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From Minstrel to Courtier – The Royal Musique de Chambre and Courtly Ideals in Sixteenth-Century France

My title refers to two sorts of individuals who might engage in musical activity at court. The first is a minstrel, a person of inferior social status who gives pleasure through singing, dancing or playing, on demand, to those of higher rank. The second is a courtier, someone whose rank is roughly equal to that of the audience, whose engagement in performance is at least apparently voluntary, who performs for his own pleasure as well as that of his listeners and who derives no direct financial gain from musical activity. In the sixteenth century, the organization of the French royal chamber music group increasingly reflected the ideals associated with contemporary images of the second figure, while never quite ridding itself of the social stigma of the first.

Court records from just before the turn of the seventeenth century and later – stretching into the reign of Louis XIV and well beyond – reflect the activities of a new secular musical bureaucracy, specifically responsible for the provision of music as part of the court's daily functions. A hundred years earlier, no such bureaucracy existed; the only formally constituted court musical establishment was associated with the royal chapel and the celebration of the liturgy. There was no equivalent organization for the provision of secular music along the lines of the royal *musique de chambre*, which was gradually formed over the course of the century. Its creation allowed certain aspects of courtly ideology to become fixed in the structure of the court's hierarchy, so that they became not only an everyday component of court life but a defining element of the institution itself.

The archival material upon which these contentions are based is summarized in Table 1 (see pp. 47–49). The statistics it presents mainly come from a century's worth of royal *états de maison*, official lists of members of the king's household.¹

1 Sources for Table 1 are: for François I, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter F-Pn), fr. 21449 (*états de maison* for 1526–34, 1540–44, 1547) and F-Pn, fr. 10392 (purchase of cloth for mourning dress for members of the *maison*, 1547); for Henri II, F-Pn, fr. 21449 (*états* for 1548–49), F-Pn, Clairambault 813 (*état* of 1550), and F-Pn, Clairambault 1216 (*état* of 1556); for François II, F-Pn, Dupuy 852 (*état* for 1560); for Charles IX, Paris, Archives Nationales (hereafter F-Pan), KK 134 (*état* for 1572) and F-Pn, fr. 26171 (fragments of accounts for the purchase of cloth for mourning dress for members of the *maison*, 1574); for Henri III, F-Pn, fr. 7007 (*état* for 1575), F-Pn, Dupuy 127 (*état* for 1580), and

While many household positions involved fairly menial duties – examples include the royal washerwomen, or the kitchen boys attached to the *cuisine du commun* – the majority of these posts were highly prestigious and much sought after, both for the proximity to the monarch and their range of economic advantages, and a large proportion of them were held by members of the highest ranks of court nobility. As a general rule, a post in the *maison du roi* conferred automatic status – including for some positions actual ennoblement – upon its holder.² Documents from the royal household are a rich source of information about court musical practice, though their use requires some care. After the reign of François I – for whom records are fairly complete – the *états* have survived only patchily, preventing a systematic cataloguing of changes over the years. But for most decades, at least one *état* is extant, providing a snapshot of royal appointments at a particular moment. Another problem is that the appearance of a name or group of names in the *états* is an administrative gesture which does not necessarily have a direct relationship to the service performed. So if a harpist and a fife player are listed together on an *état*, for example, it does not mean that they regularly played together, and individuals could be included on an *état* even if they rarely performed the service for which they were paid. But the form of the documents does reveal contemporary thinking in showing what was believed necessary for inclusion, and what things »belonged« together in the minds of the court officials compiling the *états* and the rulers that approved them.

The most immediately striking musical developments in the *états* over the course of the century have to do with the size and composition of the royal chamber group. At the beginning of the reign of François I, the total number of musicians was only 16. A big jump occurred under Henri II – a monarch not usually noted

F–Pan, KK 139 (*état* for 1584); for Henri IV, F–Pan, KK 151 (*état* for 1599). I have provided information for only a few selected years of François I's reign, to balance that available for later sovereigns; transcriptions of all of the extant *états* from his reign, along with a much more detailed analysis than can be attempted here, figure in Christelle Cazaux, *La musique à la cour de François Ier: un art au service de la politique*, 3 vols. (thesis, Ecole Nationale des Chartres, 1997; publication, Tours and Paris, forthcoming). See also Henry Prunières, »La musique de la chambre et de l'écurie sous le règne de François Ier,« *L'année musicale* 1 (1911), pp. 215–51. Extant *états* from the reigns of François II, Charles IX and Henri III are transcribed in Jeanice Brooks, *Courtly Song in Late Sixteenth-Century France* (Chicago 2000), pp. 393–412. For an explanation of currency values, see *ibid.*, p. 393, and the sources cited there.

