

Cherchez le lit: the place of the bed in sixteenth-century French residences

by

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This essay on the placing of the bed stems from the author's work in progress on ceremonial and royal architecture in sixteenth-century France. In contrasting French practice with that of Serlio, it indicates a difference of approach between France and Italy towards the relationship between internal arrangement and external appearance.¹

Whilst studying the *manières d'habiter* in a French residence, one very quickly discovers the difficulty of reconstructing the moveable objects, such as the wall hangings and tapestries, the floor coverings and above all the furniture. In order to re-create these *chers disparus*, whose disappearance is so detrimental to the understanding of the interior space, the reaction of historians has been, up to now, to turn to the two most obvious sources: estate inventories and manuscript illustrations.

In France, furniture inventories, mainly drawn up for inheritance purposes, were very numerous from the end of the fifteenth century. Though these inventories do not pinpoint the precise position of the furniture nor, in general, their dimensions, they do in fact provide long lists of individual pieces, often arranged in a room by room order.² As for the manuscript paintings, they illustrate room interiors with what appears to be a precise fidelity. However, from experience, these two sources must be used with a certain caution, due to the strong risk of misinterpretation.

Miniatures are works of art. The main concern of their artists was to present a story and not to satisfy the excessive curiosity of twentieth-century historians. We should not be taken in by the numerous details that are undeniably taken from life: the general arrangement of the furniture in relation to windows, doors and fireplaces answers above all the need to balance the setting around the protagonists of the story, and is often inspired by a model.

The problem of a set model – of imitation – is also found in literary sources where, it has to be admitted, the furniture is very rarely mentioned. Unfortunately,

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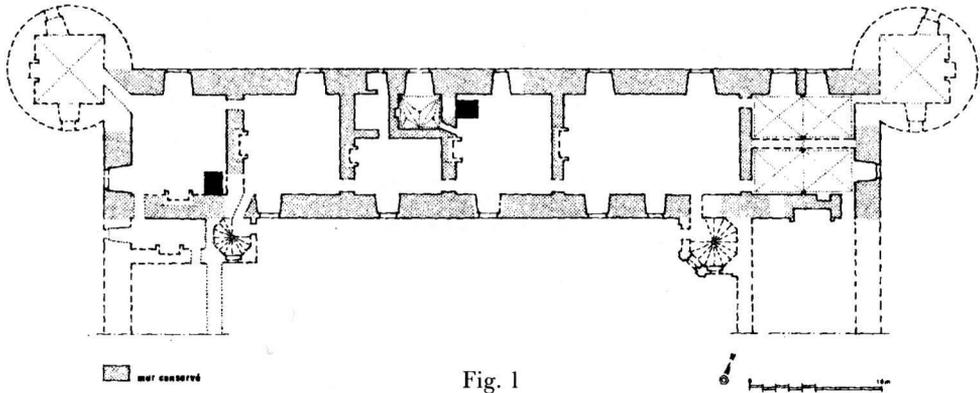


Fig. 1

Plan of Jarzé, reconstruction of executed building

[NB. In all the plans, the beds have been indicated by the author with black rectangles. In Figs. 2 and 7, these rectangles overlay the original denotations made by Du Cerceau and Serlio.]

any allusion to furniture is equally rare in memoirs and correspondence, except for the well-known example of the *Journal de voyage* by Michel de Montaigne.

Making use of inventories creates several difficulties: such as how to understand the distribution of the house that contained the furniture, on account of the often tortuous route followed by the writer and the modifications (even destruction) suffered by the building; how to avoid certain terminological ambiguities that relate both to rooms and the furniture, because two different words, for example *salle* and *chambre*, can be used synonymously, and the same term, such as *buffet* or *table*, can describe objects of quite different usage. The final and the greatest difficulty is how to determine the difference between furniture that was essential to the room and temporary pieces that are there *en cas de besoin*. Furthermore it must not be forgotten that this snapshot is taken at a quite particular moment, when the recent owner has died and, as a result, a certain disarrangement, or even a major upheaval, cannot be excluded.

In spite of extremely stimulating progress, the few studies so far made in this field in sixteenth-century France, have not been able up to now to avoid these pitfalls.³ Therefore the general idea has prevailed – mainly false in my opinion – that French noblemen lived in multi-purpose rooms that lacked specialisation. I believe that it would be more profitable to start from the other end and to find out if the order of the principal pieces of furniture were dictated by certain rules. In this respect, architectural designs make an essential contribution, though unfortunately they are rare in the sixteenth century. However, theoretical and practical texts dealing with architecture, such as contracts for construction and treatises, do survive and they provide further precious information.

A notarial deed, of a singularly unusual preciseness, makes a good starting point: the contract for the masonry of the château of Jarzé, a large, today totally disfigured, château in Anjou, which was constructed around 1480-90 by Jean Bourré, Treasurer of France and trusted courtier of Louis XI.⁴

The contract presents a typical distribution: the lodgings were reached by a spiral staircase that stood out from the main façade on the right (Fig. 1). It led directly into the *salle*, the service end of which on the right communicated with the offices (*cuisine*, *dépense* (storeroom) and the *garde-manger*), and at the *haut bout* (the place of honour on the left) with the *chambre* and its annexes: *garde-robe* (wardrobe), *comptoir* (private office), *retrait* (latrines). The high end of the hall is indicated by the fireplace, in front of which the dining table is traditionally placed. The hall fireplace, as the text stipulates, must be *au milieu* of the wall. For the chamber on the other hand, the document is quite precise:

il y ara cheminee de la pierre dessus. de Saint Aignan, laquelle sera ou pignon et moyen d'entre ladite chambre et de la garderobe qui viendra apres, et sera icelle cheminee tellement assise que depuis le jambaige d'icelle a dextre, c'est assavoir devers les champs, il y ara jusques au coing devers lesdits champs X piez et demy francs pour mectre le lit et la chaere, et entre led. lit et le jambaige de ladite cheminee y ara ung petit huis de pié et demy de large en biaisant qui sera darriere la chaere pour entrer en ung comptouer qui sera en la garderobe d'après, ainsi qu'il sera dit, et en icelle chambre ara deux croysees, l'une devers les champs a ung pié et demy du pié du lit, l'autre devers la court a V piez du coing devers la cheminee.⁵

there will be a fireplace made of Saint Aignan stone on the dividing wall between the chamber and the *garde-robe*, and this fireplace will be so placed so that between its right jamb, that is on the side facing the meadows, and the corner of the room there will be 10½ feet for placing the bed and the chair, and between the bed and the fireplace jamb there will be, behind the chair, a small obliquely set door for entering the private office which will be in the *garde-robe*. And in the chamber there will be two mullion windows, the one on the side facing the meadows to be 1½ feet from the foot of the bed, and the other on the courtyard side to be 5 feet from the corner of the room nearest the fireplace.

It becomes quite clear that it was the position of a piece of furniture, namely the bed, that determined not only the placing of the fireplace, but also that of the window and, as a result of this, also the general arrangement of the façade.

This text with its rare precision raises the question whether there was at this time in France a fixed position for the bed or whether Jarzé was an isolated case, and to go on to ask what were the repercussions of this distribution on the arrangement of the interior space and on the visual order of the façades.

