

Ceremonial ‘Grey Areas’:

On the Placing and Decoration of Semi-Public and Semi-Private Spaces in Burgundian-Habsburg Court Residences in the Low Countries (1450–1550)

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In its basic principles, the spatial organization of the princely apartment in the Burgundian-Habsburg world of the late fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries closely resembled that of its counterparts at other courts in Europe. Both the most public space, the multi-functional great hall (*salle*), and the most private one, the chamber (*chambre*) with its attendant wardrobes and cabinets could be found everywhere.¹ What separated France, Germany and England from the Burgundian Low Countries and Habsburg Spain, was on the contrary the development of the semi-public and semi-private zones in between the two; their particular disposition, size, characteristic furnishings, and the specific function of their component spaces.² This is the subject of my essay.

These intervening spaces played a major role in separating visitors according to rank, following a principle, which was only explicitly written down during the waning of the Burgundian era in the second half of the fifteenth century. Charles the Bold (or the Rash), duke of Burgundy, played a key role in this process. A master at the use of the ordinance to instil ‘order and rule’ in his household, he refined the principle of access depending on a fine grading of rank to a veritable art, which was inherited later by his Habsburg descendants.³ From 1496–1497 onwards, court ordinances listing officials at the court of Philip the Handsome and his son, Emperor Charles V, include a paragraph explaining that, if a space preceding the chamber and following the chamber is available, it can be used to receive visitors of middling rank:

Item, [my lord] desires that access to his chamber be ordered in the following manner as regards his *pensionnaires*, chamberlains, *maîtres d’hôtel*, and gentlemen, to wit: if there is a room before the one where he sleeps, there his porters will stand guard on the door, and all *pensionnaires*, chamberlains, *maîtres d’hôtel*, and gentlemen can enter it. And if in some place he has two rooms before his sleeping chamber, he wants the gentlemen to enter the first one, and the following one, next to his, can be entered by the *pensionnaires*, chamberlains, and *maîtres d’hôtel*. None of them shall enter nor stay in my lord’s chamber until he is dressed, or until they are called hither by the cup bearer, or when the servants of the chamber come in.⁴

From this passage, we can deduce that neither the number nor the role of the intervening spaces were entirely fixed, especially not for the varying accommodations 'on the road'. These are ceremonial 'Grey Areas'.

Sallette

The dining hall (*sallette*), literally 'small hall', shows up quite early in the process of differentiation of rooms in the mediaeval princely residence, but assumes different roles at different courts (fig. 1). At the French royal court of the Valois where the roots of the Burgundian house may be found, for instance in the new Louvre as built by King Charles V of France in the 1360s, the dining hall remains outside the main sequence of rooms, according to Mary Whiteley. However, in Alain Salamagne's reconstruction of the lost royal apartment on the third level, the *salle neuve du roi* which is reached first from the main staircase, doubles as dining hall.⁵ In the Burgundian-Habsburg context of a century later, the *sallette* similarly constitutes the theatre of the ceremonial public dinner, meant to awe spectators with the prince's splendour, but often constitutes a separate space from the *salle*.⁶

In the Bruges residence of the Prinsenhof, which was renovated in successive stages between 1446 and 1459, Philip the Good, the 'best-served man alive' according to the chronicler Georges Chastelain, had a *sallette* at his disposal, which flanked St. Christopher's chapel and the duke's new oratory. It was accessible by a gallery from his private rooms, which were built along the garden side of the fourteenth-century, previously existing great hall.⁷ Because of the convoluted renovation history of this residence, it might be better not to draw any conclusions from its position outside the main room sequence of the ducal apartment. Nevertheless, the *sallette*-and-chapel complex constitutes the main, representative part of the palace.⁸ Interestingly, in the residence of *Grand Chambellan* Engelbert II of Nassau in Brussels, begun in 1481, the *sallette* on the ground floor could apparently only be accessed directly from the courtyard, thus also remaining outside the main suite of rooms (see below). Similar to Bruges, it connected with the residence's sacred space, specifically with the upper balcony of the chapel, affording a view of nave and choir (which are situated on a lower level because of the sloping terrain).⁹

An equally ambiguous situation existed at the Brussels Coudenberg Palace, the former residence of the dukes of Brabant, the residential wing of which was rebuilt under Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (1431–1436). The surviving accounts are clear on the location of the main hall, which also served as audience room and council chamber. Its end gable, adorned with two staircase turrets, loomed over the remnants of the inner, early thirteenth-century city wall; one of these must have served as main entrance until a larger winding stair, lodged in a tower in the middle of the courtyard façade (1468–1469), was built.¹⁰ This extension, it seemed to us before, must have turned the original sequence of rooms around, the *sallette* moving towards the new entrance, but this is far from certain. It is actually not entirely clear which of the two spaces situated between the new staircase and the audience hall was the *sallette* and which was Philip the Good's presence chamber. Since the smaller projecting room can be identified, on the basis of its dimensions, with the duke's most private withdrawing chamber or *retraite*, which had to connect directly with the presence chamber, the *sallette* now does not seem to have been the room closest to the audience hall but rather the one further removed, next to the new staircase tower.¹¹