- 2 For an overview of the structures of the *maison* in the early sixteenth century, see Robert J. Knecht, »The Court of François I,« *European Studies Review* 8 (1978), pp. 1–22; see also Gaston Zeller, *Les institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris 1948), pp. 100–105; Jean-François Solnon, *La cour de France* (Paris 1987), pp. 37–39. A detailed examination of the court of Henri III figures in Jacqueline Boucher, *Société et mentalités autour de Henri III* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Lyon, 1977; published Paris 1981), vol. 1, pp. 145–292 and 456–530.

in historical literature as a lover of the arts – who in the first full year of his reign nearly doubled the number of musicians in his household.³ This tendency to growth continued, with numbers reaching a peak of over 40 in 1580, midway through the reign of Henri III. In 1584, Henri's efforts to reduce the expense of his entourage resulted in cuts throughout the *maison*, and the number of musicians was reduced by about half. (The numbers are slightly misleading here, however, because where previously musicians alternated with each other in quarterly service, from 1584 the singers in the group are described as »ordinaires,« that is, serving on a daily basis throughout the year.⁴) In the last third of the century, we start to see references to the king's »petite musique,« a select group of singers and players personally attached to the monarch.⁵

Musicians appear on the household lists under only a few headings, and those that most interest me here – singers and players of instruments that best fit the later concept of »chamber music« – at first appear only under the heading of *valets de chambre*, a fairly prestigious division of the *maison* that included the king's personal attendants. Throughout the century this category continued to be reserved for especially favored musicians, almost invariably lutanists or lute singers.⁶ Under François I, the *états* also regularly include fifes and tabors and cornetts as special divisions in the *maison*; to judge from their salaries, the cornett players – almost always Italian in the first half of the century – were particularly prized.⁷ The listing of »chantres« and »joueurs d'instruments« as new categories of household officers gradually emerged from near the end of the reign of François I over the subsequent twenty years.

At first, no singers identified as such were listed in the *maison* at all; the only two to appear were Anthoine de Longueval and Anthoine Le Riche (known as

3 Daniel Hertz characterizes Henri as »morose« and implicitly locates a decline in support for humanism in general and music printing in particular during his reign, counterposing it to a golden age for both under François I: see Hertz, *Pierre Attaingnant: Royal Printer of Music* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969), pp. 11–12. The existence of a large body of printed music from François I's reign, compared with a lower output during that of Henri II, may be more related to the dynamics of the two major music printing firms of the century (the decline in Attaingnant's production at the end of his life and the eventual award, after his death, of the royal privilege to Le Roy & Ballard coincided with Henri's reign) than to any lack of interest in music on Henri's part. Certainly Henri's expansion of the musical forces in his *maison* was unmatched by any other monarch of the century.

4 F-Pn, Dupuy 489, fol. 13^r. Most of the instrumentalists are designated as continuing to serve by quarter.

5 Claude Baliffre is identified as »l'un des chantres de la petite musique de la chambre« in a list of royal pension awards from 1572 (F-Pn, fr. 7007, fol. 91^v).

6 See Brooks, *Courtly Song* (cf. fn. 1), p. 77, for examples.

7 See Prunières, *La musique de la chambre* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 231–33.

Divitis), both included as *valets de chambre* in the early part of François I's reign and both primarily known for their activities as chapel members and composers of sacred music.⁸ In 1533, individuals specifically identified as singers began to be included among the *valets*. A category of »chantres« was created by 1540, at first as a collective grouping of singers and soft instruments such as viol, spinet and lute (the fifes, tabors and cornetts continued to be listed separately). By 1572 singers and players were listed in two separate categories. Early on, the chamber singers were often moved over from the polyphony chapel.⁹ Many were never so employed, though, and increasingly as the century progressed – particularly from the reign of Charles IX onward – they were men such as Girard de Beaulieu, Estienne Le Roy or Thibault de Courville, who were primarily known as solo singers.¹⁰