1. THE POSITION OF THE BED

Without wishing to over-stress this point, it is very easy to demonstrate that the Jarzé contract describes the traditional placing of the bed in France from the end of the fifteenth century up to the end of the sixteenth. Philibert de l'Orme writes very explicitly about it in his treatise:

Les cheminées des salles, chambres, et garderobes se font de divers ornements, et diverses façons (...) et notez s'il vous plaist que pour une salle il faut toujours ériger au milieu: j'entend au milieu du pignon et muraille qui fait la séparation des salles et chambres (...), pour autant qu'il n'y a rien de si laid, ni de si mal plaisant à voir quand on entre dans une salle, qu'une cheminée estant à costé ou pres d'un angle (...) Au contraire, il ne faut ériger les cheminées des chambres au milieu des faces desdictes chambres: mais bien les tirer plus à costé, pour donner espace et largeur suffisante à la place du lict, et de la chaire qui doit estre aupres, et une autre petite espace pour la

*ruelle. Telle largeur doit estre communément de neuf pieds pour le moins aux chambres moyennes, qui ont de vingt à vingt-deux pieds de large, et dix pieds à celles de 24.*⁶

The fireplaces of the halls, chambers, and *garde-robés* are made in various ways (...) and take note that for the halls they should always be placed in the middle of the dividing wall which separates the hall from the chamber (...) because it is extremely ugly to see, on entering a hall, a fireplace situated near a corner. On the contrary, chamber fireplaces should not be built in the middle of the wall, but should be pushed to one side in order to leave sufficient space to place the bed, the chair which must be at one side, and another little space for the *ruelle* [the space between the bed and the wall]. This width should be at least 9 feet for medium-sized chambers that are 20 to 22 feet in width, 10 feet for those of 24 feet.

Louis Savot in his 1624 *L'architecture française des bastimens particuliers* points out that the disposition changed at the beginning of the seventeenth century:

On avoit accoustumé anciennement de tourner la teste et chevet du lict contre le mur qui porte la cheminée (...) Aujourd'hui, on le dispose d'autre façon et plus commodément en tournant le chevet contre le mur qui est opposé à la croisée qui regarde le long de la table, laissant une ruelle du costé de la cheminée de la largeur de quatre ou de six pieds.

In the past it was the custom to place the bedhead against the wall, which contained the fireplace (...) Today a different and more convenient arrangement is used: the bedhead is placed against the wall opposite the mullion window, that lights the table, thereby leaving on the side of the fireplace a *ruelle* of 4 to 6 feet wide.

In a final text, a Parisian contract of 1567 for the château of Bois le Vicomte, a similar disposition of the bed is described:

*et quant aux chemynees de la petite chambre, il suffit qu'elle soit de cinq piedz de large et quatre piedz ung [poulce...] et loing de l'angle le plus que on [pourra pour] la place du lit avec la chaire et la place [de la ruelle] ainsy que l'on doibt cognoistre pour le mieulx.*⁷

the fireplace in the small chamber, which could be only 5 feet wide (...), will be placed the farthest possible away from the corner of the room in order to make space for the bed, the chair and the *ruelle* ...

In addition to texts, there are the architectural designs. I have found only six of these, five of them by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau:⁸ the table is invariably in front of the hall fireplace, the principal bed always beside the chamber fireplace, and the *couchette* (the small bed, which served as a divan during the day) always in the opposite corner, except when it was placed in a wardrobe where it is used as the principal bed (Fig. 2).

An unexecuted project of around 1500 for the château of Gaillon makes the exception, because it is the *couchette* that is placed next to the fireplace, whilst the bed is situated, in the Italian manner,⁹ in the opposite corner.

In addition to these 'visible' beds, 'invisible' ones should also be considered, beginning with those shown by Du Cerceau in his volumes of engravings made in 1559 and 1582. Du Cerceau gives a very precise description of the distribution,¹⁰ which makes it easy to observe the degree to which the position of the bed is taken into account (Fig. 3). For instance, he does not treat the placing of the hall and chamber fireplaces in the same way; in fact, he pays greater attention to shifting

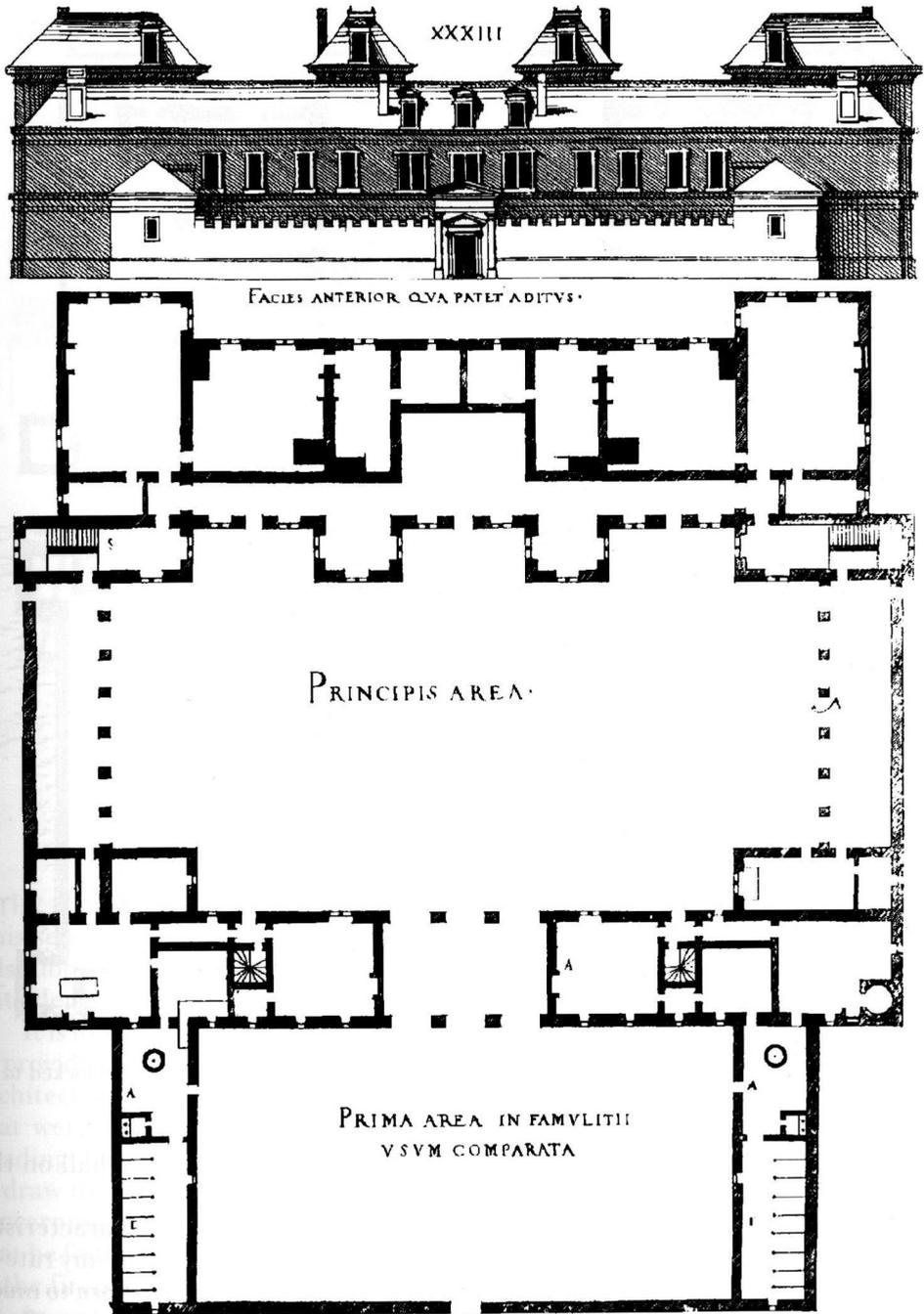


Fig. 2

Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, 1559 Book, design XXXIII: plan with beds represented in positions marked by Du Cerceau

