**Music supplement to Lute News 52 (December 1999): Five Lute Solos Probably Incorrectly Ascribed to C.K. and Lute Solos Ascribed to TA, RB, CD, E, N and JR**

The complete known lute solos ascribed to the enigmatic ‘**CK**’ have been edited here despite the fact that there is little reason to assume that he was the composer of any of them. Three of the five are found in a manuscript known as the Cosens or Cozens lute book, named after Frederick William Cosens whose motto appears on the nineteenth century book plate inside the front cover. The manuscript is now in Cambridge University Library, shelf mark Add. 3056 and has been dated *c.*1610. In her PhD thesis, Julia Craig-McFeely says of 3056 “The owner of the book is almost certainly the ‘C.K.’ who appears frequently at the end of pieces otherwise known to be by a different composer’ [Julia Craig-McFeely, *English Lute Manuscripts and Scribes 1530-1630*, Oxford University, Doctoral thesis, vol ii, p. 342, 1994]. I am inclined to agree [see below], and hence propose that the manuscript is renamed the ‘C.K. Lute Book’, following the precedent of another manuscript whose owner is only known from the initials, the M.L. Lute Book [cf. facsimile edition with an introduction by Robert Spencer, (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1985)]. Following the precedent further, 3056 would make an excellent facsimile edition.

One of the pieces ascribed to ‘CK’ is a version of John Dowland’s Lachrimae Pavan [cf. Diana Poulton and Basil Lam, *The Collected Lute Music of John Dowland* (London: Faber, 1974, 1978, 1981), no. 15], which may be CK’s own arrangement as the divisions are quite unusual [cf. **no. 5**, below]. In fact, he may have arranged many of the lute solos in the manuscript, although he only added his initials to three of them. Diana Poulton stated that “The MS is of interest on account of the independence of mind of the writer. He appears to have been a musician who, in a number of cases, preferred not to accept the already composed divisions on some well-known pieces, but to make his own arrangements”. She goes on to say that “Some of these, including an arrangement of Lachrimae are marked with the initials ‘C.K.’, as also are some compositions which appear to be his own. His identity still remains hidden. Seventeen pieces of Italian origin occur in the middle of the book, but for the rest, the music is English” [Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 100]. However, as will become clear below, the remaining pieces bearing the initials CK are found, in one case only in part, in continental sources. What is more, some of these predate the majority of surviving English lute music and hence CK seems to have had a penchant for music of an older generation of lutenists.

**No. 1** is concordant with, but not identical to, a Phantasia/Fuga in Elias Mertel’s *Hortus Musicalis Novus* published in Strasbourg in 1615, so is unlikely to have been composed by CK. **No. 2a** is found in Dd.2.11, suggesting pieces associated with CK were familiar to the copyist Matthew Holmes. But it is also unlikely that it was composed by CK as readers will recognise this fantasia as concordant with the ‘Fantasia Fabricij Dentici Neapolitani’ in Besard’s *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Cologne, 1603, facsimile edition: Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1975), from the facsimile in the Lute Society Tablature Sheet series 10, no. 6. However, a nearly identical version is found in Italian tablature in Melchior Neusidler’s *Il Secondo Libro Intabolatvra di Livto*, published in Venice in 1566, and in prints in French and German tablature from 1571 and 1573. There is also a version set a tone lower in a manuscript of German provenance [transcribed from German tablature here as **no. 2b**] now in the Biblioteka Jagielloñska, Kraków [formerly Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin] Mus. ms.40598 from *c*1583-4 [see work list below; the wrong incipit for this piece is reproduced in the inventory by Dieter Kirsch and Lenz Meierott, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau* (Mainz: Schott, 1992), p. 260]. It is noteworthy that another Melchior Neusidler fantasia is known in a lower pitched version, in an earlier source: ‘43. Fantasia. MN’ in his *Teutsch Lautenbuch* published by Bernhard Jobin in Strasbourg, 1574 = ‘R[icercar] MN’, Kraków 40598, ff. 19v-20r. It is set a fourth lower as ‘Fantasia 3’ in Benedict de Drusina’s *Tabulatura Continens* (Frankfurt, 1556), and an untitled cognate version is found in the Siena manuscript, ff. 42r-42v [La Haye, Gemeentemuseum, Ms. 28 B 39, Sienese provenance, *c.*1560-1570; facsimile edition: edited by Arthur J. Ness (Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1988)]. It may be more than coincidence that Melchior Neusidler visited Italy in 1565 [cf. Hans Radke, ‘Melchior Neusidler’, *New Grove* xiii, 157-158]. Incidentally, the other fantasia in the Lute Society tablature sheet series 10, no. 6 entitled ‘Fantasia Fabric. Dent.’ from Besard, ff. 15v-16r, is the same as another of Melchior’s lute solos, ‘Recercar Primo’ in his *Il Primo Libro Intabolatvra di Livto*, (Venice, 1566), also ‘Fantasia 4 [Melchior]’ on ff. 16v-17r of Phalése and Bellére’s *Theatrum Musicum* (Louvain, 1571), and ‘Fantasia 4’ in Bernhard Jobin’s *Das Erst Büch* (Strasbourg, 1572, facsimile edition: Genève: Éditions Minkoff, 1997). Therefore, both were probably composed by Melchior Neusidler and not Fabrizio Dentice, and the first certainly not by CK!