At the same time that singers were gaining a place in the royal chamber, we see the disappearance of certain instruments, as most winds and the fifes and tabors were moved to the budget of the *écurie*. In contrast, viols, who were initially included only in the *écurie*, begin appearing in the chamber under Henri II.¹¹ The special prestige of the cornetts seems to have gradually declined; they had lost their separate category and their consistently higher salaries by the reign of Charles IX, though at least two were generally paid as polyphony chapel members and the chamber continued to feature players of recorder or transverse flute who

8 See Richard Sherr, »The Membership of the Chapels of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in the Years Preceding Their Deaths,« *Journal of Musicology* 6 (1988), pp. 60–82, for information on both composers. See also John T. Brobeck, »Musical Patronage in the Royal Chapel of France under François I (r. 1515–1547),« *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48 (1995), pp. 187–239.

9 Examples include Longueval under François I (see Sherr, *ibid.*, pp. 67–8, and Brobeck, *ibid.*, pp. 198–201, for his membership of the chapel; he is listed as *valet de chambre* from 1516, and apparently held this post under Louis XII as well, Brobeck, p. 198) and Anthoine Subject and Guillaume Belin under Henri II (both appear as chapel members in the 1547 list for the provision of mourning cloth, F–Pn, fr. 10392, fol. 172', and as chamber singers on the *état* of 1548, F–Pn, fr. 21449, fol. 173'). Singers continued regularly to combine posts in the chapel and the chamber throughout the century; see Brooks, *Courtly Song* (cf. fn. 1), p. 81. Several other members of Henri II's expanded chamber group had previously been attached to the household of the *dauphin* Charles d'Orléans, who died in 1545 (these include the singers Lancelot Penicault, Alain Guibourt, and Toussaint Machelherbe, and the lutanist Anthoine Dugué, all of whom appear on the 1547 mourning cloth list, F–Pn, fr. 10392, fol. 141', as »chantres de la chambre de feu Mr d'Orléans« and on the royal *états* from 1548, F–Pn, fr. 21449, fol. 173').

10 The careers of these singers are discussed in Brooks, *Courtly Song* (cf. fn. 1), *passim*.

11 Two players, Jehan Bellac and Pierre de Campgilbert (also known as Pierre d'Auxerre) appear on the 1547 mourning cloth list as stable members (F–Pn, fr. 10392, fol. 280') and from 1548 as chamber musicians (F–Pn, fr. 21449, fol. 173').

could double on cornett.¹² But the real concentration in the chamber was on soft instruments particularly useful in accompanying the voice as well as for solo or ensemble playing. From the reign of Henri II, the *états* feature roughly equal numbers of viol, keyboard, and lute players.¹³ It is important to note that adding categories to the *états* was not a common occurrence; any alteration to existing arrangements was difficult, because of the problem of removing people once named to royal posts. It took a very strong impulse toward change for any of the structures in the royal *maison* to budge, so that the creation of new posts and suppression of others are gestures that in themselves reflect the growing importance of chamber music to the court's routine.

Along with the changes in the size and composition of the chamber music group came an increasing concern for formalizing its activities in the context of the *règlements* governing court ceremonial that proliferated after 1550. The reign of Henri III in particular was marked by efforts, driven by the monarch himself, to regulate court routine. While the majority of injunctions contained in the extensive *règlements* of 1578 have to do with controlling access to the king, several apply to the corps of chamber musicians. They were to present themselves in the king's antechamber each morning where they would wait to be admitted into the chamber for their daily instructions when the initial rituals of the official *lever* were complete. They were also required to attend the chamber between 7 and 8 each evening, when they could be called upon to perform for several hours.¹⁴ Although the *règlements* do not spell it out, it seems likely that these per-

12 The chapel *état* of 1578 (F-Pn, Cinq cents de Colbert 54, fol. 364^v, transcribed in Brooks, *Courtly Song*, cf. fn. 1, p. 400) listed cornett players Jacques Le Vacher and Nicolas Delinet among the adult sopranos of the chapel; the practice of including cornett players in this category continued well into the next century (see Michel Brenet [Marie Bobillier], «Deux comptes de la Chapelle-Musique des rois de France,» *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 6 (1904-05), pp. 1-31, and Michel Le Moël, «La chapelle de musique sous Henri IV et Louis XII,» *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 6 (1966), pp. 5-26, for information on the chapel in the seventeenth century).

