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WHO WAS HENRICUS?

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Johannes Tinctoris, in his music treatise of the 1480s, *De inventione et usu musicae*, names two lutenists as the virtuosi in the polyphonic manner of lute playing: 'Orbus' ('the blind man') and 'Henricus'. Tinctoris describes Henricus as 'recently serving' Charles the Bold ('ac Henricus Carolo Burgundionum duci fortissimo nuper serviens'.)¹ Tinctoris's use of this phrase, 'nuper serviens' could simply reflect the fact that the Duke had lost life at the battle of Nancy in 1477, so that serving him was no longer an option, or perhaps something more: that Henricus had died prior to the compilation of *De inventione*, or while still in service to the Duke; or perhaps Tinctoris believed that the lutenist had left Charles's service before 1477. Tinctoris could have obtained his information about Henricus between 1476 and 1480.² There are a few musicians with the first name Henricus or Henry who were associated with the court of Burgundy from the mid-fifteenth century to the early sixteenth century and whose biographies show some correspondences with Tinctoris's description of Henricus.³ I present them in a chronological order of their appearance in the Burgundian documents.

Henricus de Ghizeghem was a singer at Cambrai Cathedral in 1453. It has been suggested that he is identical with Hayne van Ghizeghem, but is now considered more likely to be a relative of the composer.⁴ There is no documentary evidence that he was also an instrumentalist.

The chanson composer Hayne van Ghezeghem was most probably also a lutenist, and Tinctoris's meagre biography of the lutenist Henricus fits well with the biography of Hayne, who was in the service of Charles the Bold for most of his early life.⁵ But the Latinised version of his name is unknown; Hayne's first name is variously spelled 'Ayne', 'Haine', 'Heyne', or 'Scoen Hayne', in the surviving documents. The lack of the letter 'r' in any version of Hayne's name considerably diminishes the chance that Tinctoris would have called him 'Henricus'.⁶

Henry Donfrist was a 'trompette de guerre' at the Burgundian court in 1463–1468 and 1474.⁷ There is no documentation that he was also a lutenist.

Henry Bouclers is another possibility. The Burgundian court documents recording payments to musicians during the reign of Charles the Bold list Henry Bouclers, Lienart Bouclers, and Gautier de Berchem as lutenists ('joueurs de luz'); no other minstrels working at the court in this period were so described.⁸ Henry Bouclers's name does not appear in the detailed list for the minstrels regularly employed by Philip the Good; his court appearance coincides with Charles's accession to the dukedom in 1467. A Henri Bucquelin, 'joueur de leu', stayed for a short time at the Burgundian court on his way to back to Germany

sometime between 1466 and 1467.⁹ If this lutenist is the same person as Henry Bouclers, this occasion may have been initiated his employment at the Burgundian court. A Henry Bouclers is listed along with his brother Lienart as a lutenist in the register of the accounts for the Burgundian court for the years 1467 and 1468: 'Henry et Lyenart Bouclers, frères, joueurs de lu' were paid 24 livres for their service.¹⁰ In 1469, Charles the Bold expressed his gratitude to Henry and Lienart as well as to Gautier de Berchem by giving them three new lutes decorated with his coat of arms. The Duke made a payment of the sum of 52 livres 10 sols to a German merchant Molhans who delivered the lutes.¹¹ Henry Bouclers's name disappears from the Burgundian court records after 1470. A financial document from the same court in 1488 records Archduke Maximilian's gift of a lute to Lienart Bouclers, indicating the lutenist's continuous presence at the court and perhaps implying that Henry was no longer alive then, considering that the surviving documents on the brothers always pair them.¹² Henry and Lienart Bouclers may have come from a family of instrumentalists who worked in the Burgundian orbit in the third and fourth quarters of the fifteenth century.¹³

I advanced a hypothesis in my study on Conrad Paumann, that Henry Bouclers is identical with Tinctoris's Henricus, considering his first name, the fact that he played the lute, and the place and approximate period of his employment.¹⁴ A major obstacle to this argument, however, is Henry's implied performance style; the fact that the Burgundian court records usually pair the brothers suggests that their performance style was primarily that of the lute ensemble duo, with the younger brother Lienart acting as a *tenorista*, and Henry playing a running treble line using a plectrum. Of course Henry could have cultivated both the monophonic and polyphonic styles of lute playing.¹⁵ Another argument against Henry Bouclers being Henricus is that the known duration of Henry's service at the court of Burgundy, the period 1466–1469, does not offer a strong association with Charles the Bold. On the other hand again, it may be argued that Tinctoris did not actually specify the duration of the lutenist's service to the Duke or the degree of his association with him, and that the surviving documents regarding the employment of the musicians at the court of Burgundy are in any case incomplete. In conclusion, Henry Bouclers remains the most probable candidate to be prospectively identified with Tinctoris's Henricus, although there is no conclusive evidence for this.

