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Author
Minamino, Hiroyuki

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WHO WAS HENRICUS?

HIROYUKI MINAMINO

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 super serviens'). Tinctoris's use of this phrase, 'super 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. 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. 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. There is no documentary evidence that he was also an instrumentalist.

The chanson composer Hayne van Ghizeghem 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. But the Latinised version of his name is unknown; Hayne's first name is variously spelled 'Ayne', 'Haine', 'Heyne', or 'Sceen 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'.

Henry Donfriest was a 'trompetto de guerere' at the Burgundian court in 1463–1468 and 1474. 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, Liennart Bouclers, and Gautier de Berchem as lutenists ('joueurs de lute'); no other minstrels working at the court in this period were so described. 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 Bacquelin, 'joueur de lute', stayed for a short time at the Burgundian court on his way to back to Germany.
sometime between 1466 and 1467. 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 Lienart Bouclers, frères, joueurs de luth’ were paid 24 livres for their service. 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 Molhaas who delivered the lutes. 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. 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.

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. 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.

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, 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. If this organist was the same person as Henri Bredemersch, an organist to Archduke Maximilian, Bredemersch’s cultivation of the lute is implied by a apprenticeship record, requiring Bredemersch to teach as his apprentice one Etienne Diergheim, a percussion player in Maximilian’s service, how to play ‘des fluytes, leut et clavicordium, orges et autres instruments.’ 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 Tintorius’s Henricus. 20

Notes


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. Fiorenzo Giannetti’s Latin poem in praise of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza mentions two musicians in the cardinal’s service, a German cittern player and a French singer who was an Italian singer to the late. 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.


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.


11 See Edmond Vander Straeten, *Musique aux Pays-Bas avant le XIXe 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', 'Beclers', 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 'Bucquel' were associated with Brouges; 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 Conrad 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 Brelet, *Notes sur l'histoire du luth*, p. 7. This lutenist may be identical with a Conrat 'joueur de lute de Bourbon' who was given gift from Charles, Duke of Orleans 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.


15 Giovan Maria Hebreo, whose lute compositions were published by Ottaviano 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: Giovane Maria Hebreo and Francesco da Milano at the Papal Court', *Lute Society of America Quarterly* 35, no. 4 (2000), pp. 7-9.


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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.