13 The second half of the century also saw the introduction of Italian violin bands at the French court, who were responsible for providing dance music; the first band, under the direction of Balthazar de Beaujoyeux, arrived from Piedmont in 1555. Their payment was sometimes by special order and sometimes from the budget of the chamber. See Laurent Guillo, «Un violon sous le bras et les pieds dans la poussière: les violons italiens du roi durant le voyage de Charles IX,» *La musique de tous les passetemps le plus beau: hommage à Jean-Michel Vaccaro*, ed. Henri Vanhulst and François Lesure (Paris 1998), pp. 218-20, and Brooks, *Courtly Song* (cf. fn. 1), p. 75.

14 On the *règlements*, see Brooks, *Courtly Song* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 92-3; see also Monique Châtenet, «Henri III et l'ordre de la cour: évolution de l'étiquette à travers les règlements généraux de 1578 et 1585,» *Henri III et son temps*, ed. Robert Sauzet (Paris 1992), pp. 133-39; and David Potter and P.R. Roberts, «An Englishman's View of the Court of Henri III, 1584-1585: Richard Cook's Description of the Court of France,» *French History* 2 (1988), pp. 312-44.

formances also featured on the evenings when the king and his male entourage waited upon the queen and her retinue in the queen's chambers.

The general pattern over the course of the century both in household lists and documents dealing with ceremonial thus tends to project an increasing value placed on music in the royal chambers, particularly music for voice. An entirely new class of personal royal servant was created, an individual still included in the same accounts as noble men-in-waiting, *valets de chambre* and other household officers, but provided with a special title and increasingly well-defined duties.

I want now to turn from these statistics to a brief review of Castiglione's recommendations about music making in light of these trends.¹⁵ The *Cortegiano* will here have to stand for a host of other texts that echo elements of Castiglione's position on music, ranging from other courtesy manuals to fictional and poetic works that stage scenes of musical activity that resonate with his recommendations. In Castiglione's treatment of the musical skills the courtier should possess, priority is given to singing: the courtier should be able to sing a part in polyphony from notation; but even better is solo song, particularly singing to the viol. Music for viol consort is approved, as is that for certain wind instruments, though the loud winds are rejected as too harsh. The contexts supplied for musical activity include both solitude – the »honest pastime« leading to self-renewal – and in select company for the purposes of display. The implication is also that one of the contexts for music making is the same as that occupied by Castiglione's text, that is, as part of a mixed-sex evening gathering.

Other sections of the *Cortegiano* reveal more of Castiglione's assumptions about music's place in the courtier's world. Most prominent is the image of music in its role of humanistic ideal – the sounding image of the cosmos that provides a model of perfect equilibrium. A certain number of practical recommendations also emerge, however, including the advice that ornamentation should be not too profuse or difficult-sounding, but executed with a careless grace, and the warning not to be seen to be too eager to perform. These last two pieces of advice are aimed at distinguishing my two figures, the courtier and the minstrel. Yet at the same time, Castiglione clearly believes that the more you know about music and the more skill you bring to performing it, the more you will

15 See James Haar, »The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music,« *Castiglione: The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven 1983), pp. 165–189; reprinted in Haar, *The Science and Art of Renaissance Music*, ed. Paul Corneilson (Madison 1998), pp. 20–37, for a detailed examination of Castiglione's recommendations on music and citations of the relevant passages; here I provide a summary of Haar's findings. On Castiglione and music in French contexts, see Brooks, *Courtly Song* (cf. fn. 1), pp. 150–65.

appreciate and understand the special qualities with which the humanists endowed it. And he assumes a technical knowledge of music sufficient to understand the musical metaphors he regularly employs to make a variety of different points. Throughout the dialogue, two strands of aristocratic engagement with music are apparent – the courtier as performer and as connoisseur. For Castiglione, skill in the former contributes to the exercise of the latter.