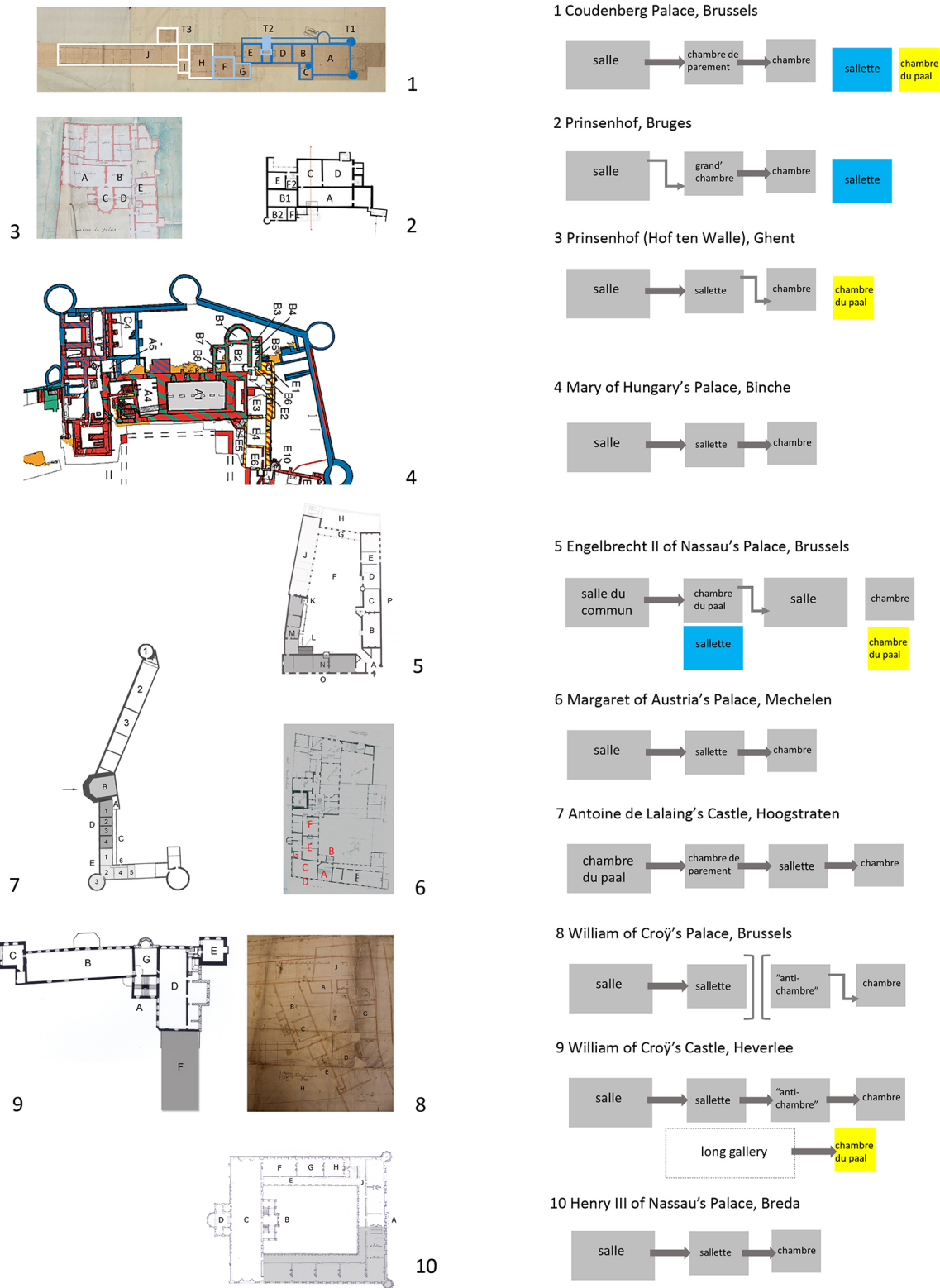


Fig. 1

- 1 Coudenberg Palace, Brussels. Rooms sketched out in blue: Philip the Good (1431–1436). Light blue: Charles the Bold (1468–1469). White: Mary of Hungary (1533–1537). A audience room with chapel (*grote camere voer int hoff*); T1 staircase turret; B presence chamber (*camere van parement*); C sleeping chamber (*retrait*); D ducal chamber (25 x 25 ft); E Philip the Good's *sallette*, possibly reduced by Charles the Bold's staircase tower, and changed into the *grote pale*; F Charles the Bold's *sallette* (29 x 33 ft), later (part of) Mary of Hungary's *sallette*; T2 Charles the Bold's new staircase tower; G *cleyne pale*; H (site of) Mary of Hungary's chamber (42 x 26 ft); I Mary of Hungary's cabinet; J Mary of Hungary's long gallery; T3 Mary of Hungary's new staircase. Based on ARAB Kaarten en plannen, inv. in hs. 1326.
- 2 Prinsenhof, Bruges. A great hall (fourteenth century); B1 main chapel; B2 small chapel; C *grand' chambre* (1456–1459); D ducal chamber with turning staircase (1456–1459); E new *sallette* next to private gallery towards the garden (1448–1452); F1 old oratory; F2 new oratory with turning staircase. Sanne Maekelberg.
- 3 Prinsenhof (Hof ten Walle), Ghent. A great hall; B *sallette* (called *antisale* in 1646); C chapel; D location of flanking oratories; E turning staircase to private rooms (located half a story higher in adjacent wing). ADN E2353, detail.
- 4 Mary of Hungary's Palace, Binche. A1 site of the sixteenth-century great hall (on earlier foundations); A4 site of the Emperor's *sallette* (first floor); E3 site of Eleanor of France's *sallette* (first floor). Survey Ministère de la Région Wallonne, DGATLP, P.-Ph. Sartieaux, detail.
- 5 Engelbrecht II of Nassau's Palace, Brussels. Ground floor. A entrance with dome; B great hall above kitchens (basement); C chamber with stove above kitchens (basement); D *sallette*?; E upper oratory of the chapel; F courtyard; G connecting gallery; H (lower on the slope) courtyard of the *petit palais*; J open portico (ground floor), gallery above (first floor); K staircase tower; L great staircase tower with dragon windvane; M apartments; N garden apartments; O garden; P *chaussée de la Madeleine*. Based on Domenico Martinelli's plan of 1696 (Milan, Museo Sforzesco, Gabinetto dei disegni, Raccolta Martinelli, IV : Disegni d'Architettura, 27), redrawn by Pieter-Jan Pelgrims.
- 6 Margaret of Austria's Palace, Mechelen. A main staircase to the first floor; B turning staircase; C hall and chapel; D site of the chapel oriel; E *premiere chambre a chemynee*; F *seconde chambre a chemynee*; G *riche cabinet*. Based on Leonard Blomme's survey before the 1880 restauration, Mechelen, Stadsarchief, B3697.
- 7 Antoine de Lalaing's Castle, Hoogstraten. First floor. 1 chamber above the chapel; 2 library above the great hall; 3 council chamber above the great hall; A staircase; B great chamber with stove; C gallery above the ground-floor portico. D Apartment of Elizabeth of Culemborg: D1 *chambre de parement*, D2 chamber, D3 wardrobe, D4 wardrobe or cabinet. E Apartment of Antoine de Lalaing: E1 *chambre de parement*, E2 *sallette*, E3 private chapel, E4 chamber, E5 wardrobe, E6 corridor. Based on the cadaster plan of 1716, Anholt, Fürstliches Archiv, redrawn by Line Mertens.
- 8 William of Croÿ's Palace, Brussels. Ground floor: A *conciergerie*, with entrance from the Place des Bailles; B great hall; C *sallette* (later subdivided in *antisalle* and *sallette*); D antechamber (*chambre de parement*); E staircase; F main courtyard; G kitchens and rooms for washing; H backyard; J small garden. First floor* : A*-G* gallery; B* hall; C* *sallette*; D* chambers. Based on Pierre Le Poivre's plan of 7 March 1596. L AA 2420bis verso.
- 9 William of Croÿ's Castle, Heverlee. First floor. A Entrance, main staircase; B long gallery (above ground floor portico); C *chambre du paal*; D great hall; E chambers; F (lost) west wing with ducal apartment.
- 10 Henry III of Nassau's Palace, Breda. First floor. A entrance; B (lost) main staircase to the first floor; C great hall; D chapel. Main apartment in the north wing: E open portico, closed before 1600; F *salle dorrée* (*sallette*); G *chambre dorrée*; H *grande garderobbe*; J staircase. The grey parts were only completed in 1696. Based on the plan by Ph. W. Schonck, 1768 ('s-Hertogenbosch, Rijksarchief Noord-Brabant, 1985).