The curiously titled **no. 3**, ‘An answare to Cookow’ is also unlikely to have been composed by CK since it includes a complete section in triple time from the ‘Fantasia’ found on ff. 5v-6v in Kraków 40598 [*c.*1583-4], also ‘Fantasia VB’ on ff. 54v-55r of the lute book of M. Phil[ippus] Agricola [Dessau, Stadtbibliothek, Ms. BB 12150], which was copied in Tübingen, beginning in 1580. Bars 63-91 of the 3056 version are closely concordant with bars 31-60 of the earlier continental fantasia. VB could refer to Valentin Bakfark as other music known to be by him is found in Kraków 40598, but this is unlikely as it is in a very different style. Other near contemporary composers with the initials VB include the Valerio Bona to whom one lute solo is ascribed in the now lost Vesoul, Bibiothèque municipale, Ms. 711, f. 95v,Vincenzo Bellaver, to whom the 'Fantasia come di sopra' is ascribed in Terzi 1599, p. 91 and Vincenzo Bernia two of whose lute solos are included in *Novus Partus* (Augsburg, 1617; facsimile edition: Genève, Éditions Minkoff, 1983). The fantasia from which CK appears to have copied a complete section may have its origins in similar scalic pieces with a triple time section towards the end, all found in the earlier sources in German tablature such as the ‘Praeambulum in sol. hd’, Munich 1512 [*c.*1533-1550], ff. 37v-38r with concordances ‘Ein ander fantasen auff Welsche auszgesetz’ [= fantasy composed in the Italian style], Heckel 1562, no. 76; ‘PRÆAMBVLVM Wolffgang Heckels.I.’, Basel F.IX.39 [*c.*1575 or earlier], ff. 3v-4r.

Finally, **no. 4**, the ‘Pavana in fugis CK’ is found in another German manuscript, probably of Leipzig provenance, Leipzig II.6.15, *c.*1619. This sole surviving version is corrupt but could be English in style, and is sandwiched between a version of John Johnson’s Delight Pavan [‘Pavana Anglica’] and an otherwise unknown ‘Pauana Dulandi’ [cf. Poulton and Lam, no. 86]. This may be the same CK as in the English sources given the associations of the fancies bearing his initials, and this pavan could have been composed or arranged by him.

Thus, the manuscript 3056 may have belonged to CK, although quite how he acquired the music to which he put his initials is impossible to determine. He may have been an Englishman who acquired these pieces, together with the substantial section of Italian music, from another manuscript that circulated in England. Alternatively he may have travelled abroad and brought copies of the music back on his return, claiming that some of them were his own arrangements, as he did for the version of Lachrimae. It is even possible that he was of continental origin himself and lived for some time in England, although it must be emphasised that all these suggestions are entirely speculative.

