Bargynet’, says ‘If it please you to followe…’, and asks the musicians to play a well-known dance tune, but not so loudly that his words will be drowned out. In the words of one early choreography source, the dance would have required ‘A Double forwards and a Single back four times, then two Singles sides & a Double forwards and a Double back once’, and as Ian Payne describes it, ‘This lovely dance introduces a country-dance figure in which partners hold right hands and change places with two Singles and a Double round “both ways”’. When we imagine dancers taking hands and circling each other, F.I. looking at Fraunces as they pass each other in the dance and he sings
of ‘gaz[ing] on eche that passed by’, Gascoigne’s words take on new meaning. The words comment on the imagined bodies of the male and female dancers; and those bodies, imagined moving in space and performing a dance that was already seen as an allegorical representation of human relations, gloss and comment on the words.

After those earlier verbal exchanges punctuated by dances F.I. now brings word, music, and physical movement together in a ‘singing daunce, or dauncing song’. (And we should remember that ballad, metrically very close to this, is cognate with ballet, Morley’s song ‘which being sung to a ditty may likewise be danced’.) It is a poem about a lover and his beloved. It is generalized: ‘by it he ment in cloudes to discipher unto Mistres Fraunces such matter as she wold snatch at, and yit could take no good hold of the same’. It is about any lover and beloved, or it is about F.I. and Elinor. And the relationship is strangely bodied forth in the dance, where Fraunces stands as a surrogate for Elinor (a pattern that continues from this point on). Elinor, of course, gets to hear about this performance, and after F.I. has sung some Ariosto to her she asks for a repeat performance. This time there is no dancing to the piercing accompaniment of violins – ‘violands’ (157), which could be better heard above the clomping of feet than could viols or lutes – but instead a more intimate lute song rendition:

at last F.J. taking into his hand a Lute that lay on his Mistres bed, did unto the note of the Venetian galliard applie the Italian dittie written by the woorthy Bradamant unto the noble Rugier, as Ariosto hath it. Rugier qual semper fui, etc. but his Mistres could not be quiet until shee heard him repeat the Tyntarnell which he used over night, the which F.J. refused not, at end whereof his Mistres thinking now she had shewed hir self to earnest to use any further dissimulation […] fell to flat playn dealing, and walking to the window, called hir servaunt apart unto hir, of whom she demaunded secretly and in sad earnest, who devised this Tyntarnell? My Fathers Sisters brothers sonne (quod F.J.) His Mistresse laughing right
hartely, demaunded yit again, by whom the same was figured: by a niece to an Aunt of yours, Mistres (quod he). (165-6)

The indirections of the song produce the indirections of this exchange, and yet in the end F.I. and Elinor know where they are: ‘Well then servaunt (quod she) I sweare unto you here by my Fathers soule, that my mothers youngest daughter, doth love your fathers eldest son, above any creature living’ (166) Elinor’s reaction to F.I.’s performance exactly follows the script of the song, which had ended with an envoy:

And when she saw by proofe, the pith of my good will,
She tooke in worth this simple song, for want of better skill:
And as my just deserts, hir gentle hart did move,
She was content to answere thus: I am content to love. (160)

* 

The role of song and dance in bringing F.I. and Elinor together is acknowledged in the ‘loath to depart’ reference which concludes, as it were, the second act of this drama:

Suffised that of hir curteouse nature she was content to accept bords for a bead of downe, mattes for Camerike sheetes, and the night gowne of F.J. for a counterpoynyt to cover them, and thus with calme content, in steede of quiet sleepe, they beguiled the night, untill the proudest sterre began to abandon the fyrmament, when F.J. and his Mistresse, were constrayned also to abandon their delightes, and with ten thousand sweet kisses and straight embracings, did frame themselves to play loth to depart. (168)
Gascoigne is already punning on musical terminology with ‘counterpoyn’t’: the form *counterpane* had not yet taken over the sense of quilted bed cover, and *counterpoint*, with its other, and especially musical, meanings, was the standard form. So we are perhaps already hearing in our mind’s ears a ‘counterpoyn’t’ melody set over the plainsong ground on which Elinor and F.I. lie (perhaps one among scores of contemporary musical versions of Catullus 5, which lies unavoidably behind Gascoigne’s ‘ten thousand sweet kisses’) before Gascoigne’s words play another tune in our minds, ‘Loath to depart’.43

[FIGURE 3]