Returning to the king's chamber music, there are no surprises here: practitioners of the instruments and types of performance that Castiglione recommends for his courtier are those that increasingly appear on the lists of the king's household servants. But it would be simplistic to propose some sort of causal relationship between the phenomena outlined in Table 1 and the ideological framework projected by civility books and other fictional or prescriptive accounts of courtly diversion. Many of the musical trends that surface in the court's written records from the second half of the century had already begun in practice much earlier. That is, professional musicians had always been present, but they were not generally members of the *maison*, with all the privileges that entailed; individuals who *were* members of the household could be prized because of their musical talent, but they stop being identified as musicians when they are added to the *maison* in categories such as the *valets de chambre* (so that in the documents, at least, musical ability is a facet of their activities as courtiers rather than a *métier*). And members of the *maison* who were gentlemen often possessed musical skill of the kind advocated by Castiglione, but again, music was for them an aspect of courtiership rather than a profession. In the second half of the century, music for the royal chamber was increasingly provided by professionals whose functions were more and more documented and controlled, resulting in the reorganization of the form of the *états de maison*, the changes in instrument and voice types, and the proliferation of *règlements* that I have described. This suggests that what occurred from around 1540 onward was an effort to professionalize, formalize and regulate elements of court musical life almost as much as to introduce new practices.

During the sixteenth century, the secular behavior of the court – including its musical behavior – increasingly adopted a ritual character formerly more strongly associated with its devotional life. This is news to no one: scholars from Norbert Elias to, more recently, Jorge Arditi and John Adamson have noted the increased significance given to deportment and etiquette and to collective practices of court ceremonial in the period from 1500 to 1750.¹⁶ But the impact of these trends on

16 Particularly relevant for my purposes is Adamson's treatment of ceremonial and the development of a parallel to the liturgy in secular practice: see John Adamson, »The Making of the Ancien-Régime Court 1500–1700,« *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500–1750*, ed. John Adamson (London 1999), pp. 7–41, esp. pp. 28–31. See also the classic work of Norbert Elias, *The*

court musical life has not been clearly understood. For France, one major result over the course of the century was that the royal chamber music ensemble became in many ways the equivalent of the chapel. Its »rules« were not liturgical, however, but derived from concepts of civility of the kind most influentially documented by Castiglione. At the same time, however, the attainments of the courtier were fragmented and professionalized, so that music-making appears less like the casual gathering of well-rounded aristocratic dilettantes that Castiglione had in mind and more like the formally patterned ceremonial of the later court, where each person has his role to play in the unfurling of daily ritual.

So where does this leave the aristocratic practitioner *à la Castiglione* who had emerged around the turn of the sixteenth century, whose accomplishments were now professionalized and usurped by a group of specialists? The answer to this question is not simple; early modern French people found themselves divided on just this point. Thomas Pelletier, writing in 1604 on the topic of noble education, explains:

Lute playing is counted among the skills that a gentleman should learn. And there are some fathers who believe that their sons have learned nothing of worth if they have not acquired that accomplishment. There are others who, on the contrary, do not think it so necessary or honorable that they would wish their child to spend half the time necessary to gain even a passable ability on the instrument ... If it is rejoined that the lute makes them seen and honored in company, I hold that on the contrary it rather makes them scorned, because a gentleman of a truly good family should take pleasure from others without serving to give them pleasure himself.¹⁷

Clearly the stigma attached to the figure of the performing musician had persisted despite the gains in status that particular kinds of musical activity had made over the previous hundred years. A better title for this study thus may be »Minstrel *and* Courtier«: for by the end of sixteenth century the chamber musicians of the French royal household combined elements of both of these figures, joined in a new type of royal servant whose activities were integral to the functioning of the early modern court.

Civilizing Process: The History of Manners and State Formation and Civilization, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford 1994) as well as more recent research building on Elias's conclusions, such as Jorge Ardi, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago 1998).

- 17 »Le jouër de luth est conté entre les exercices que doit apprendre un Gentilhomme. Et tel pere y a qui ne croit point que son fils ait rien apprins qui vaille s'il n'a ceste partie. Il s'en trouve d'autres qui de contraire advis ne l'estiment pas si necessaire ny honorable qu'ils voulussent que leur enfant y eust employé la moitié du temps qu'il faut pour acquerir seulement quelque passable suffisance de cest instrument ... Or de repartir que le luth les fait voir & honorer en compagnie, je tiens qu'au contraire il les y fait plustost mespriser, par ce qu'un Gentilhomme de bien bon lieu doit prendre de plaisir d'autrui sans que luy mesme serve de sujet d'en donner aux autres.« Thomas Pelletier, *La nourriture de la noblesse* (Paris 1604), fols. 88^v-89^r.