All this might imply that in the fifteenth century, the *sallette* was not necessarily part of the linear sequence of rooms from hall to chamber, but could be placed off the main route; because of its public function, easy access was an important factor. The later Habsburg ordinances seemingly confirm that any available and conveniently placed room could be turned into a *sallette* by putting the necessary furnishings in it for the occasion (see below): a flexibility probably dictated by the nomadic living conditions of the court.¹² The situation in the fifteenth-century Prinsenhof in Ghent, or Hof ten Walle, anticipates what would become the standard disposition by the early sixteenth century. Great hall and dining hall occupy a single large volume covered by a saddleback roof, the chapel and its adjacent oratories jutting out from the middle at right angles, while the more private rooms occupy the first floor in the adjacent wing.¹³ By the early 1500s, the *sallette* had indeed become part of the main sequence in frequently used residences, not only the impe-

rial ones but also those of the higher nobility. Regent Margaret of Austria, daughter of Emperor Maximilian I, chose to reside in Mechelen, the city paying for a new residence built from 1509 onwards. Her *sallette* was situated on the first floor behind a larger *salle* which doubled as a chapel, as part of a ceremonious entrance route.¹⁴ A straight staircase in a spacious entrance hall, inspired by Spanish examples she had known during her brief betrothal to the Infante Juan, led from the ground floor to a landing on the first floor with an open *loggia* in front of both stair and *salle*. Her *sallette* had a representative role, since dynastic portraits of her own family and of allied houses decorated it.¹⁵

A comparison with the situation in the residences of the highest-ranking nobility in the country might be fruitful. The inventories describing the order of rooms in the present-day Arenberg Castle at Heverlee near Leuven, built before 1519 for the Lord High Chamberlain to Emperor Charles V, William of Croÿ, Lord of Chièvres, are very clear. Unfortunately, of the main apartment in the west wing nothing remains but its point of departure, the *grande salle pavée de pierre* which is today part university lecture hall, part work space. Following this hall, there was the *sallette ordinaire*, followed by two unspecified chambers and a wardrobe.¹⁶ The lost residence in Mechelen of Antoine de Lalaing, Chièvres's chief rival at court, was also well provided with *sallettes*, the chief one of which seems to have been situated next to the great hall.¹⁷ A third example confirms that by the middle of the sixteenth century, this had become a standard disposition. In the Nassau palace at Breda, built for Henry III of Nassau and Mencía de Mendoza from 1536 onwards, the *sallette* followed the great hall on the first floor and preceded the chamber and wardrobe room in a linear sequence (see below).¹⁸

In the new residence built by Jacques Du Broeucq for Regent Mary of Hungary at Binche between 1545 and 1549, the great hall, raised partially on mediaeval foundations, was followed by a *sallette* at either end, the one belonging to the main apartment extending across the entire width of the hall.¹⁹ Its counterpart on the ground floor is known for its sumptuous décor and festive apparatus erected for the festivities on 30 August 1549, when Mary of Hungary hosted an imperial visit (fig. 2). The visitors included her brother, the emperor, who used the main apartment on the first floor, her sister the Dowager Queen Eleanor of France, who used the other *sallette* on the first floor and the following rooms in the fifteenth-century wing, and the heir apparent, Philip of Spain, who resided on the ground floor. Mary herself made do with the attic.²⁰ But these dessert tables descending from the sky with lightning and thunder effects, and the wall fountain spouting wine, adorned with coral, were not part of the usual furnishings. Jean Sigoney's ordinance of 1545, used to put Philip of Spain's house on a Burgundian footing before his extended voyage of 1548–1551, describes the ephemeral furnishings with which any room of sufficient size can be turned into a *sallette* as follows:



Fig. 2 Anonymous, *Dessert of the banquet on 30 August 1549, served in the ground-floor sallette or 'chambre enchantée'*, pen and wash on paper, 409 x 387 mm. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, Drawings, F 12931, plano C.

When the porter has accomplished this task, the *tapissier* has a large carpet brought to the room where His Majesty is going to eat, and puts it where the table shall be placed, and according to His wishes, the tapestry officials go watch over it, and to the palace *fourier* falls the job of having the table placed and the chair brought forward, together with another, smaller table that serves as preparation table in the same room where His Majesty [shall eat] if there is room for it, and if there is not, in the closest room, which will serve for the service of the bread and of the cellar [...].²¹

The characteristic raised dais, canopy and buffet are clearly represented in the watercolours illustrating a series of festive events which took place in the Brussels palace at the turn of the year 1565: the marriage of Alexander Farnese, son of Margaret, duchess of Parma, to Mary of Portugal, a cousin to the Portuguese king (fig. 3).²² They lent an almost sacred flavour to the elaborate ceremony of the public dinner, as described by *L'Etat de la maison du Duc Charles de Bourgoingne, dit le hardi* sent by Olivier de la Marche, master of the household (*maître d'hôtel*) of Charles the Bold, to the English court in November 1474.²³ Usually, the court watched from a distance, while the prince ate alone, seated under a baldachin,²⁴ at least if there were no guests of equal rank. A balustrade might serve to keep spectators at a distance, as shown in the idealized illustrations of the *Thurnierbuch* (fig. 4).²⁵ This custom led Charles V to have many lonely dinners, such as the one in D. Pedro de Mascarenhas's house in Brussels in 1531. The ambassador of the king of Portugal