There are so many instances of the phrase ‘loath to depart’ in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature that it is clear that it became proverbial after Gascoigne to describe a reluctant farewell as playing or singing ‘loath to depart’. There are examples of *singing* loath to depart from Whetstone (in 1576) to Cotton via Middleton and Rowley, to select just a few from many instances;44 of *playing* loath to depart in Lodge’s *Rosalynde* and a number of Greene’s works, including *Menaphon* where, after performing an amorous eclogue duet, Carmela and Doron kiss and ‘after a little playing loath to depart, they both went about their businesse’.45 There is even *dancing* loath to depart.46 However, a full-text search of *Early English Books Online* confirms that, though it is common enough in English before Gascoigne to talk of *being* ‘loath to depart’, his is the first example yet to be found of *playing* or *singing* or *dancing* ‘loath to depart’. And yet that phraseology had soon entered a variety of discourses, not only drama and prose fiction but also sermons and religious treatises.47 The likeliest inference is that a song called ‘Loath to depart’ had only recently come into being.
Interesting evidence that Gascoigne was perhaps not merely drawing on a convention but helping to initiate it is found in John Grange’s *The Golden Aphroditis* of 1577. Grange was, like Gascoigne, a Gray’s Inn man and he clearly wished to follow in Gascoigne’s footsteps (or at least his literary ones). His *Golden Aphroditis* is modelled on ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’ in its narrative method (though transposed into a pseudo-classical setting), and is peppered with borrowings from it, ‘Aliquid salis’\(^{48}\) and all:

His Ladie lykewise ... tooke him by the hand, crauing him to lead hir a gallyarde: wherof (I dare sweare not mislyking) he granting her request, fulfilled hir demaunde: they traced (as neare as I can remember Apollo his wordes) the gracious galliardes dedicated to the Goddes, and afterwards those measures, whose footing and gestures served best his turne, and some of their harts likewise daunced priuily *loth to departe*. But (their legges fainting) he gaue his ladie the *zucado dez labros*, and led hir again to the place from whence she yelded hir selfe.\(^{49}\)

Grange lifts Gascoigne’s ‘zucado dez labros’ from *F.I.* (149), and transforms ‘loath to depart’ into a dance,\(^{50}\) a trick he repeats a little later (‘for iudge ye whether his harte daunced lothe to departe or no’).\(^{51}\) He also, in the poems appended to his book (named, with a nod to Gascoigne, ‘Granges Garden’), includes three poems from I.G. (Grange) to a woman called A.T., the second a ‘good night’ that includes the lines ‘My heauy hart within my corpse | loth to departe doth daunce’ (S2r) and the third a ‘farewell’. This opens ‘A greater griefe can hardly be, | Then faythfull friendes for to departe’, repeats the ‘faithful friends’ formula several times and includes the lines ‘Lothe to departe come let vs daunce, | And make no haste away to goe.’ (S3r-4r).

This evidence tends to confirm not only that Grange liked the phrase in Gascoigne, or even that he liked the way Gascoigne had turned the title of a piece of music into a sort of
conventionalized and performed reluctance to say goodbye, but that he knew the words as well as the music that Gascoigne had in mind. If we are to hear what Grange heard, however, we have to perform some complex inferences from the surviving sources. ‘Loath to depart’ is a case, common where art music meets popular song and dance, where the music has detached itself from the song and started a life of its own. Musical notation was of little use to most performers of popular song, which is why printed ballads always name their tunes and never print them. Such tunes tend only to be written down once courtly composers write more ornate versions of them for lute or virginals. Dowland is our leading example here: six sets of exquisite ‘divisions’ or variations for solo lute on the basic material (sixteen bars in modern mensuration) of the popular tune. But there is also a version for keyboard in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book as well as lute versions in the Euing, Pickeringe, and Board lute books, and another of the Cambridge lute manuscripts (from which the quotation above is taken).

Listening to the tune, then, is an easier thing to manage than hearing the words, though we can conjecture at the features of the song with some confidence. It was in tetrameter quatrains like Grange’s poem, with an aptness for foot reversal in the opening position, suited to the rhythm of the compound time tune. Additionally, it would have included the phrase ‘faithful friends’. The rhythmic features are nicely confirmed for us in a Middleton and Rowley play from the 1610s, first printed in 1647:

_Neece_ Now ile make a firme triall of your love,

As you love me, not a word more at this time,

Not a sillable, ’tis the seale of love, take heed.