Table 1: Music in the *Chambre Du Roi* in the Sixteenth Century

Reign	Date	Total	Composition	Salaries	
François I	1516	16	<i>Chapelains</i> 1 (Cueil)	240 l	
			<i>Aumosniers</i> 1 (Crétin)		
			<i>Varlets de chambre</i> 2 (Longueval, Divitis)	180 l	
			<i>Varlets de garderobbe</i> 1 (Spalter)	180 l	
			<i>Les Tabourins</i> 3	120 l	
			<i>Les Fifres</i> 5	120 l	
			<i>Les Cornetz</i> 3 (2 cornetts, 1 lute)	240 l	
	1533	12	12	<i>Autres varlets de chambre</i> 5 (2 singers, 2 lutes, 1 keyboard)	3 at 180 l 1 at 240 l 1 at 450 l
				<i>Tabourins</i> 2 (1 tabor, 1 rebec)	120 l
				<i>Philfres</i> 3	120 l
				<i>Cornets</i> 2	240 l
	1540	14	14	<i>Autres varlets de chambre</i> 2 (Spalter, Rippe)	1 at 240 l 1 at 600 l
				<i>Chantres de la chambre</i> 6 (5 singers, 1 keyboard)	200 l
				<i>Tabourins</i> 3	120 l
				<i>Philfre</i> 1	120 l
<i>Cornets</i> 2				240 l	
<i>Haultbois</i> 1				240 l	
1547 (mour- ning cloth)	+ 1 boy	18	<i>Varlets de chambre</i> 1 (Rippe)	N/A	
			<i>Chantres de la chambre</i> 9 (6 singers, 2 keyboard, 1 choirboy)		
			<i>Joueurs d'instrumens</i> 5 (3 fl./cornett, 1 trumpet, 1 unid.)		
			<i>Fifres et tabourins</i> 4 (3 fife/ tabors, 1 harp)		

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Henri II	1548	29	<i>Autres varlets de chambre</i> 2 (Rippe, Spalter)	1 at 600 l		
		+ 3		1 at 240 l		
		boys	<i>Chantres et joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 21 (2 keyboard, 3 lutes, 2 viols, 1 flute, 10 singers [3 basses, 3 tailles, 2 hautecontres, 1 dessus, 1 unid.], 3 choirboys)	200 l		
			<i>Tabourins</i> 3 (2 tabors, 1 harp)	2 at 120 l		
				1 at 100 l		
			<i>Phifre</i> 1	120 l		
			<i>Cornets</i> 2	240 l		
			<i>Joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 2 (fl./cornett)	240 l		
		1550	27		<i>Autres varletz de chambre</i> 2 (Rippe, Spalter)	1 at 600 l
				+ 3		1 at 240 l
boys	<i>Chantres et joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 20 (3 keyboard, 3 lutes, 2 viols, 1 flute, 8 singers [3 basses, 2 tailles, 2 hautecontres, 1 unid.], 3 choirboys)			200 l		
	<i>Phiffres et tabourins</i> 4 (3 fife/ tabors, 1 harp)			3 at 120 l		
				1 at 100 l		
	<i>Cornets</i> 2			240 l		
	<i>Joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 2 (fl./cornett)			240 l		
1556	27				<i>Chantres et joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 22 (3 keyboard, 3 lutes, 2 viols, 11 singers [2 basses, 2 tailles, 3 haute-contres, 1 voice/flute, 3 unid.], 3 choirboys)	200 l
				+ 3		
				boys	<i>Phiffres et tabouriniers</i> 2 (1 tabor, 1 harp)	1 at 120 l
				1 at 100 l		
			<i>Cornets</i> 2 (1 cornett, 1 flute)	1 at 240 l		
				1 at 200 l		
			<i>Joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 3 (2 fl./cornett, 1 voice/flute)	2 at 240 l		
				1 at 100 l		
			<i>Deniers payés par mandement . . .</i> 1 (keyboard)	200 l		
		François II	1560	28	<i>Autres valets de chambre</i> 1 (Vaumesnil)	240 l
+ 3	<i>Joueurs d'instruments</i> 6 (3 fl./cornett, 1 voice/flute)			3 at 240 l		
boys	1 flute, 1 harp)			2 at 200 l		
				1 at 100 l		
	<i>Chantres et autres joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 22 (3 keyboard, 3 lutes, 2 viols, 11 singers [2 basses, 2 tailles, 2 hautecontres, 1 voice/flute, 4 unid.], 3 choirboys)			200 l		
	<i>Autres joueurs d'instrumentens</i> 2 (1 keyboard, 1 rebec)	200 l				