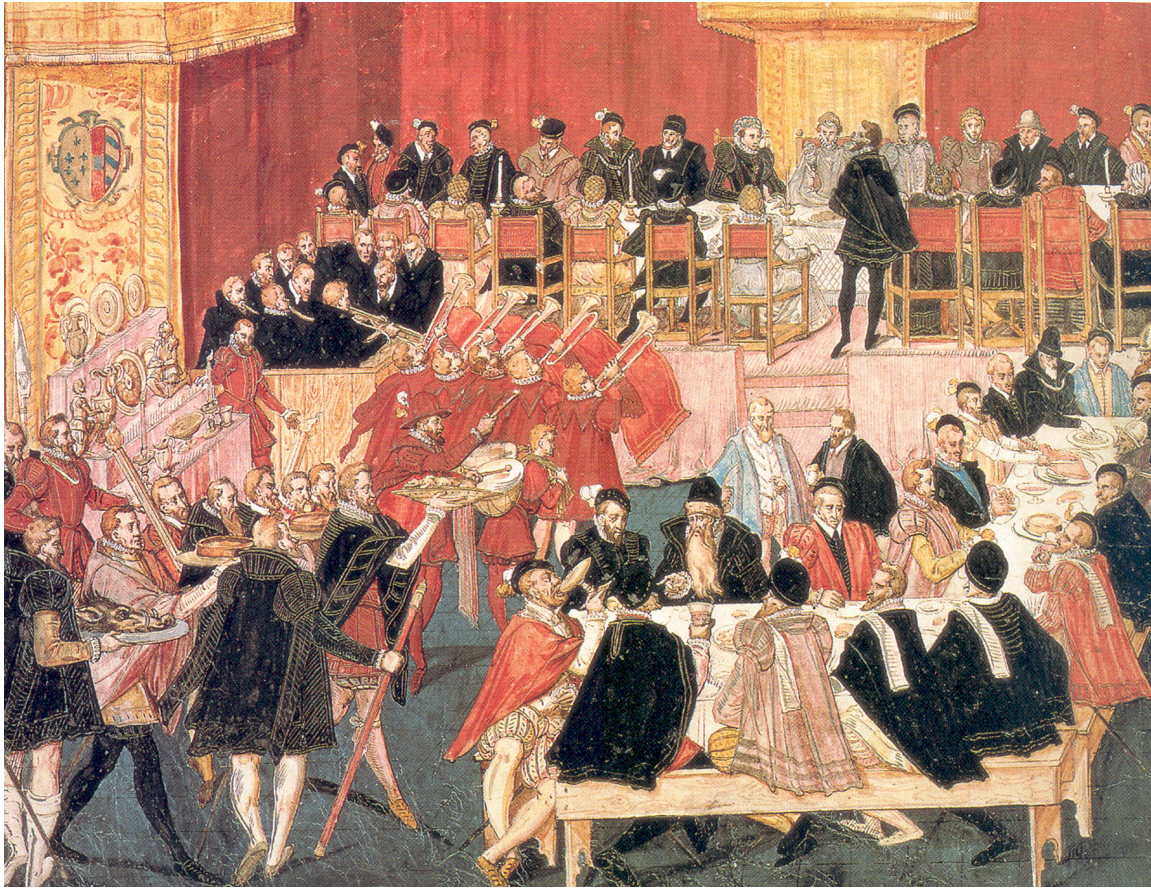


Fig. 3 (Attributed to) Frans Floris, *Pourtraictz au vif des Entrees Festins Joustes & Combatz matrimoniaux celebrees en la Ville de Bruxelles l'an nostre Seigneur Mille Cinq cens LXV... entre Treshaut Trespuysant & Tresexcellent Prince Monseig. Alexandre de Farneses... & entre Treshaute Trespuysante & Tresexcellente Princesse Donna Marie de Portugal*, gouache on parchment, 300 x 380 mm (approximately). Warsaw, University Library, Drawings Zb. Król. Wol 755, pl. 12.

had invited the imperial court to an elaborate feast celebrating the birth of an heir to the Portuguese throne. The emperor was served by the noted humanist Damião de Góis from a buffet with 'the blue-white pottery that the Portuguese bring from the East', Chinese porcelain or its Portuguese imitation.²⁶ At that point in time, the buffet had not yet taken the form of an elaborately carved piece of furniture, as would happen in later decades. The number of shelves carrying precious cups and *tazze* depended on rank, as did the type of textile furnishings and the vessels themselves, as mentioned by Aliénor de Poitiers in the *Honneurs de la Cour*. The weight of precious metal as well as the number of pieces made for *grandt monstre*, a 'great showing' in the words of Antoine de Lalaing.²⁷



Fig. 4 Anonymous, *Breakfast of Ferdinand I, King of the Romans, and Albrecht V, Duke of Bavaria*, on 9 June 1546, woodcut from Hans von Francolin and Georg Ruxner, *Thurnierbuch Das ist: Warhafftige vnd kurtze Beschreibung von Anfang Vrsachen ... vnd Herkommen der Thurnier im heyligen Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation ... von neuem zusammen getragen mit schoenen neuen Figuren ...* (Frankfurt a.M.: Feyerabend, 1579), p. 19. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Digitale Sammlungen, Creative Commons licence 4.0.

Such a room was well heated. The inventory dated c.1600, describing William of Croÿ's residence at Heverlee, mentions a chimneypiece of white stone sculpted with the arms of the owner and with his collar of the Golden Fleece as well as painted. The room had other luxury items such as stained-glass windows, wood panelling on the walls, and a sculpted wooden porch (*porge*) keeping out the draught, its panels carved with the initials of the owners, G and M with a lovers' knot, *enlacees avecques noeudz d'amour*. A similar porch enclosing a spiral staircase, with linen-fold panelling and faux marbling dated c.1600, survives in the upper room of the west tower (figs. 5a and 5b).



Fig. 5a Heverlee, William of Croÿ's Castle, west tower, third floor, staircase enclosure (© author).



Fig. 5b Heverlee, William of Croÿ's Castle, west tower, third floor, staircase enclosure (© author).

The ducal *sallette*'s furnishings also included a canopy or *dosseret* of cloth of gold sewn with the arms of the owner, placed above a raised dais or *passet* covered with a tapestry of garlands on a red background. There was also a tall chair or *chaise haute pliante* covered in red velvet with golden fringes, and a leather version made to 'carry a gouty person', recalling that of Philip II in the Escorial. The walls were covered by hangings, depicting the 'history of the Indies', and the wooden buffet was also covered in tapestry with the owner's coat of arms in the centre.²⁸ A rare surviving example of a similarly rich *sallette* décor could be found in a late nineteenth-century collection in Wales: the sculpted ceiling of the *sallette* on the first or main floor of the Nassau Palace in Breda, which took its name of *salle dorrée* from the richly gilded decoration (fig. 6).²⁹

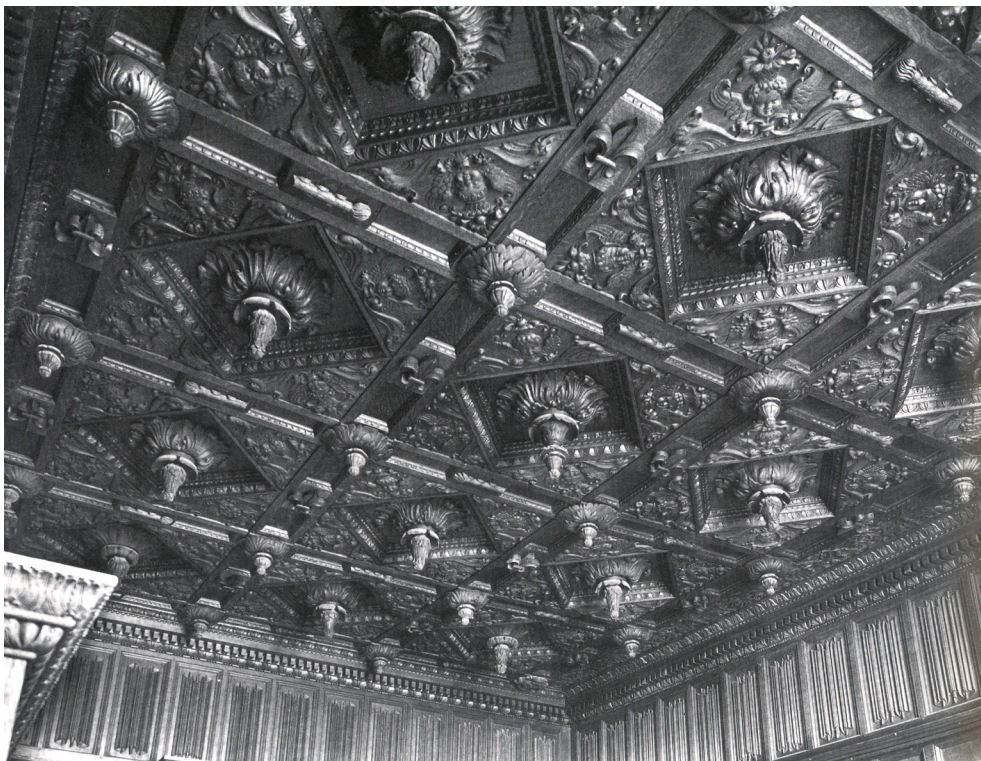


Fig. 6 Wooden ceiling from the *salle dorrée* at the Nassau Palace, Breda, present whereabouts unknown. From Wainwright 1989, p. 254, fig. 223 (© Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England).