**1.** 3056, ff. 39r-40r *A fancy CK*

Mertel 1615, pp. 185-187 *Phantasia et Fuga 51*

**2a**. Dd.2.11, ff. 79v-80r *A fancy CK*

Melchior Neusidler II 1566, pp. 40-42 *Recercar secundo*

Phalèse and Bellère 1571, ff. 14v-15r *Fantasia 2*.

Drusina II 1573, sigs. L3v-L4r *21 Recercar secundo*

Besard 1603, ff. 14v-15r *Fantasia Fabricij Dentici Neapolitani*

**2b.** Kraków 40598, ff. 17r-18r *Fantasia auff 13 Saiten* [tone lower] (‘on 13 strings’, i.e. a 7 course lute!)

**3.**3056, ff. 12v-14r Fancy? *An answare to Cookow CK*

3056, f. 11v untitled - bars 54-61 only

Mylius 1622, pp. 32-34 *Fantasia - Seconda pars*

bars 63-91 = Kraków 40598, ff. 5v-6v *Fantasia* - bars 31-60

Dessau B12150, ff. 54v-55r *Fantasia VB*

**4.** Leipzig II.6.15, pp. 116-117 *Pavana in fugis CK / 25*

**5.** 3056, ff. 36v-37r *Lachrimae CK*

**TA, RB, CD, E, N and JR**

This music supplement also includes lute solos whose titles are appended with what is presumed to be the initials of otherwise unknown lutenists, composers or arrangers. However, it possible to hazard a guess at the identity of at least some of them. Music ascribed with initials only has been identified with some ease as by major composers of the time. For examples, RA, DB, EC, FC, AF, JJ, RJ, FP and TR present little difficulty. Previous music supplements have also included suggestions that the identity of ‘L’ in English sources is Mr Lush[i]er and the likelihood that ‘EI’ refers to Edward Johnson in Barley, ‘JH’ to James Harding in Filmer MS 2, ‘M’ to John Marchant in Dd.5.78.3, and ‘TS’ to Thomas Smith in 3056. In the consort sources, ‘RR’ refers to Richard Reade, but the identity of ‘WS’ in the bandora parts ‘Laveche Pavan W.S.’ and ‘tell me John W.S’ in the Browne /Braye bandora book is not known to me. However, caution is necessary in interpreting initials, as the galliard ascribed ‘CG’ in Dd.5.78.3, f. 41r is elsewhere ascribed to Francis Cutting and so the initials may be shorthand for ‘Cuttings Galliard’. A similar example is the ascription ‘JG’ in Dd.5.78.3 probably for ‘James Galliard’ as it is a version of James Harding’s famous galliard. Thus, the attempt to identify some individuals below must be considered very tentative indeed!

Of the initials associated with music included here, in the prefatory text for the facsimile edition of the Willoughby lute book (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1978), Robert Spencer suggested that ‘**TA**’ could be the initials of **Thomas Aytkinson** who is recorded as a servant at Wollaton Hall in Nottingham, the household of Sir Francis Willoughby, the owner of the lute book. It is not known if Thomas Aytkinson was a lutenist, but servants were often musicians. Thus, he may have made this arrangement of the Quadro Pavan [cf. **no. 6**].