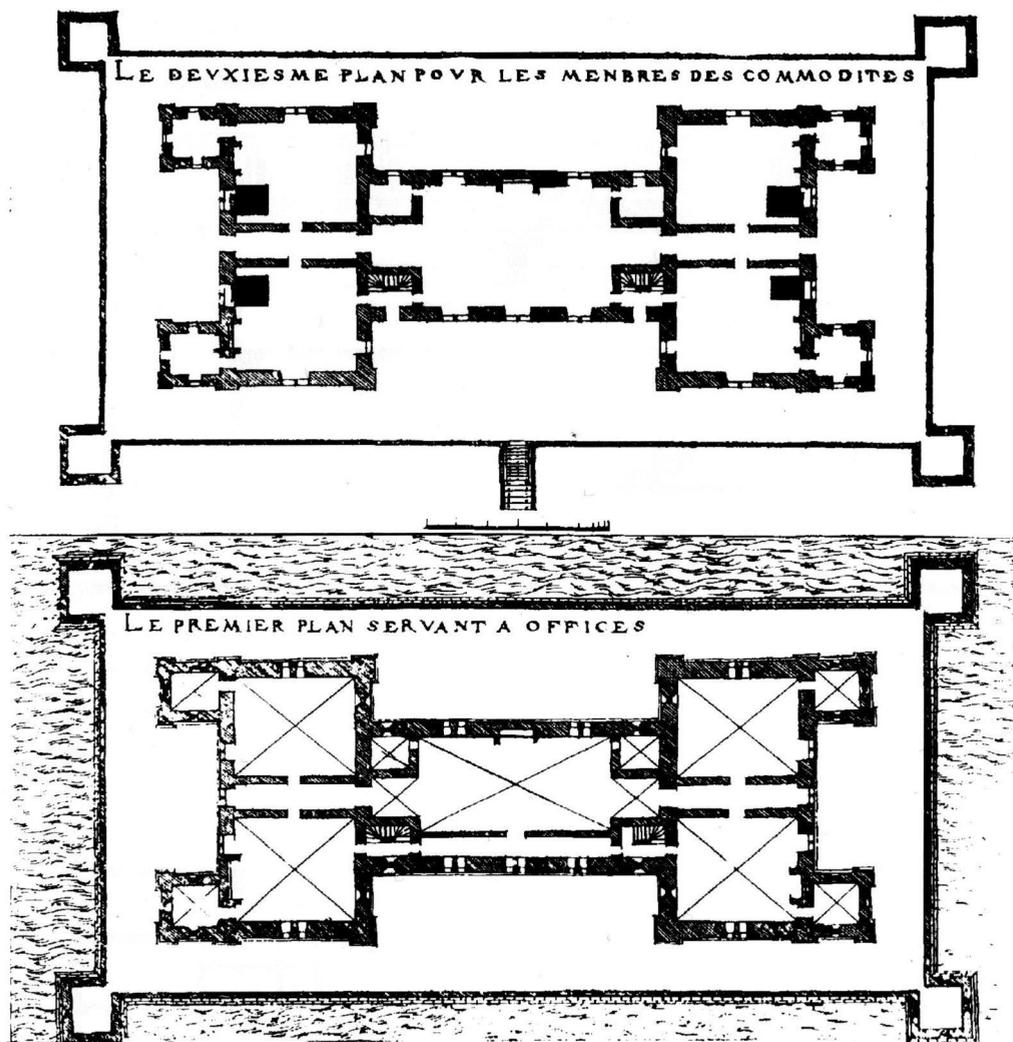


Fig. 3

Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, 1582 Book, design XXVIII: plan showing windows blocked to provide for emplacement of beds

the chamber fireplace to one side than he does to placing that of the hall on the central axis.

Likewise in the chambers of executed buildings, the typically characteristic blank corner with the fireplace pushed well to one side can be found, at any rate in castle architecture, from large châteaux like Ecouen and Châteaudun down to much more modest examples. On the other hand hall fireplaces, except for the *salles de bal*, were rarely centralised due notably to a structural problem: the passage of the flue through the rafters. Good examples are far more difficult to find in the towns,

because of the extensive alterations suffered by most interiors; however, in addition to other examples, a building development of small houses in the town of Tours, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 4), would seem to be particularly significant.

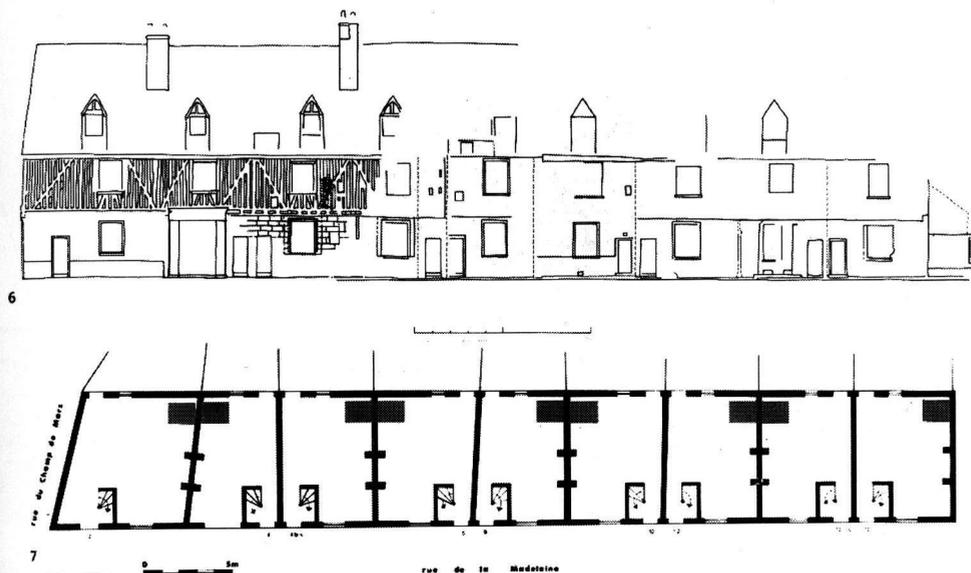


Fig. 4

Tours, building development, 2-18 rue de la Madeleine, (c. 1520-30).
Plan and elevation, *Inventaire Général*

2. THE POSITION OF THE BED AND THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE INTERIOR
This second part starts with an author, who was Italian but was directly linked to this subject: Sebastiano Serlio who, in his books VI and VII written in France, reveals a sudden interest in beds and even in alcoves.¹¹

It is forgotten at times, that Serlio, who was not an art historian, had no intention of providing an accurate record of French architecture for his readers. He was an architect seeking clients, or at least admirers, which led him to propose projects that were more or less compatible with taste and *commodità francese*. Under this heading, he adopted certain customs and rejected others, so it is sometimes tricky to draw the line between his ignorance and his voluntary omissions. Nevertheless, concerning the place of the bed, it is quite clear that Serlio knew the French custom, that he found it very practicable, but that he absolutely refused to shift the position of the fireplace.