_Clown_ Hum, hum, hum, hum –

Hum’s loath to depart. _Exit Clown._
Some components of the poem (or perhaps the poem itself) are preserved in a round or catch for four voices by Thomas Ravenscroft published in 1609. Note that the second line here may be exactly what Middleton’s and Rowley’s humming would be taken to imply (the Clown is a faithful friend):\textsuperscript{55}

Sing with they mouth, sing with thy heart
like faithfull friends, sing loath to depart,
though friends together may not alwayes remain,
yet loath to depart sing once againe.

Ravenscroft’s round makes something very elegant and harmonious out of the song, and to do this has to change the tune. But it also helps us to see that the original may already have been performed as a round (a basic version of the tune does work as such) and so perhaps what is remarked of Ravenscroft’s version by Ross Duffin could be said of the material known to Grange and to Gascoigne: ‘One special feature of setting this text as a round is that the “loathness to depart” is perpetuated – indefinitely if so desired.’\textsuperscript{56}

A final piece of the puzzle is found in a kind of acrostic poem by Robert Chester, one of a number of ‘Cantoes verbally written’ in which the first words of each line of the poem, read vertically, make another poem, in this case: ‘Seene hath the eie, chosen hath the heart,\textsuperscript{1} Firme is the faith, and loath to depart’.\textsuperscript{57} This seems to be Chester’s own version of the song’s opening couplet, and it lends strength to the inference that the original song would have included the heart and the faithful friends found in Grange and Ravenscroft, and that perhaps, therefore, Ravenscroft’s round is as close to the song’s textual form as we can hope to come.
Gascoigne’s play with ‘Loath to depart’ clearly draws energy from the references to performance within the song itself (‘like faithfull friends, sing loath to depart’), an energy impelled by the catchy rhythms of the music:

[FIGURE 4]

Middleton’s and Rowley’s Clown is drawn to the same moment in the song, for the same reason, and in a different way straddles the threshold between written word and performance: is ‘Hum’s loath to depart’ a stage direction? does he sing those words? does the printed text supply the words the original theatre audience would have inferred from the humming?

‘Loath to depart’ is a part of a thread of musical references running through ‘The Adventures of Master F.I.’, taking us through Elinor’s and F.I.’s affair to its dismal conclusion and postscript. In particular, F.I.’s rival the Secretary makes a different kind of music with Elinor, so that ‘she was now in another tewn’ (210):

it fell out that the Secretary having bin of long time absent, and therby his quils and pennes not worn so neer as they were wont to be, did now prick such faire large notes, that his Mistres liked better to sing faburden under him, than to descant any longer uppon F.J. playne song: and thus they continued in good accorde, untill it fortuned that Dame Fraunces came into hir chamber uppon such sodeyn as shee had like to have marred all the musick. Well thei conveyed their clifs as closely as they could, but yit notaltogether without some suspicion given [...] (199)

Elinor’s preference is for the Secretary’s pricksong (melody of sufficient complexity to require notation) rather than F.I.’s plainsong; she will ‘sing faburden’ to the Secretary (sing
the ground bass or undersong to his descant, and lie underneath him)\textsuperscript{59} rather than descant over F.I.’s bass line (and lie, like a ‘counterpoyn’, on top of him). Elinor and the Secretary try to keep their ‘clifs’ (clefs, musical notation) hidden, but Fraunces sees what is happening. The ultimate insult to F.I., though, is not this new music, but the fact that his own tune is subsequently stolen and he is left bearing the burden (singing the ground bass, or filling in the refrain):\textsuperscript{60}

[F.I.] heard the parting of his Mistresse and hir Secretary, with many kind words: wherby it appeared that the one was very loth to departe from the other. F.J. was enforced to beare this burden [...] (214)

Thinking of ‘Loath to depart’ as a round sung by multiple voices, or as a piece that Elinor and F.I. play together, or as a dance (as Grange wishes to do), or as a tune so familiar that humming it seems to speak its words, helps us to see why Gascoigne is interested in using music in general and this piece of music in particular to model the relationships he represents. The music is familiar – we’ve heard it all before – and yet it is subtly different in every new performance. That performance is a coming together of two parts, voices, and bodies in harmonized music, in song, in dance. They perform their separate parts together, they are both in unison and apart. The performance demands skill of its performers – and those skills are the result of much practice. The interactions of lovers can be understood then, as a reconfiguration of well-learned dance moves, or verbal formulae, or well-known tunes, as \textit{practice} in the sense known to musicians as well as that described by Bourdieu. All these kinds of practice are ‘series of moves which are objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a genuine strategic intention’; they are ‘regulated improvisations’,\textsuperscript{61} or ‘divisions’ as the Elizabethan musicians called them. And to read ‘The Adventures of Master
F.I.’ requires a matching skill and improvisatory effort of the reader, so that when Elinor and F.I. ‘frame themselves to play’ Loath to depart, we can already hear that this cadence in their relationship may only be a temporary concord, wonder what variations on the well-known tune they will improvise, and know that dissonance and division of another kind is likely to follow.