The inscription *ffinis* ***R:B****.* appears below the final stave of no. 34 *Pauen of Mr. Byrds* in the Walsingham consort cittern book [US-OAm Parton, f. 13v]. It could also mean that RB was a member, possibly the cittern player, of the mixed consort for whom the Walsingham consort books were intended. The galliard reproduced here in all three extant versions [cf. **nos 7a, 7b & 7c**] may be by the same RB. The initials RB are used in only one version, copied by Matthew Holmes, himself the scribe of a set of mixed consort part books. However, the galliard may not have been composed for lute but arranged from another medium, possibly by someone other than RB himself. In the introduction to the facsimile edition of the Trumbull lute book (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1980), Robert Spencer suggested that RB may refer to **Robert Baker** senior, the recorder player. This Robert Baker [I], sometimes referred to as Backer in court records, completed an apprenticeship in 1587 with the London wait Anthony Tindall, and became a wait himself in 1588 as an extra, seventh, man, but resigned in 1594 to take up a place as a court musician [A. Ashbee, *Records of English Court Musicians* vols i, iii-v, viii; A. Ashbee and D. Lasocki, *Biographical Dictionary of English Court Musicians* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), vol. i, 50-4]. He was granted a place in 1595 as a musician to Elizabeth I for life upon the death of Lodovico Bassano and was later sworn in as a recorder player to James I in 1603. He is listed among the recorders at the funeral of James I in 1625 and from then on appears on the payroll amongst the ‘Musicians for the Recorders’ of Charles I, sharing his place with his son Robert Baker [II], sometimes called Barker, from 1621 until Robert [I] died in 1637. The son was then sworn in ‘as a musician for the wind instruments in the place of his father’ a post he kept until he died in 1642, being replaced by Francis Smith. Robert Baker [I] was mentioned in Charles I’s charter of 1635 giving the king’s musicians precedent over the rival city waits for the training of apprentices and performances of music in and around London. However, he may have had financial difficulties later in life as he was petitioned to pay large debts in 1630, 1632 and 1633. He must have been a close friend of several wind players as he often collected their wages from the Exchequer. These include Andrea and Edward Bassano, as well as wind players Anthony Bassano, John Mason ‘sackbuts’, Peter Edney, ‘flute’, and Thomas Mason and Henry Troches ‘wind’. If he became an apprentice in 1583 in his mid teens then he was about 70 when he died.

An alternative identity for RB is the English composer **Robert Bateman**, who contributed two 'Galliard / Robert Bateman' à 5 (nos. 10 & 14) to Hildebrand’s *Ander Theil ausserlesener lieblicher Paduanen und Galliarden* of 1609; ‘Robert Bateman: Aria’ à 4 (no. 50) to Thomas Simpson’s *Taffel Consort* (Hamburgh, 1621) [= 'The Cadua' à 4, i.e. a masque dance, (no. 32) in BL Add. MS 10444, 2nd sequence; also 'Cadia Mascarada' (no. 81)(florid violin divisions and bass) in Ulm, Schermar'sche Familiestiftung Bibliothek, MS 130a-b (1620); and 'Mascarat' (no. 33)(florid violin divisions) in Breslau (now in Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz) MS 115]; also 'All'mand: R. Bateman' à 5 (no. 23) and 'Robb. Batemans Naglein Blumen' à 5 (no. 44) to William Brade’s *Newe Ausserlesene Liebliche Branden* (Hamburg, 1617), but the latter is in fact Robert Johnson's well-known Prince's Alman. I would like to thank Peter Holman for this information. Given that Bateman’s music has been described as ‘taking the form of short dances, light in style and very attractive’ [Andrew Ashbee, ‘Robert Bateman’, *New Grove* ii, 283-4], it is possible that the lute galliard in English sources is by him also.