In one of the first drawings of houses in the country in the University of Columbia's manuscript (Fig. 5), Serlio designs two little houses, one Italian, the other French, each showing a principal room *entro laquale si fara et fuoco et lo letto* (in

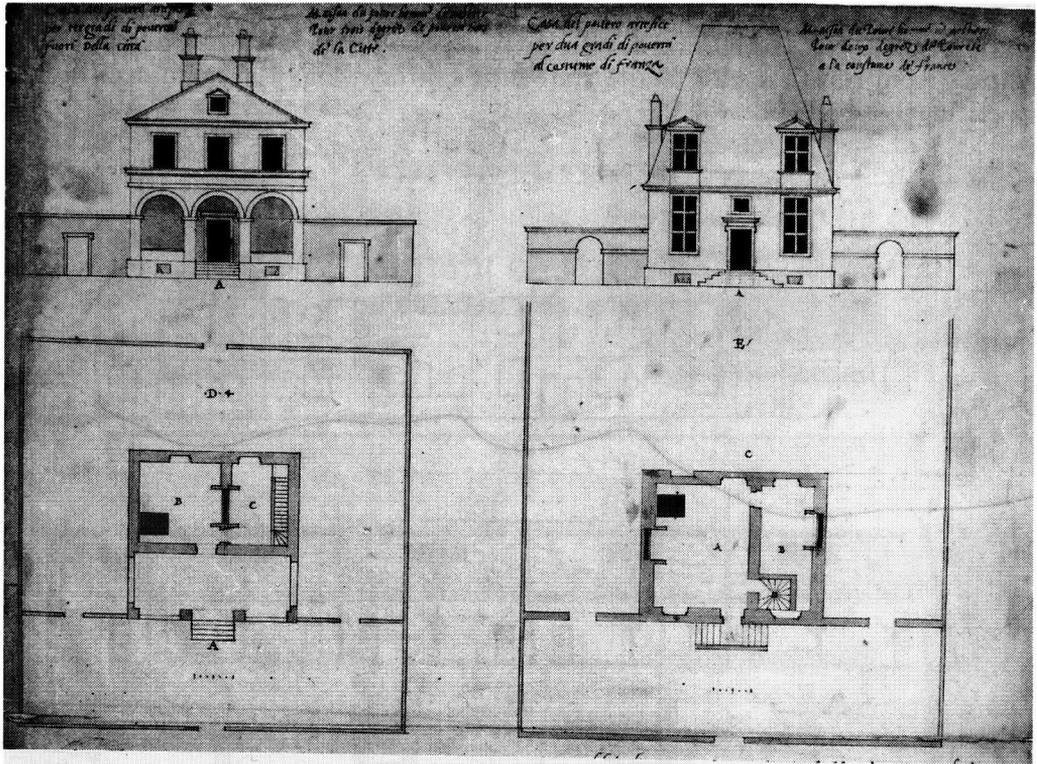


Fig. 5

Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library of Columbia University, pl. II, design D (A, loggia, B: chamber with fire and bed, C: Kitchen); design E (A : chamber with fire and bed; B: Kitchen)

which there will be the fireplace and the bed). The French model on the right differs from the Italian on the left by possessing a blind window, that was obviously intended to provide a place for the bed beside the fireplace.

Serlio also knew the position for the *couchette*, for in design G on the same plate (Fig. 6), similarly in the French style, a small niche is called *lo spacio di un piccolo letto senza impedire la camera* (the space for a small bed without encumbering the chamber).¹² As for the position of the principal bed, it has its proper place beside the fireplace.¹³

In his first town designs, as much in the Italian examples as in the French, Serlio again takes up the same arrangement of the bed, but he refuses to move the fireplace from the main axis, which, in all the book VI projects, is always placed in the centre of the wall. In the one exception he made to this rule, design C on plate 48, Serlio judged it necessary to provide an excuse, *in questo modo, il fuoco non è nel mezzo; nondimeno egli è ben commodo* (in this way, the fireplace is not placed at the centre; nevertheless it is very practical) (Fig. 7).

It can accordingly be clearly established that, in the conception of interior

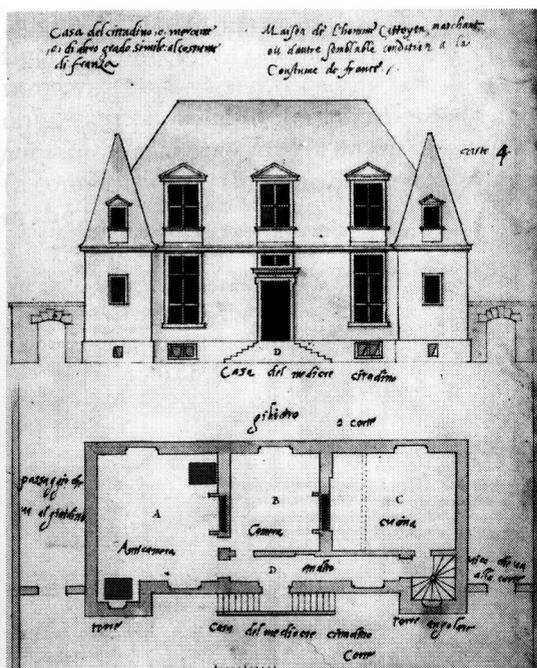


Fig. 6

Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library of Columbia University, pl. II, design G (A : chamber, B : garde-robe, C : kitchen, D : corridor)

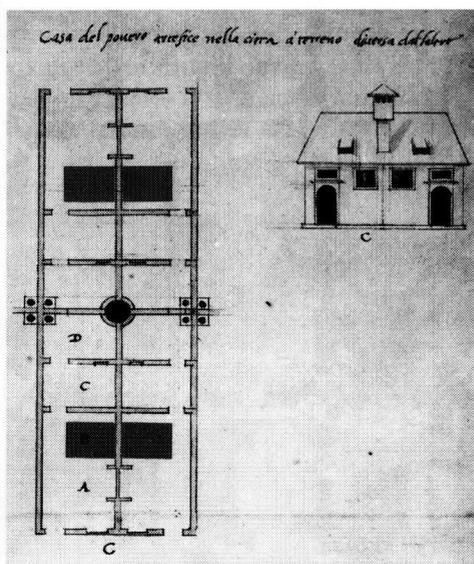


Fig. 7

Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library of Columbia University, pl. XLVIII, design C (A : chamber, B : place of the bed, C : kitchen, D : courtyard)

space, a difference existed between the French custom, where the idea for a symmetrical arrangement was absent (at least in the chambers), and the requirements of Serlio, who endeavoured to give an organised order to this space even in his most modest projects. A similar difference is found in the treatment of the alcove, or niche for the bed, several examples of which are known in France and in Serlio's books VI and VII. In France, this disposition is confirmed in three châteaux of around 1540: Madrid, La Murette and Saint-Germain. The alcoves at Madrid are only an afterthought resulting from the transformation of a corridor; on the other hand those of La Murette (Fig. 8) and in my opinion also those of Saint-Germain,¹⁴ show that in France the alcove had an essentially practical aim: to provide a place for a *garde-robe* or a *cabinet*, yet maintaining the space for the bed.