Grande Chambre, Chambre de Parement

The canopy (*palle* or *dosseret*) made of precious cloth or tapestry, however, could also be found in other semi-public and semi-private reception spaces, the exact place of which in the sequence from public to private is very difficult to determine. Generalized representations of these form the background of many celebrated presentation scenes such as Jean Waucquelin presenting his translation of Jacques de Guise's *Chronicles of Hainaut* to Philip the Good ascribed to Rogier van der Weyden (between 1448 and 1452) and Jan Tavernier's Jean Miélot presenting his *Treatise on the Lord's Prayer* to Philip the Good (after 1457) (fig. 7).³⁰ One of these in-between spaces was the presence chamber or 'great chamber' (*grand' chambre*). The Bruges accounts suggest that this

room may be identified with the chamber named after the ceremonial robing (*chambre de parement, pareercamere*), where the ceremonial bed known as *grand lit* or *lit de parade* stood. When the Bruges Prinsenhof was being readied for the marriage of Duke Charles the Bold to Margaret of York (1467–1468), a *lit de parement* was indeed placed in the *grande chambre* or *sallette où il tient estat*. A *grand lit* was put in the ducal chamber and the *chambrette de retrait, où il couche* (where Charles the Bold actually sleeps), received a normal bed, *lit de camp* or truckle bed.³¹ The terminology lacks definition, pointing to the inherent flexibility of the spatial organisation in the princely residence. The term *sallette* could apparently be used to indicate the presence chamber, and conversely, the *grand-chambre* could be used for eating, as demonstrated by one of the stories of Aliénor de Poitiers – at least for a private dinner.³² Aliénor confirms the presence of the state bed as a characterizing element, but also – in the female apartment – of the *dressoir* with canopy (*dorsset*), loaded with precious vessels.³³ Such a bed of state was not actually used for sleeping or as a couch, but for ceremonial acts such as the bedding of newly-weds, the delivery of a child – two state beds were needed for the *gésine* of ladies of the highest rank – and the presentation of a male heir to the court at his baptism.³⁴



Fig. 7 Jan Tavernier, *Jean Miélot presents his treatise on the Lord's Prayer to Philip the Good*, gouache on parchment, Oudenaarde, after 1457. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 9092, f. 1r.

In the Coudenberg palace at Brussels, the *camere van parement* also seems separate from the ducal chamber and from the *sallette* or dining room: it is called the 'room where Our Lord usually dresses' in the 1468–1469 construction accounts. It has turned out to be impossible to locate it exactly with regard to the audience hall or *salle* and the chamber.³⁵ For most of the sixteenth cen-

tury, moreover, the term disappears from the known sources, but it is revived in a draft ordinance from 1594 as *chambre de respect ou est le lict de parade*, 'where stands the state bed'; this document suggests it comes after the *sallette* in the sequence of rooms.³⁶ This ordinance reflects the situation in the Brussels palace just before its transformation in the final years of the century. Destined for the new governor Ernest of Habsburg, archduke of Austria, it describes the customs of the House of Burgundy. Conversely, in the castle of Hoogstraten belonging to Antoine de Lalaing, Margaret's first gentleman of the court and her *chef des finances*, it was the first state room of the main apartment, realized between 1525 and 1530, that possessed a state bed (*parementskamer*). Following this chamber, the *sallette* led to the private chapel in the adjoining tower, and after that came the bedchamber.³⁷

Antichambre, Antisale

It seems that the *sallette* had slowly morphed into an antechamber by the end of the sixteenth century. The combined roles of dining hall and of reception room where visitors of a certain rank waited is confirmed by the aforementioned draft ordinance from 1594. In this document, the room following the *salle* is labelled *antichambre ou est le dossier et Son Alteze menge en publicq*, that is 'antechamber' – a new-fangled term which will not gain currency in the Low Countries before the seventeenth century – 'where the canopy is and where His Highness eats in public'.³⁸ It is to be noted that the introduction of the *antichambre* at the French court happened already under Henry II, to be followed by the introduction of a more complex court ceremonial including the *diner en public* under Henry III.³⁹

In the Arenberg Castle at Heverlee, however, it is the *chambre de parement* which is called *antichambre* in contemporary sources, as can be deduced from the inventories made for Duke Charles III of Croÿ around the turn of the sixteenth century; it was situated between the *sallette* (which kept its ancient name) and the sleeping chamber. The antechamber's furnishings include a state bed sculpted with grotesques and red taffeta hangings, while the *sallette* has the traditional buffet and canopy (*dossier*) suspended above a platform (*passet*).⁴⁰ Similarly, according to contemporary renovation plans there is an *antichambre* on the ground floor of the Croÿ residence in Brussels, but in a separate wing and thus detached from the sequence of *salle* and *sallette*. A large-size, well-lit, almost square room, is paired with a *garde-robe* and connected by the main staircase to the more private chambers and cabinets on the upper floor.⁴¹ The inherent fluidity of the terminology is proven once again by a phrase used in a contemporary description of the residence: *belle grande sallette ou chambre embas*.⁴²

Interestingly, one of the courtyard elevations of the wing with the great hall also shows a new and most unusual term: an *antisalle* has been partitioned off from the *salle*, preceding the *sallette*.⁴³ The term reappears in the survey plan established by the royal engineer Pierre-Paul Mercx in 1646, when the Prinsenhof at Ghent was sold.⁴⁴ It indicates the room which is, without any doubt, the original '*sallette au mengier*' mentioned in the sources of the fifteenth century as

following the great hall, connected both with the chapel and its flanking oratories. It would appear that the term *sallette* slowly fell into disuse in the seventeenth century.⁴⁵