The ascription ‘**N**’ to the otherwise untitled piece in Dd.5.78.3 [cf. **no. 10**] could be by the same composer of consort settings in the Holmes part books: ‘Pauen.N.’, Dd.5.20, f. 10r [bass viol part]; ‘Pauen.N’, Dd.5.21, f. 11v [recorder part]; and ‘Galliarde.N’, Dd.5.20, f. 10r [bass viol part]; ‘Galliarde N’, Dd.5.21, f. 11v [recorder part]; together with ‘Nico: Almaine’, Dd.5.21, f. 11v [recorder part]; and ‘The Jewes Dawnce R Nicolson’, Dd.3.18, f. 48r [lute part]; ‘Jewes daunce.’ Dd.5.21, f. 12r [recorder part]. The latter is based on the bergamasca and the first six bars follow the tune of ‘De Jerr a mort’ Dd.9.33, f. 38r [lute solo]; ‘Schotsen dans’, Thysius, f. 419r; and ‘The rich Jew’, Paris Rés 1186, f. 100v [kb] [cf. Warwick Edwards (ed.), Music for mixed consort, *Musica Britannica* 40 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1977), no.19; Lyle Nordstrom ‘The Cambridge Consort Books’, *JLSA* v: 70-103, 1972]. In fact, the triple time piece in Dd.5.78 is more like a consort or duet part for lute. Nordstom suggests the composer of the consort music is Richard Nicholson, presumably the same person as Richard Nicholson the English organist and composer who was appointed *Informator choristarum* in Oxford in 1595, a position he held until his death in 1639. In addition to the possible lute solo and 4 mixed consort settings, Richard Nicolson’s surviving music comprises two anthems, four madrigals, a madrigal cycle, five consort songs and two pavans for viols, as well as another eleven similar works of uncertain attribution [cf. John Morehen, ‘Nicholson, Richard’, *New Grove* xiii, 207].

It is not known to whom ‘**CD**’ of the almande in the Schele lute book [*c.*1613-9] [cf. **no. 8**] refers, but the music is closely related to John Dowland’s The Earl of Darby’s Galliard [Diana Poulton and Basil Lam no. 44], a version of which follows it on p. 141 in Schele. Nothing is known of the composer of the elegant pavan ascribed ‘**E**’ [cf. **no. 9**] in Matthew Holmes’ Dd.5.78.3 [*c*1595-1600], anonymous in Add.3056 [*c*1610] and the Euing lute book [*c.*1610]. Similarly, the person referred to as ‘**JR**’ [cf. **no. 11**] who arranged or composed the elaborate galliard in the Welde lute book [*c*1600], cannot be identified at present.

**6.** Willoughby, ff. 12v-14r *TA Quadro pauyn*

**7a.** Trumbull, f. 19r untitled

**7b.** Dd.2.11, f. 80r *A Galliard*

**7c.** Dd.2.11, f. 67r *Galliard RB*

**8.** Schele, p. 141 *Almande C.D.*

**9.** 3056, ff. 19v-20r untitled

Dd.5.78.3, f. 29r Pavan *E*

Euing, f. 23v untitled

**10.** Dd.5.78.3, f. 43r untitled *N*

**11.** Welde, f. 15v *Galliarde sett forth by J:R.*

**Addendum**: The following additions can be made to the supplement ‘English Lute Music Abroad II’ in *Lute News* 51, September 1999. I should have noticed earlier that no. 10, ‘Chorea Anglica’ is in fact another version in F of no 4, ‘Engelsche Masquarade’. I would also like to thank Martin Shepherd for identiying a further two items. The second strain of no. 7, Chorea Anglica’ is concordant with the second strain of ‘Kemps Jigge’, Dd.2.11, f. 99v; ‘Ao 1603 In Decembris / Engels Liedlein’, Berlin 40143, f. 63v; ‘The Parliament’, Danzig 4022, f. 44r; ‘the parlement’, Folger, f. 4v; ‘Quyns Almand’, Thysius, f. 486v; cf. mixed consort setting ‘Nutmigs and Ginger’, Dd.3.18, f.33r [lute]; Dd.14.24, f. 37r [cittern]; Dd.5.21, f. 7r [recorder]; Dd.5.20, f. 7v [bass viol]; and keyboard settings ‘R. Cr[eighton]’, Paris Rés 1186, f.108r; ‘R. Cr’, Drexel 5609, p. 80 [cf. Warwick Edwards, *Musica Britannica* 40, no.26]. Also, Martin Shepherd identified no.12, ‘Chorea Anglica’, as a cognate of ‘A Toy’ on sig.H1v in Thomas Robinson’s *The Schoole of Musicke* (London, 1603), in what is a more satisfactory version than the one Robinson chose to print.  *John H Robinson, - November 1999/revised May 2016*