On the other hand, the fourteen alcoves which Serlio introduced in book VI and the eleven which figure in book VII, also served to regularise the interior space, either because the site was irregular (Fig. 9), or the plan of the building was very complex, or to make the plan of the chambers closer to the ideal shape of a square.

The origin of the recessed alcove with its elegant arrangement needs to be better understood. It is represented by Serlio (Fig. 10), with its bed flanked on one

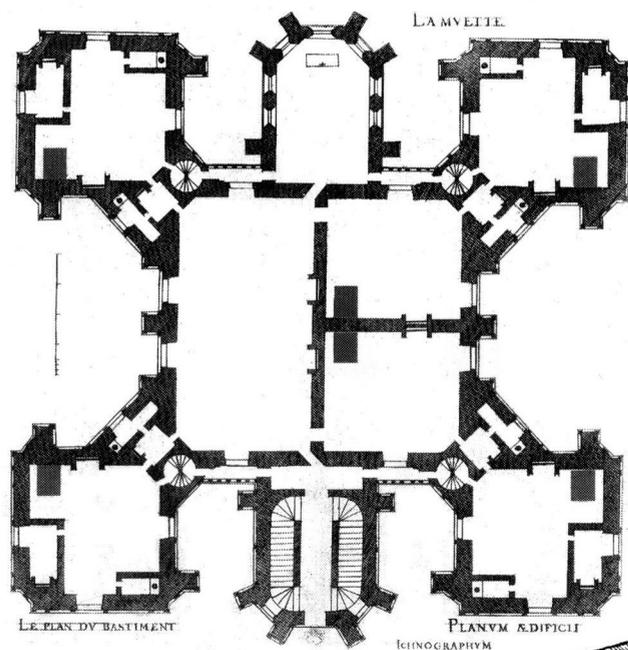


Fig. 8
Plan of the château of La Muette by
Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau,
Les Plus excellents bastiments de France,
t. I, 1576

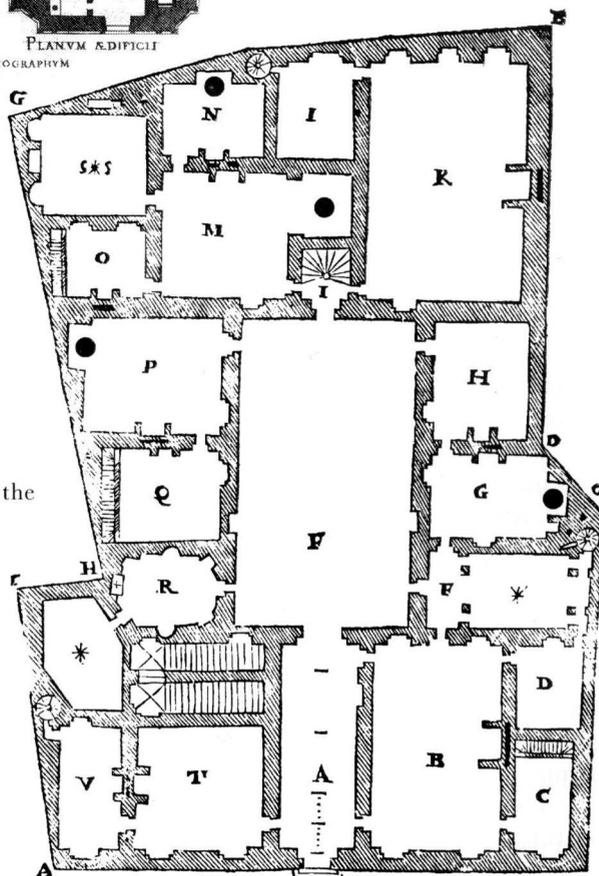


Fig. 9
Serlio, book VII, design 57, p. 137
[the black spots show the placement of the
beds, in alcoves]

side by a small *camerino*, and on the other by a staircase climbing up to a mezzanine floor, so convenient, as the author tells us, *per fanciulle e per nutrice* (for children and nurses).¹⁵ Serlio used these niches in several of his French models. However, the only example which refers explicitly to an executed building, concerns *una casa per fare alla villa, la quale fece già un mio discepolo ad un gentilhuomo Veneziano per fare alla villa* (a country house, that one of my pupils has already made for a Venetian gentleman in the country).¹⁶

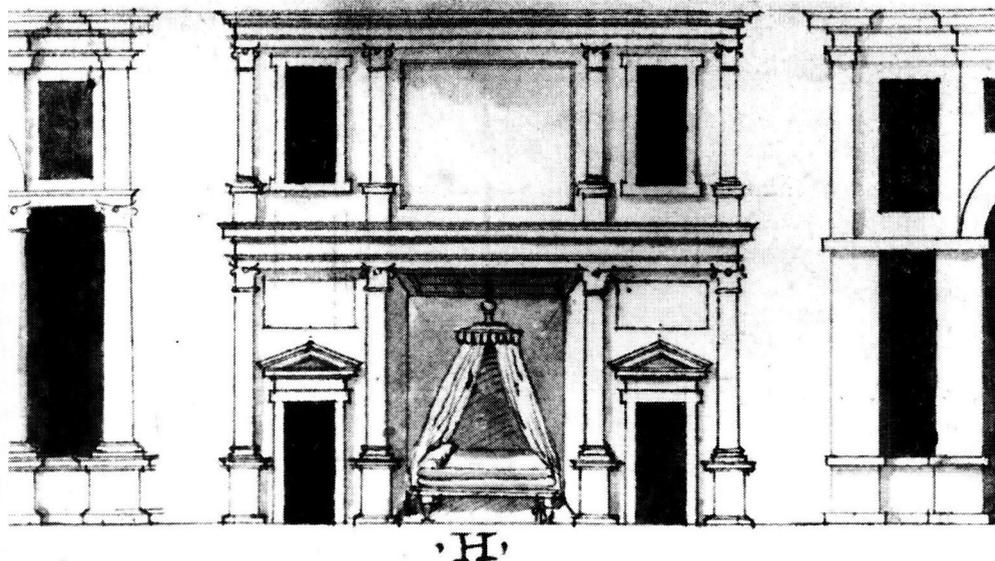


Fig. 10

Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library of Columbia University, pl. LII, alcove

3. THE POSITION OF THE BED AND THE TREATMENT OF THE FAÇADE

As has been noted at Jarzé, the position of the bed had a direct influence on the arrangement of the window openings, for, in France, a nobleman's residence, his château or his townhouse, is characterised by a distribution of a single suite of rooms. Serlio's first reaction, as seen above, was the blind window, his use of which he justified in plate 17 of the University of Columbia manuscript:

*e dove qualche finestra o porta impedirano la posta del letto, si potrà mutare senza menda della faccia di fuori per la commodità delle finestre che si posson e fingere, et fare aperte secondo acaderà.*¹⁷

and there, where a window or a door would impede the placing of the bed, it is possible to make a change, without altering the exterior façade, for the sake of the convenience of the windows which will be real or blind as is convenient.