Chambre du Paal

If the function of the *sallette* can be distinguished relatively easily from that of the *parementskamer*, the existence of a third intermediate chamber is more difficult to explain. The *chambre du paal* or *pale* was characterized by a monumental piece of furniture: a stove decorated with ceramic tiles or gilded metal panels of cast iron or even copper. These highly-priced luxury objects were often imported from Germany. The *pale* or stove should not be confused here with the *palle* or cloth of honour of the canopy, even if the spelling is often similar. A bigger and a smaller room with a stove are mentioned in the Coudenberg Palace accounts for 1468–1469. They were located on the first floor in the vicinity of the new main staircase, probably in the twin-gabled square volume added at the end of the wing, outside the main sequence of rooms composing the ducal apartment.⁴⁶ A room with a stove also turns up in the accounts of the Prinsenhof in Ghent as part of the main ducal apartment.⁴⁷ The room seems not to be gendered *per se*: the duchess, in this case Margaret of York, has her own *petit pale* in 1469.⁴⁸ Archaeological findings, such as those from the Hoogstraten residence in Brussels, from Binche and from the contemporary residence of Boussu, which belonged to Charles V's *premier et grand écuyer* Jean de Hennin-Liétard, show that stoves became more common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As in the case of mantelpieces, their forms continuously adapted to the architectural fashion of the time, as is confirmed by Hans Vredeman de Vries' prints and paintings.⁴⁹

Architectural analysis of a few cases from the highest nobility, dated c.1500, suggests that the function of the room with the stove was that of a semi-private reception room, where confidential matters could be discussed in comfort and privacy. This may be deduced from the spatial organisation of the Croÿ residence, now Arenberg Castle, at Heverlee. The *chambre du paal*, located in the east tower, is only accessible by way of the long gallery on the first floor; there is no connection with either the lower or the higher levels of the tower. The adjacent cabinet allowed fuel to be fed into the stove from the back, without having servants come into the main room; there was also a lavatory.⁵⁰ The stove was a highly decorated, colourful affair of almost four meters' height, tiled as the term *potz d'Allemagne* used in the inventory suggests, with feet like female winged sphinxes and panels decorated with the heads of Roman emperors and kings. The upper story had the form of a 'melon', meaning that it was topped with a ribbed *cupola* and crowned by a triumphal wreath with a phoenix rising from the ashes.⁵¹ The room had a bow window, in fact a tall oriel window, a configuration which altogether resembles that of the long gallery and the adjacent room of Jan III Glymes's residence at Bergen op Zoom (Markiezenhof), built 1503–1512. This room might have served the same function, but there is nothing left of its furnishings.⁵² In keeping with this, in the tapestry attributed to Barend van Orley and conserved in the castle of Laarne (c.1525), the imperial official Jean-Baptiste de Tassis is shown playing chess with friends in a front room distinguished by a monumental mantelpiece decorated with a medallion on the sculpted hood and by a buffet carrying precious vessels.⁵³ The inner room heated by a stove, which can be

glimpsed beyond an open door at the right, is reserved for women playing with children (fig. 8). Moreover, it has windows in two adjacent walls, suggesting that as in the case of the chamber *du paal* in Heverlee, it is situated at the end of a wing rather than in the middle.

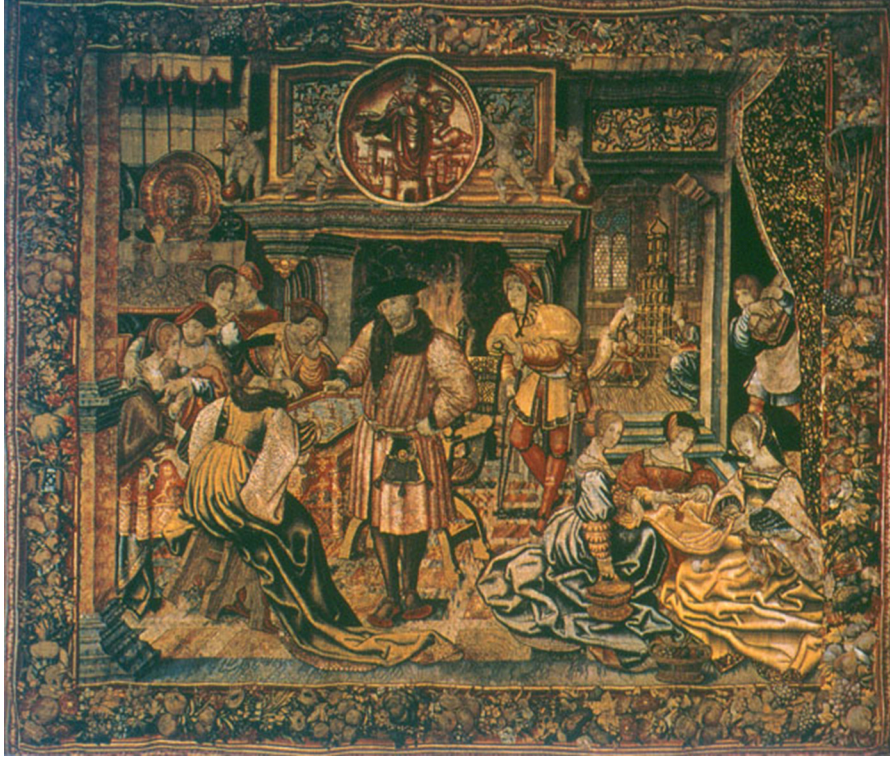


Fig. 8 (Attributed to) Barend van Orley, *Jean-Baptiste de Tassis and Company*, tapestry, c.1525. Castle of Laarne (photograph collection: author).

The costly stove gave its name to the chamber. In Heverlee, Mary of Hamale, wife of William of Croÿ, was personally involved in the furnishing of the new residence with such luxury objects. Between 1517 and 1520 or thereabouts, she sent the city architect of Leuven, Matthijs II Keldermans, to Liège, to inspect several stoves made of cast copper or bronze from the workshop of Nicolas Perlaudin, alias Niccolò Pagliardini or Pallardin, famous in Liège for his bronze tomb for the cardinal and prince-bishop Érard de la Marck.⁵⁴ This must have been a highly prestigious type of possession, fit for important reception rooms only, whether private or public. In some cases, its position seems indeed to have been more prominent, closer to the entrance. The 'greater chamber with the stove' in the Coudenberg palace, mentioned above, could actually be entered directly from the short vaulted corridor associated with Charles the Bold's new spiral staircase; the related accounts stress the prestigious nature of the room, 'where the emperor holds court' (*staet houdt*).⁵⁵ In Hoogstraten, the first chamber of the apartments on the first floor was called 'great chamber with the stove' (*grant pale*) in the 1548 inventory.⁵⁶ Located above the entrance gate in the 'tower of Castile', it was the first room a visitor entered before going along the upper gallery to Antoine de Lalaing's apartment or to that of his wife, Elizabeth of Culemborg.⁵⁷ In the residence built by Engelbert II of Nassau in Brussels, the lower great hall (*sale du commun*) was

followed by the large-size *chambre du pale*, from which a spiral staircase led to the upper great hall on the first floor.⁵⁸

Especially in Spain, these 'grey areas' would develop significantly throughout the sixteenth century, when Charles V and, above all, Philip II continued to refine the Burgundian ceremonial. By the end of the century, the intermediate rooms were often designated with the rank of the visitors received in them, or, maybe, allowed to progress past them in the sequence of rooms. The increasing distance between the public reception rooms and the private room of the king could be said to mirror the monarch's growing remoteness from his court and his people. In the Low Countries, this development led to the considerable expansion of the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, the main apartment almost doubling its surface.⁵⁹

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Illustrations

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ADN: Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille.