I am grateful to Gillian Austen and members of the Gascoigne Seminar for helpful comments on this work.

1 Throughout this piece I refer to ‘F.I.’ and not to ‘F.J.’, except when quoting from modern editions. When Gascoigne wrote and his original printers printed, vocalic and consonantal i were not distinguished by separate graphs; only in the 1630s did the ij/iij distinction become the norm in print. The usual modern regularization of ‘F.I.’ to ‘F.J.’, in old- and modern-spelling texts of Gascoigne as well as in the secondary literature, misleadingly restricts the possible references of Gascoigne’s cryptic initials: ‘Freeman Iones’ is allowed, for example, and ‘Fortunatus Infœelix’ is not. See George Gascoigne, A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres, ed. G. W. Pigman III (Oxford, 2000), 4 (‘The Printer to the Reader’) for ‘Freeman Jones’; 470 for Pigman’s comment on this as ‘the only justification for the traditional modernization’; 59 for ‘Fortunatus Infœelix’ at the end of the verse argument to Jocasta; 518 for Pigman’s note on its use in Gascoigne and elsewhere (making no connection to ‘F.I.’); and ‘Devises’, 1-9, 11-15, 17, 21-2, and 24 for poems signed ‘Si fortunatus infœelix’. Hereafter ‘Pigman’.

2 Pigman, 2. All quotations from Gascoigne follow the text in this edition unless otherwise indicated.

3 Pigman, 168.

4 Pigman, 576. Cf. A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres, ed. C. T. Prouty (Columbia, Miss., 1970), 249, where no explanation is attempted at all.


7 See Pigman, xxvi-xxvii and 620 for the biographical background and 621 for the commentary on this stanza.

8 A briefe and plaine instruction to set all musicke of eight diuers tunes in tableture for the lute With a briefe instruction how to play on the lute by tablature, to conduct and dispose thy hand vnto the lute, with certaine easie lessons for that purpose. And also a third booke containing diuers new excellent tunes. All first written in French by Adrian Le Roy, and now translated into English by F. Ke. gentleman (1574). Place of publication for early modern books is London unless otherwise stated.

9 Pigman, 289.


13 Pigman, 171.

14 SRLC, 244.


16 For this analysis see Webbe, in SRLC, 255-6.

17 SRLC, 246-7.

18 Pigman, P [i.e. additions from The Posies] 32.37-42 (453).

19 For the sketchy record of Gascoigne’s university study, see Pigman, xxv.


22 The passages are discussed by Austen, *Gascoigne*, 203-8.


24 *OED, plainsong*, 1 and 2.


26 Pigman, 145-6; all subsequent references given in parenthesis within the text.

27 *The Griefe of Joye*, fourth song, stanza 35.

28 *OED, bargeret*; Pigman, 749.

29 *Englands Helicon* (1600), E1r-2r; *Euphues Shadow* (1592), C2v-3r. On the meaning of bargynet see further Payne, *The Almain in Britain*, 150, and Mullally, ‘More about the Measures’, 418.


31 See *OED, Napoletana*, which gives the Gascoigne example in its etymological note.


33 *OED, tinternel*; Pigman, 770.


Elyot, *The Gouernour*, 82r-v (matrimony), 86v (single), 92r (double).