This formula is hardly elegant. In any case the French, who had only from the 1510s begun to take an interest in the symmetrical arrangement of a façade, had not waited for Serlio to make this discovery: blind windows are found as early as

1520 on a lateral façade of the château of Azay-le-Rideau.¹⁸ Du Cerceau also made use of this device. In four projects in his 1582 book¹⁹ (Fig. 3), he skilfully contrived to make space for the bed by closing off the offending windows behind wall panelling:

*la place du lit se mettra contre l'une des croisees joignant la cheminee, laquelle sera fermee de menuiserie et servira pour un petit cabinet comme il est figuré sur le plan, et ira-on en icelluy cabinet entre la cheminee et le lit.*²⁰

the bed will be placed against the mullion window that is near the fireplace, the window-recess of which will be shut off by a wooden partition which will serve to isolate a small closet, as is represented on the plan, and the access to this closet will be between the fireplace and the bed.

Another more subtle solution for the provision of the bed area could have involved experimenting with the rhythm of the window openings. Façades with complex rhythms were from the beginning of the century favoured in France, a preference that did not escape Serlio's notice (Fig. 14),²¹ but the complexity was rarely prompted by the position of the bed. One architect in particular took a delight in them: the erudite and eccentric Philibert de l'Orme.

In his masterpiece at Anet (c. 1550), the rhythmic play is completely superfluous for there are only galleries behind the lively elevations of the main *corps-de-logis* and the right-hand range. However in his first large commission, the château of Saint-Maur (c. 1540-5), there is indeed a play between the interior space and the façade. However, this interplay did not affect the chambers comfortably installed in the corners of the building, but concerned the halls where, as Philibert asserts in his treatise, there was a traditional preference for alternating windows between one façade and the other.²²

The comparison, if not to call it the competition, between Philibert's Saint-Maur (Fig. 11) and Serlio's Grand Ferrare (Fig. 12) – two completely contemporary buildings constructed for two rival Cardinals, Hippolyte d'Este and Jean Du Bellay – is rather amusing: Serlio hides the interior rhythm behind the façade (with the help of a blind window), whilst Philibert delighted in accentuating it.

It is clear that Serlio cared little for irregular rhythms, and when by chance he did risk making a concession to French taste, he did not think of making use of it to mask the position of the beds, but resorted, yet again, to the not so glorious expedient of the blind window²³ (Figs. 13 and 14).

In point of fact, if a treatment *rythmée* of the façade was used from time to time, such as at the château of Wideville²⁴ (Figs. 15 and 16), there were many other solutions for masking the position of the bed on the façade. The most frequently used method was the corner room, as shown at Saint-Maur and Le Grand Ferrare, and after that the corner pavilion, in imitation of Henri II's example at the Louvre. The development of this architectural *motif*, which offered multiple possibilities for the arrangement of the chamber and its annexes, dated just from the middle of the century: it consisted of either a large pavilion with a group of several rooms, as at the Tuileries, or a series of separated pavilions, as in the first project for Verneuil and in innumerable designs by Du Cerceau.

For the secondary chambers situated in ranges, it was also possible to juggle

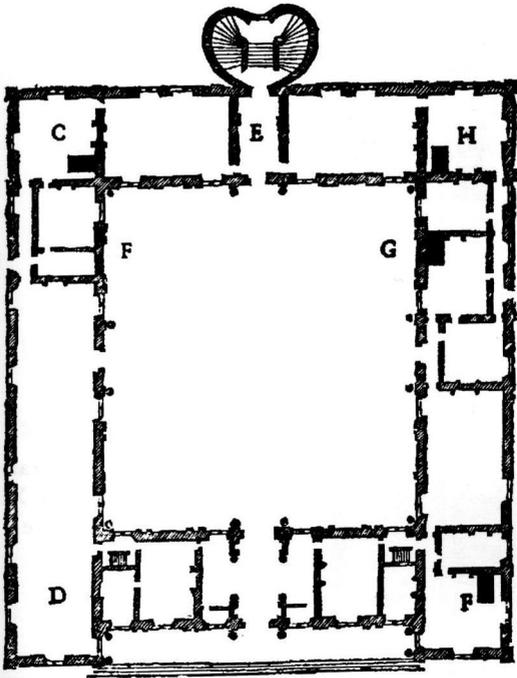
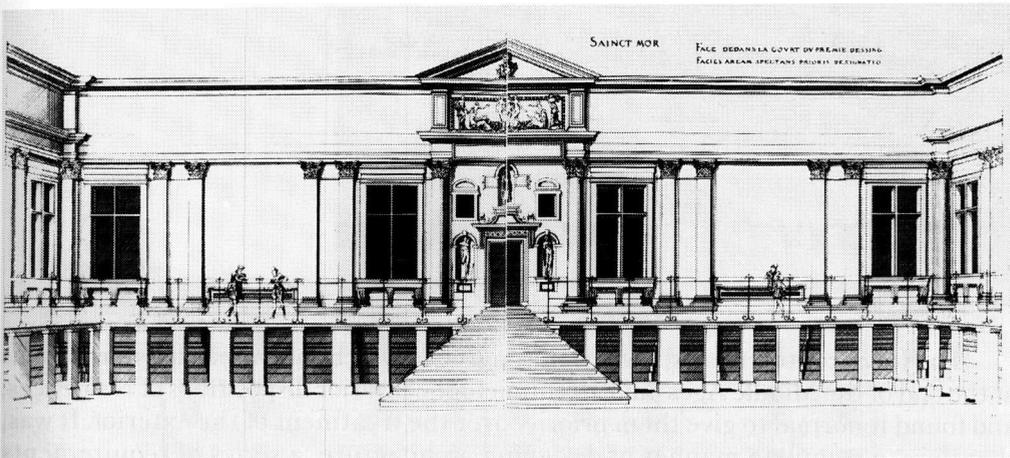


Fig. 11
a) Philibert de l'Orme, *L'Architecture ...*, Paris, 1567, fol. 17^v: plan of château of Saint-Maur



b) Elevation of the château of Saint-Maur by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, *Les Plus excellents bastiments de France*, t. II, 1579

around with a corridor behind the façade, or with the position of the fireplace which no longer faced the chamber entrance, or finally, to reduce the number of window openings. When nothing worked out, one dispensed with symmetry. This is what Du Cerceau blithely carried out in certain of his projects: the position of the bed was always scrupulously respected,²⁵ but for the façades, if they became too complicated, enough was enough.²⁶