ARAB: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels.

L AA: KU Leuven, Arenberg Archief.

¹ Guillaume 1994. Paravicini 1997. Chatenet 2002. Hoppe 1996. Thurley 1993. Chatenet and De Jonge 2014.

² In addition to the above: for Spain, see Gérard 1984 for the best case study on the (lost) Alcázar of Madrid. Domínguez Casas 1993 is flawed because of its reliance on a document not connected with the era of the Catholic Monarchs; see De Jonge 2010, p. 63 and p. 83, n. 10.

³ Paravicini 1999/2002.

⁴ ARAB, Audiëntie 22/5, Ghent, 1 February 1499 (1500 new style), f. 130: 'Item, veult et ordonne q(ue) ordre soit tenu es entrees de ses chambres tant de pensionnaires chambellans maistres dostel et gentils hom(m)es: assavoir q(ui)l y aura une chambre devant celle ou il couchera, en laquelle chambre seront les huissiers qui garde(n)t la porte, et y entreront tous pensionnaires, chambellains maistres dostel et gentilz hom(m)es. Et par un lieu ou il f(er)a avoir deux chambres devant celle ou il couchera, il veult q(ue) en la p(re)mie(re) entrent les gentilz hom(m)es et en lautre prouchaine ala sienne entreront les pensionnaires chambell(ans) et maistres dostel. Et si non entreront et demeurent tout en une sans entrer en la chambre de mondit s(eigneur) jusques ace q(ui)l soit habillie, quilz y soyont appelez po(ur) p(ar) le som(m)elier de coupe ou q(ue) les varletz de chambre y entreront [...].' Reiffenberg 1845–1846. De Jonge 1994, pp. 107–08. Paviot 1999.

⁵ Whiteley 1992. Salamagne 2010, pp. 102–04.

⁶ This ceremony, described by Olivier de la Marche in his *Estat de la maison du duc de Bourgoingne, dit le Hardy*, astounded the Castilian court when Philip the Handsome visited Spain in 1502: Domínguez Casas 1993, pp. 557–58. Paviot 2007. On the later Habsburg period, see Pfandl 1938, pp. 18–22, 25–32; Noel 2005; Hofmann-Randall 1985/2012, pp. 68–71, 157.

⁷ Our reconstruction is based upon the surviving accounts. The synthesis accounts based on the more detailed daily accounts and receipts in ARAB, Rekenkamer 27389–27394 were the most useful. De Jonge 2000. Digital reconstruction in Maekelberg 2014.

⁸ In 1389, Philip the Good's grandfather Philip the Bold had added a first, similar complex with two chapels, oratory and *sallette* to the end of the old great hall. The later version just extended this complex by elongating the *sallette* and inserting a new oratory between it and the great hall.

⁹ Most authors, e.g. Delen s.d., pp. 59–71, use the reconstruction plans by Paul Saintenoy from 1915, ARAB *Cartes et plans gravés et imprimés*, 782 (7012); Saintenoy 1937a and 1937b. See my corrected plan in De Jonge 2014, pp. 112–14. General history in Van Nieuwenhuyze and Meijering 2010.

¹⁰ ARAB, Rekenkamer 27395 deals with the 1431–1436 building phase, while ARAB, Rekenkamer 2423, ff. 153r–171v, describes the 1468–1469 extensions.

¹¹ De Jonge 1991, pp. 18–24.

¹² ARAB, Audiëntie 23/5, *Relacion de la orden de servir que se tenia en la casa del Emperador Don Carlos Nuestro S(eñor) el año de 1545, e la misma se guarda agora en la de su M(agedad)* (copy), ff. 31r–36v. This ordinance also constitutes the standard for the seventeenth-century ordinances of the Spanish court. Rodríguez Villa 1913. On the continuation from Burgundy to Spain, see Hofmann-Randall 1985/2012; Hofmann-Randall 1995; Carlos Morales 2000; Hortal Muñoz and Labrador Arroyo 2014.

¹³ This placement can be clearly deduced from ADN 4097, ff. 150v (1430–1431); B 4104, ff. 99v (1456–1458); B 4109, ff. 98r (1463–1464); B 4165, ff. 64r, 67v (1469); B 3513, inventory of 1487, f. 1v. With thanks to Daniel Lievois† for his transcriptions. See in general Lievois 2000 and Laleman 2000.

¹⁴ Eichberger 2002, pp. 77–82, 118–24. De Jonge 2005b.

¹⁵ Eichberger and Beaven 1995.

¹⁶ Anonymous inventory c.1600, L AA 432, ff. 220r–246v (modern foliation). De Jonge 2004. De Jonge 2014, pp. 108–110.

¹⁷ Arnhem, Gelders Archief (voormalig Rijksarchief in Gelderland), *Archief Culemborg*, 244, see Gelder 1972, I, pp. 51–54. De Jonge 2014, p. 111.

¹⁸ This was indeed a *sallette*, as attested by the 1597 and 1619 inventories. Breda, Gemeentearchief, see Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, I, p. 75 and p. 150, respectively.

¹⁹ De Jonge 1994, pp. 114–16. The foundations of this fifty-foot-long space are easily recognisable on the terrain, see Dehon 2005, p. 91.

²⁰ Anonymous, 1549, pen and colour wash, 409 x 387 mm. Royal Library of Belgium, Cabinet des dessins F 12931, plano C. van den Boogert and Kerkhoff 1993, pp. 312–13 cat. no. 214.

²¹ ARAB, Audiëntie 23/5, *Relacion de la orden de servir que se tenia en la casa del Emperador Don Carlos Nuestro S(eñor) el año de 1545, e la misma se guarda agora en la de su M(agestad)* (copy), f. 31r. 'Despues que el uxer de la sala ha hecho esta diligencia, el tapicero manda llevar una alhombra grande a la pieca donde su M(agestad) ha de comer, y la tiende donde se pone la mesa, y encomiendo su M(agestad), los oficiales dela tapiceria la tornan á guardar, y al furier de palacio le toca mandar poner la mesa y traer la silla, y otra mesa pequeña que sirve de aparador en la misma pieca donde su M(agestad) come aviendo lugar para ello, y no aviendole, en la pieca mas cercana, que es para el servicio de la panat(eri)a y cava...'

²² (Attributed to) Frans Floris, *Pourtraictz au vif des Entrees Festins Joustes & Combatz matrimoniaux celebrees en la Ville de Bruxelles l'an nostre Seigneur Mille Cinq cens LXV... entre Treshaut Trespuysant & Tresexcellent Prince Monseig. Alexandre de Farneses... & entre Treshaute Trespuysante & Tresexcellente Princesse Donna Marie de Portugal*, gouache on parchment, 300 x 380 mm (approximately). Warsaw, University Library, Drawings Zb. Król. Wol 755, pl. 12. Bertini 1997.