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Charles IX	1572	21	<i>Autres vallets de chambre</i> 2 (Vaumesnil, Beaujoyeux)	240 l
		+ 3	<i>Joueurs d'instruments</i> 12 (1 castrato singer,	3 at 240 l
		boys	3 keyboard, 4 flute/cornett, 2 lutes, 1 viol, 1 unid.)	8 at 200 l 1 at 100 l
			<i>Chantres</i> 10 (1 bass, 2 tailles, 3 hautecontres, 1 unid., 3 boys)	1 at 300 l 6 at 200 l
	1574	?	<i>Valets de chambre</i> ? (source incomplete)	N/A
			<i>Chantres de la chambre</i> 16 (1 keyboard, 2 basses, 2 tailles, 3 hautecontres, 1 castrato, 4 unid., 3 choirboys)	
			<i>Joueurs d'instruments de lad. chambre</i> 9 (1 singer, 2 keyboard, 2 lutes, 2 flute/cornett)	
Henri III	1575	37	<i>Aumosniers</i> 1 (Le Roy, also a <i>chantre</i>)	no wage
		+ 3	<i>Valletz de chambre</i> 1 (M. Dugué)	240 l
		boys	<i>Autres valletz de chambre</i> 2 (Vaumesnil, Beaujoyeux)	240 l
			<i>Joueurs d'instruments</i> 17 (1 castrato singer, 4 key- board, 3 lutes, 1 viol, 2 violins, 4 flute/cornett, 2 unid.)	1 at 300 l 5 at 240 l 11 at 200 l
		<i>Chantres</i> 20 (2 basses, 3 tailles, 4 hautecontres, 1 castrato, 7 unid., 3 choirboys)	1 at 300 l 16 at 200 l	
	1580	38	<i>Aumosniers</i> 1 (Le Roy, also a <i>chantre</i>)	no wage
		+ 3	[Valets serving by quarter] 1 (M. Dugué)	80 e (= 240 l)
		boys	<i>Joueurs d'instruments</i> 19 (1 castrato singer, 4 keyboard, 3 lutes, 1 viol, 2 violins, 1 harp, 4 flute/cornett, 1 flute/violin, 2 unid.)	1 at 100 e (= 300 l) 6 at 80 e 12 at 66 e 2/3 (=200 l)
		<i>Chantres</i> 21 (3 basses, 2 tailles, 1 taille/hautecontre, 4 hautecontres, 1 voice/viol/harp, 7 unid., 3 choirboys)	1 at 100 e 17 at 66 e 2/3	
	1584	17	<i>Autres aumosniers</i> 1 (Le Roy, also a <i>chantre</i>)	no wage
+ 3		<i>Joueurs d'instruments</i> 9 (2 keyboard, 2 lutes, 1 viol, boys 1 viol/harp, 2 flute/cornett, 1 harp)	5 at 80 e (=240 l) 4 at 66 e 2/3 (=200 l)	
	<i>Chantres</i> 11 (2 basses, 2 tailles, 1 hautecontre, 1 castrato hautecontre/dessus, 2 cast- ratos, 3 choirboys)	66 e 2/3		
Henri IV	1599	14	<i>Autres valletz de chambre</i> 1 (Guédron)	110 e
		+ 3	<i>Joueurs d'instruments ordinaires</i> 5 (1 keyboard, boys 1 lute, 1 bass viol, 1 viol, 1 flute)	200 e
			<i>Superintendant</i> 1	300 e
			<i>Chantres</i> 9 (2 basses, 2 tailles, 2 hautecontres [1 is Guédron, also a <i>valet</i>], 3 choirboys)	2 at 250 e 4 at 200 e (3 boys at 120 e)
			<i>Compositeur . . . de la chapelle</i> 1 (Du Caurroy)	200 e
			<i>Compositeur . . . de la chambre</i> 1 (Le Jeune)	400 e