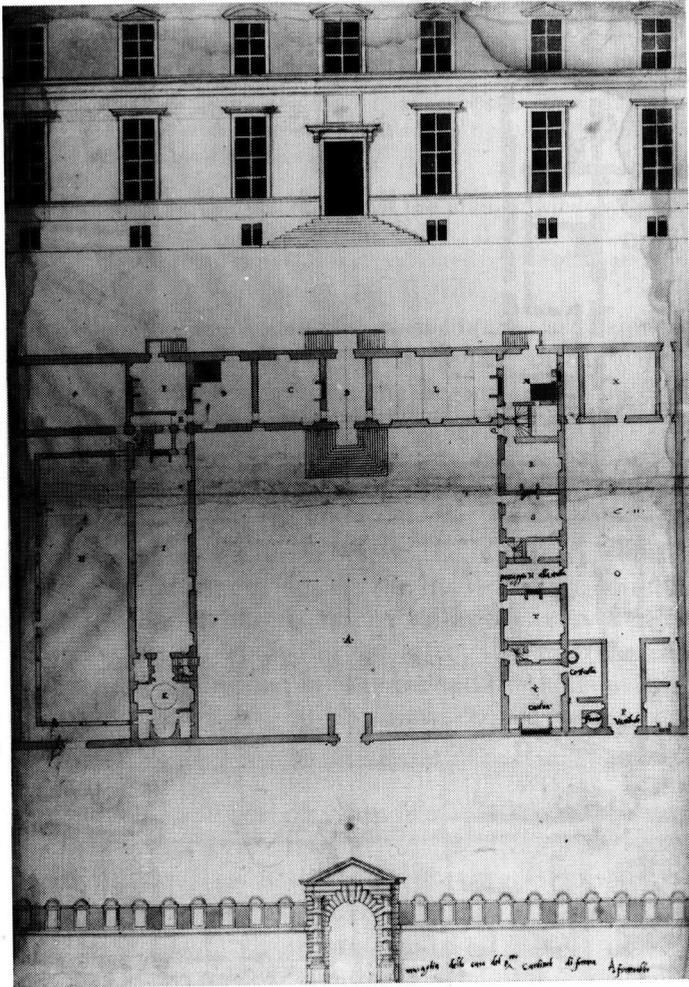


Fig. 12
Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library
of Columbia University, pl. XI:
plan of Le Grand Ferrare

The Jarzé contract has shown us the degree to which the French master masons at the end of the Middle Ages paid attention to the interior dispositions of residences, and found it normal to give them priority over the treatment of the exterior. It was, therefore, a complete manner of designing architecture, a series of requirements the extent of which we still have difficulty in perceiving, which master masons had to be aware of when from about 1510 onwards a concern for a symmetrical façade started to be evident. Because of this, historians have too often tended to qualify as clumsiness what was on the whole a compromise solution. The French architects of the Renaissance – starting with Philibert de l'Orme, the most knowledgeable about Italian architecture – did not abandon their forbears' concern for a convenient organisation of the interior space, and this was in the following centuries to assure the reputation of their successors.

Fig. 13
Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library of
Columbia University, pl. XL: project
for a royal residence, plan

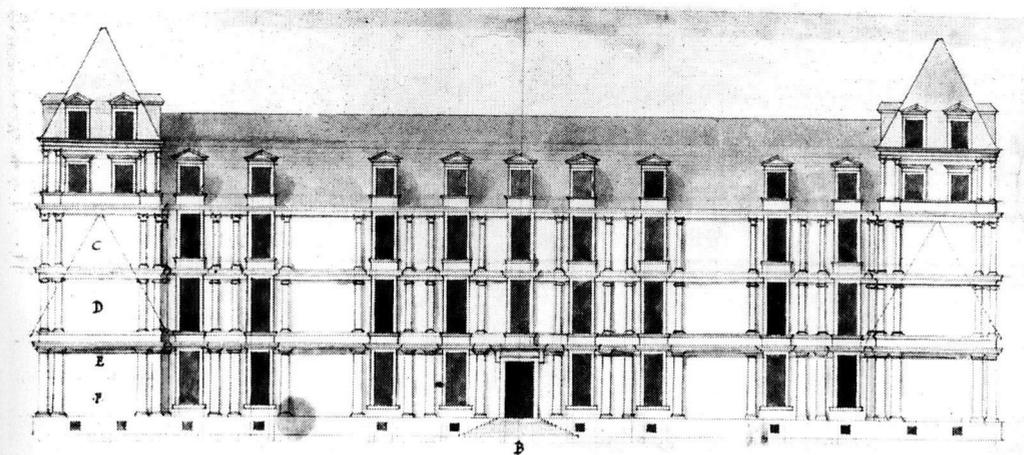
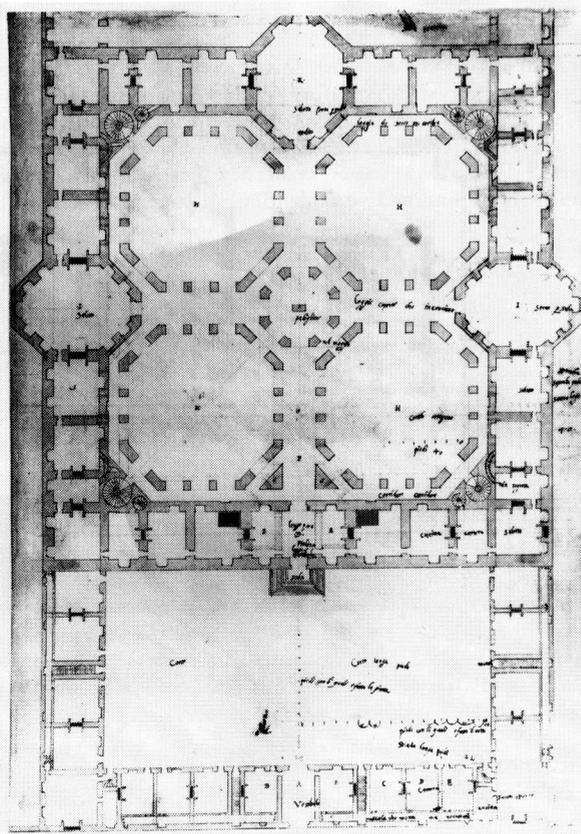


Fig. 14
Serlio, Book VI, Avery Library of Columbia University,
pl. XLI: project for a royal residence, elevation

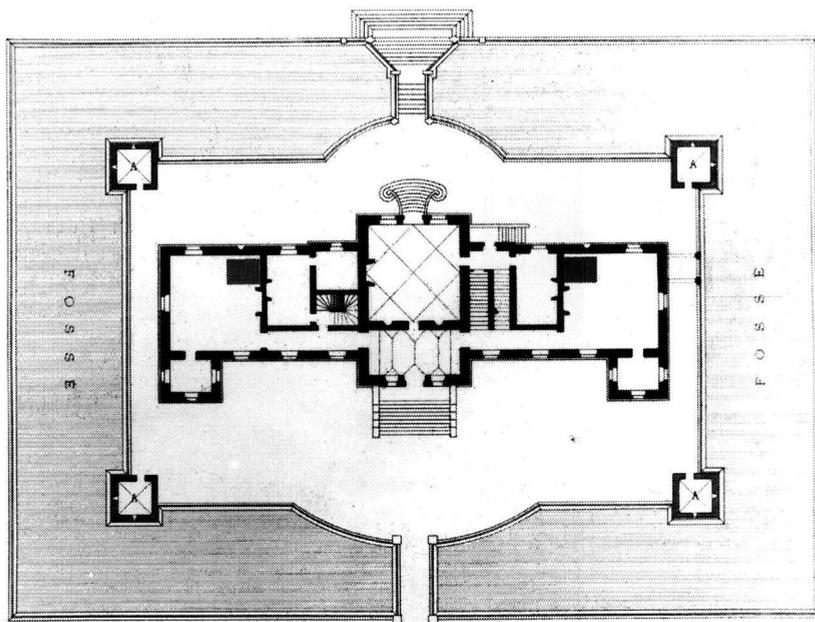


Fig. 15
Château of
Wideville, plan by
Sauvageot, *Palais,
châteaux, hôtels et
maisons de France
du XV^e siècle au
XVII^e siècle*, t. III,
1867