²³ Paravicini 1999/2002; Baecke 2013.

²⁴ According to Aliénor de Poitiers's mid fifteenth-century account of the Burgundian court, a standard element of the Burgundian *dîner en public*; see La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1825, II, p. 211.

²⁵ This generic image served to illustrate a number of historic tourney dinners in the different editions of the *Thurnierbuch*, see Amman, Ruxner and von Francolin 1566.

²⁶ According to a witness account copied in the Venetian Marin Sanudo's diary, De Jonge 1991b, pp. 85–88.

²⁷ See the subtle differences in the descriptions of the *dressoirs* in the rooms of ladies of varying rank, La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, II, pp. 143–216. Paviot 1997. Sterchi 2001. Confirmation in the letter by Margaret of Burgundy to her sister-in-law Isabel of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy, 1430, see Paviot 1996, pp. 120–22. See also the report by Antoine de Lalaing, seigneur de Montigny, on the first voyage of Philip the Handsome to Spain in 1501–1502. Gachard 1876, pp. 153, 176, 180, 251: in Burgos, the buffet carried sumptuous gold vessels of great weight; in Toledo, on one occasion the buffet had six shelves; on another, there were five, one belonging to the King of Castile, another one to the duke of Alva, each allegedly carrying a few thousand pieces of gold and gilt silver.

²⁸ L AA 432, ff. 220r–225v; also the description by Charles Millet, May 1598, LAA 398/23, ff. 44r–50v.

²⁹ Formerly in Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick's collection, Goodrich Court, Wales (the house was demolished in 1949 and the ceiling's fate is unknown). Photograph reproduced in Wainwright 1989, p. 254 fig. 223. De Jonge 2003, p. 38. On the palace, see Wezel 1999.

- ³⁰ Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, ms. 9242, f. 1r; ms. 9092, f. 1r. Iconography and typology discussed in Stroo 2002.
- ³¹ ARAB *Rekenkamer* 1795, quoted by Laborde 1851, p. 312.
- ³² La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, II, p. 149.
- ³³ La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, pp. 179–80; definition of *dorsset* (*dosseret*) on pp. 176–77.
- ³⁴ For instance, see La Curne de la Palaye 1759/1826, pp. 191–96, 197.
- ³⁵ De Jonge 1991, pp. 18–20. Compare with the Louvre of the 1360s: Salamagne 2010, pp. 98–99, 102–04.
- ³⁶ ARAB, *Audience* 33/1, doc. 6: *Memoire touchant les entrées en les sales et antichambres de la cour*, f. 1r.
- ³⁷ Mertens 2006–2007, pp. 51–61.
- ³⁸ ARAB, *Audience* 33/1, doc. 6: *Memoire touchant les entrées en les sales et antichambres de la cour*, f. 1v.
- ³⁹ Chatenet 2002, pp. 133–40, 179–84. Chatenet 2003. Knecht 2016, pp. 185–204.
- ⁴⁰ L AA 432, ff. 220v–225r; 398, ff. 44r–50v. De Jonge 2014, p. 109.
- ⁴¹ Pierre Le Poivre, plan for the renovation of the Cröy residence in Brussels, 7 March 1596, L AA, 2420bis verso shows the proposed subdivision of the original *salle* and *sallette*. De Jonge 2014, pp. 106–08.
- ⁴² Enghien, Arenberg Archive, box no. 60/12, not numbered.
- ⁴³ On the elevation L AA 2464A (which corresponds with the Lepoivre plan mentioned in note 41, but not to scale), the rooms are marked off with the terms *salle*, *antisalle*, and *sallette*.
- ⁴⁴ ADN E 2353.
- ⁴⁵ Also suggested by the change in names for the early seventeenth-century *sallette* in the renovated Coudenberg palace, see De Jonge 1999b, reconstruction plan p. 192, room no. 11.
- ⁴⁶ De Jonge 1991, p. 32. Later, Mary of Hungary would recuperate this space in order to turn it into her *sallette*, adding her new chamber and cabinet at the end of it.
- ⁴⁷ Amongst others, ADN B 4104, ff. 99v–100r (1456–1458); B 4165, ff. 45v, 47v, 52v, 61v, 64v–65r, 69r (1469); B 3513, ff. 2v (1471); B 4126, ff. 134v–135 (1502); ARAB *Rekenkamer* 2715, ff. 181r–v (order for more *pales*, 1544–1545). With thanks to Daniel Lievoist† for his transcriptions.
- ⁴⁸ AND 4165, ff. 45v, 50r–v.
- ⁴⁹ Examples from other noble and court residences in Buyle 1990; Fourny and Buyle 1994; De Jonge et al. 1998, pp. 136–37; De Jonge 2005a.
- ⁵⁰ L AA 432, ff. 142r–153v. De Jonge 2003, p. 39. De Jonge 2004, p. 74.
- ⁵¹ A similar structure can be seen in the background of a tapestry attributed to Barend van Orley and dated c.1525, conserved in the castle of Laarne, URL: <http://balat.kikirpa.be/object/58426>.
- ⁵² Meischke 1987, pp. 40–43, 51–53, proposes the function of a chapel and dates the insertion of the bow window to the beginning of the 1520s. There is indeed a 'chapel at the gallery' (*op de capelle boven de galerie*) in 1578. While in Meischke's opinion the room seems too small to serve as chapel without the oriel, its dimensions are roughly those of Mary of Hungary's cabinet next to her new long gallery at the Coudenberg palace (1533–1537), i.e. approx. 4 x 3 m. De Jonge 1994, p. 111, n. 20, p. 123, fig. 3 (ARAB *Kaarten en plannen ms. 1326*).
- ⁵³ For a similar chimneypiece with medallion in the gallery on the first floor of the Arenberg Castle at Heverlee, see De Jonge 2003, p. 41.
- ⁵⁴ ARAB Arenberg Archief, Kwitanties ad annum 1517–1520, not numbered (nos. 40–41). De Jonge 2004, pp. 73–76. On Pallardin's tomb, dated 1526–1528, see Brassinne 1946.

⁵⁵ ARAB *Rekenkamer* 4210, ff. 112v, 114v.

⁵⁶ Arnhem, Gelders Archief (voormalig Rijksarchief in Gelderland), *Archief Culemborg*, 244, see Gelder 1972, I, p. 39. In spite of the name, however, the inventory describes a large mantelpiece with a sculpted relief in the antique manner; the stove may have been replaced between the 1520s and 1548.

⁵⁷ De Jonge 2014, pp. 111–12.

⁵⁸ At least one smaller chamber with a stove was part of the lord's apartments. See the 1568 and 1619 inventories, respectively ARAB *Rekenkamer* 593, f. 249 and *Conseil privé*, Carton 214 (lost), published in Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974, I, pp. 25–43, 92–127. De Jonge 2014, pp. 112–14.

⁵⁹ De Jonge 1999a. De Jonge 1999b. De Jonge 2010.