Reinhard Strohm has argued that Henri Bredemersch, an organist at Bruges, was Tinctoris's Henricus.¹⁶ If this organist was the same person as Henri Bredemers, an organist to Archduke Maximilian, Bredemersch's cultivation of the lute is implied by an apprenticeship record, requiring Bredemersch to teach as his apprentice one Etienne Diedeghem, a percussion player in Maximilian's service, how to play 'des fluytes, leut et clavicordium, orghes et autres instrumens.'¹⁷ Philip the Fair formally hired Bredemersch on 15 January 1501, replacing an organist

Fleurchin de Leurgast for the 1501 meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece.¹⁸ Bredemersch accompanied the Duke to Spain together with Pierre de la Rue and Alexander Agricola.¹⁹ After Philip's death in 1506, Bredemersch resumed the post of organist at the Archduke Charles's private chapel, and his presence at the court in 1515 is documented. Thus Bredemersch's biography indicates a musical career extending to the second decade of the sixteenth century, making a weaker case for the organist being Tinctoris's Henricus.²⁰

Notes

- 1 For the relevant passages, see Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat 'De inventione et usu musicae'*, 2nd ed. (Tutzing, 1961), p. 45; and Anthony Baines, 'Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De inventione et usu musicae*', *The Galpin Society Journal* 3 (1950), p. 24.
- 2 For the date of the compilation of the treatise, see Ronald Woodley, 'The Printing and Scope of Tinctoris's Fragmentary Treatise *De inventione et usu musicae*,' *Early Music History* 5 (1985), pp. 241–45. For Tinctoris's trip north, see idem., 'Iohannes Tinctoris: A review of the Documentary Biographical Evidence', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), pp. 235–36.
- 3 Henri de Houx was hired by John the Fearless in 1407; see Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy 1364–1419* (Henryville, [Penn.], 1979), p. 46. Pietro Giannetti's Latin poem in praise of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza mentions two musicians in the cardinal's service, a Henricus who was a German *citaredo* and a Bachieca who was an Italian singer to the lute. See Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Culture in Italy from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), p. 109; and Edward E. Lowinsky, *Music in the Culture of the Renaissance and Other Essays* (Chicago and London, 1989), p. 549.
- 4 See Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420–1467)*, Sammlung musikwissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, vol. 29 (Baden-Baden, 1974), p. 206; and idem., 'Hayne van Ghizeghem: Musician at the Court of the 15th-Century Burgundian Dukes', *The Musical Quarterly* 28 (1942), p. 277.
- 5 Discussed in my 'Hayne van Ghizeghem Lutenist', forthcoming.
- 6 I am indebted to W. J. Lewis for this suggestion.
- 7 Marix, *Histoire de la musique*, p. 274.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 274–75.

- 9 See Leon Emmanuel de Laborde, *Les ducs de bourgogne: Études sur les letters, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1849), 1: 496, Document 1920; Marix, *Histoire de la musique*, p. 56.
- 10 Laborde, *Les ducs de bourgogne*, 1: 499, Document 1937; and Michel Brenet, *Notes sur l'histoire du luth en France* (Turin, 1899), p. 7.
- 11 See Edmond Vander Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIX^e siècle*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1969), 2: 368–69; and Marix, *Histoire de la musique*, p. 108. The famous German lute maker Conrad Gerle may have been the maker of these instruments.
- 12 See Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas*, 2: 370. There is a lutenist in a miniature of c.1480 depicting Archduke Maximilian playing chess with Mary of Burgundy; reproduced in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1952), 2: 482.
- 13 The documents concerning Bouclers variously spell their last name as 'Bucquelin', 'Boclers', or 'Beuckel'. The name 'Bouclers' may have been a Flemish name or a corrupt form of a German name 'Büchlin'; see Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford, 1985), p. 112; and Lionel de la Laurencie, *Les luthistes* (Paris, 1928), p. 14, respectively. Musicians with the name 'Bueckel' were associated with Bruges; a Copin, an organist at Bruges in 1462 and 1463, may be identical with a Copin Bucquel de Bruges who served as a chaplain at the Burgundian court between 1465 and 1474; see Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 79. A lutenist called Conrart Bouclin was in the service of the bishop of Liège in 1468; for the document, see Straeten, *La Musique aux Pays-Bas*, 2:370; and Brenet, *Notes sur l'histoire du luth*, p. 7. This lutenist may be identical with a Conrat 'joueur de lutz de Bourbon' who was given gift from Charles, Duke of Orléans about 1475 and with 'Conrat joueur de lutz' who with 'son compagnon' received gift from the same duke in 1493; for the document, see *ibid.*, 8.
- 14 Hiroyuki Minamino, 'Conrad Paumann and the Evolution of Solo Lute Practice in the Fifteenth Century', *Journal of Musicological Research* 6 (1986), pp. 292–93.
- 15 Giovan Maria Hebreo, whose lute compositions were published by Ottvaiano Petrucci as the third of his lute series and who was praised by Paolo Cortese as one of the virtuosi in the polyphonic manner of lute playing in the early sixteenth century, is documented as having played with three other lutenists. On Giovan Maria's lute style, see Hiroyuki Minamino, 'A Battle of Old and New: Giovan Maria Hebreo and Francesco da Milano at the Papal Court', *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2000), pp. 7–9.
- 16 Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, p. 165, n. 38.
- 17 Marix, *Histoire de la musique*, p. 96.

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- 18 See William F. Prizer, 'Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece', *Early Music History* 5 (1985)p. 127.
 - 19 See Yvonne Rokseth, *La musique d'orgue au XVe siècle et au début du XVIe* (Paris, 1930), p. 126.
 - 20 George Van Doorslaer, 'Henry Bredemers, organiste et maître de musique, 1472-1522', *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique* 76 (1914), pp. 209-56, was unavailable for the present study.