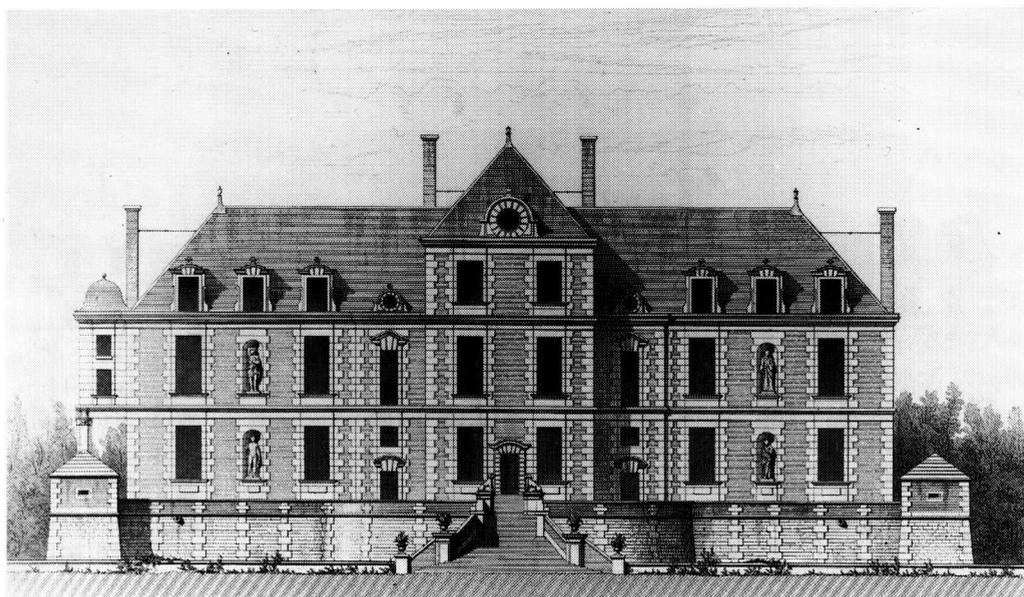


Fig. 16
Château of Wideville, rear elevation by Sauvageot, *Palais, châteaux, hôtels et maisons de France
du XV^e siècle au XVII^e siècle*, t. III, 1867

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. This paper was written for a Day Seminar organised on May 14th 1997 at the Politecnico Milano by Professors Aurora Scotti and Pier Nicola Pagliara: "*Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia tra XV e XVI secolo: distribuzione, funzioni, impianti*". I warmly thank Mary Whiteley for having agreed to write its translation and I am grateful to John Bold for his help and support.
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6. Philibert de l'Orme, *Le Premier livre de l'Architecture*, Paris, 1567, book IX, chap. 1.
7. Arch. nat., Minutier central, LXXVIII, 64, publ. by Catherine Grodecki, *Documents du Minutier central: les notaires de Paris (...)*, 1985, vol. 1., 89.
8. Four engraved plans in the *Livre d'architecture* of 1559, and a preparatory drawing for project XVIII of the 1582 Book in the Morgan Library, New York. See Naomi Miller, 'A Volume of Architectural Drawings ascribed to Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau the Elder, in the Morgan Library, New York', *Maryas*, vol. XI, 1962-4, 33 ff.
9. Just as Howard Burns brilliantly demonstrated in his paper 'Letti visibili e letti invisibili da Francesco di Giorgio a Palladio' at the Milan Day Seminar, see note 1. For this Gaillon project which includes in other respects strong traces of Italian influence, see René Crozet, 'Un plan de château de la fin du Moyen Age', *Bulletin monumental*, 1952, 119-24; Elisabeth Chirol, 'Nouvelles recherches sur un plan de la fin du Moyen Age, projet pour le château de Gaillon', *Bulletin monumental*, 1958, 185-95.
10. Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, *op. cit.* In the 1559 Book, the distribution is noted both in the accompanying text and on the plans. In the 1582 Book, it is necessary to refer solely to the text which is not always as explicit as that written in 1559.
11. The references to Book VII are taken from *Tutte l'Opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva di Sebastiano Serlio*, Venice, 1619. The Columbia manuscript has been published by M.N. Rosenfeld, *Sebastiano Serlio on Domestic architecture*, New York, 1978, and the Munich manuscript by M. Rosci, *Il trattato di architettura di Sebastiano Serlio*, Milan, 1967.
12. No notice should be taken of the annotations found on the drawing, which were made later and sometimes in contradiction of the accompanying text.
13. Note, in the inscription that appears on the Munich manuscript, that beside this chamber a "rietrocamera che segli dice guardaroba" is also represented, that is the typically French *garde-robe* isolated by a corridor.
14. Monique Chatenet, 'Cérémonial et architecture: La Distribution des espaces au château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye', *Revue de l'Art*, 81, 1988, 20-30. In particular in the range near the Chapel, the chambers clearly possessed recesses. I did not understand at that time that they served to accommodate the bed and had, as a result, to be positioned near the fireplaces.
15. Ms. Columbia, pl. LIII.
16. Book VII, 240-1.
17. Curiously, a false window is found near the bed placed in the French style in a *maison padouane* presented by Serlio in his book VII, p. 218 in the 1619 edition.
18. Jean Guillaume, *Azay-le-Rideau et l'architecture française de la Renaissance*, extract from *Monuments historiques*, 1976, n° 5. Marie Latour, 'L'angle d'Azay-le-Rideau', in: *Bulletin monumental*, 1993, vol. 151-IV, 605-15.
19. Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, *Livre d'architecture*, 1582, designs V, XVI, XVII, XXVIII.
20. *ibid*, design V.

21. Jean Guillaume, 'Serlio et l'architecture française', *Sebastiano Serlio*, Milan, 1989, 67-78.
22. Philibert de l'Orme, *op. cit.*, Book 11, chap. 11. To my knowledge however in the traditional architecture, the choice is never as systematic as at Saint-Maur, at the Grand Ferrare or at Ancy-le-Franc.
23. Serlio, Ms. Columbia, pl. XL-XLI. Note that the placings of the beds are arranged on the rear façade (thanks to false windows) and not the front façade where the rhythmic disposition would appear to have been made to receive them. In the Munich manuscript (pl. 39-40), Serlio appears at last to be conscious of this possibility, but he preferred to place the rhythmic elevation on the rear façade and to propose a regular façade for the front.
24. Catherine Grodecki, 'La construction du château de Wideville et sa place dans l'architecture française du dernier quart du XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin monumental*, 1978, 135-75. The rhythm of the rear façade (disposition of the niches) is determined by the place of the beds. It is the same situation in the project that Du Cerceau published only in 1582 (n° XXII), but which obviously served as a model for Wideville.
25. There are naturally exceptions, but they are very few in number: 1559 Book, n° VI, XIII, XXVI, XXXII; 1582 Book, n° XIV, XXXII, XXXIV bis.
26. See for example, 1559 Book, n° XXVII.