Quoted in Mullally, ‘More about the Measures’, 418

Musical sources: Cambridge University Library (CUL), Dd.2.11, 59v (Holborne, for lute, untitled), on which my version is based; CUL Dd.4.23, 20v (anon., for cittern, ‘Tinternell’); British Library MS Egerton 2046 (Jane Pickering[e]’s lute book), 13v-14r (John Johnson, for lute duet, ‘A treble’); CUL Dd.3.18, 10v, upper part only of Johnson’s duet (‘Short Almain’); Trinity College Dublin, MS 410/1 (the Dallis lute book), 223 (anon, for lute, ‘Tintnel’). Julia Craig McFeely lists all but the last as concordances of a piece by Holborne called ‘Il nodo digordio’ (‘The Gordian Knot’) in Royal Academy of Music, MS 603 (the Margaret Board lute book), 21v, and adds a further concordance, CUL Dd.9.33, 52v: see ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630’ (pubd online 2000) <http://www.ramesescats.co.uk/thesis/> accessed 15 May 2015, appendix 1, 313, and (for the Dallis ‘Tintnel’) appendix 1, 338. Modern editions of Holborne’s version: Anthony Holborne, *Music for Lute and Bandora*, ed. Masakata Kanazawa (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 146-51 (no. 50); *Elizabethan Popular Music for the Lute*, ed. Brian Jeffery (London, 1968), 29-31 (no. 17; and see appendix, 20, for a facsimile of the relevant page of MS Dd.2.11). The version from CUL Dd.4.23 is edited in *Four Hundred Songs and Dances from the Stuart Masque*, ed. Andrew J. Sabol (Hanover, 1982), 462 (no. 335). All musical sources have the formal features known to Gascoigne (the tune’s rhythm and length, and the beginning on an upbeat). The most detailed discussion of these is in Payne, *The Almain in Britain*, 151. For the meaning of the word *tintrel* see, e.g., Mullally, ‘More about the Measures’, 423; Brian Jeffery, ‘Antony Holborne’, *Musica Disciplina*, 22 (1968), 129-205 (182-3); Sabol, 610; and Payne, 148-9.


Musical source: lute tablature in Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.2.11, 9r (anon., ‘Lothe to Departe’, for lute).


Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625), 7M4v (‘I know not how Nature hath here also wantonized and danced a *Loath to depart* in the winding of those Streames, which seeme willingly againe and againe to embrasse that beloued Soile’).

Earliest EEBO examples in religious literature: Stephen Jerome, *Seauen helpes to Heauen* (1614), K8v (‘What the causes are that cause the carnall man to sing *Loath to depart*, you haue heard’); and Thomas Wilson, *Saints by calling* (1620), I4v (‘they play loath to depart’). The italicization in the Jerome, as in the Purchas example above, makes clear how the usage refers to the title of a song or dance.

49 John Grange, *The Golden Aphroditis* (1577), D1v, on which page is also found ‘*aliquid salis*’. Grange’s text is printed in black letter, with both roman and italic type used for what here is given in italic. Gascoigne’s printers do not italicize ‘loth to depart’ (*A Hundred Sundrie Flowres* (1573), 234), though they do italicize some other musical titles, including the Tinternel (223 and 231).

50 The two phrases soon resurface for a third time in Richard Tarlton, *Tarltons newes out of purgatorie* (1590), in ‘The tale of the two Louers of Pisa’, G3v (‘which was resolued on with a *succado des labres*, and so with a loath to depart they tooke their leaues’).


53 See Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad*, 456, and Craig-Mcfeely, ‘English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes’, 816. Simpson’s account (456-7) also discusses various red herrings (other tunes, lyrics in other forms, and a doubtful allusion) that I have not pursued here. One of these, ‘A proper new ballett, intituled Rowlands god sonne, To the tune of loth to departe’, beginning ‘Tell me Jhon why art thou soe sade’ (Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 185, 15v), with its ‘elaborate eight-line stanza form’ (Simpson, 456) is the only poem with ‘Loath to depart’ as its designated tune in Steven W. May and William A. Ringler, Jr, *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-line Index of English Verse, 1559-1603* (London, 2004), 1403 and 2116 (EV 21445).

54 *Wit at severall weapons*, 2.1, in *Comedies and tragedies written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher* (1647), 6K2v

55 Thomas Ravenscroft, *Deuteromelia* (1609), F2r, lineation added.

57 ‘Firme is the faith, and loth to depart’, in Robert Chester, *Loves Martyr* (1601), X3r; capitalization adjusted, lineation added.


59 For this usage cf. ‘Dan Bartholmew of Bathe’, 9.37-8: ‘And when the deskant sings, in treeble tunes above, | Then let fa burden, say (by lowe) I liv’d and dyde for love’ (Pigman, 354).

60 *OED*, *burden*, 9 and 10.

61 Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 73 and 78.
In prime of lus-ty years, when Cupid caught me in, And
To please my wand'ring eye, in beauty's tic-kle trade, To
na-ture taught the way to love, how I might best be-gin,
gaze on each that pass-ed by, a care-less sport I made.
Like faithful friends, sing loath to depart