



A HUNTING LODGE IN THE HAGUE

IN SEARCH OF THE HAGUE COURT OF FLORIS IV

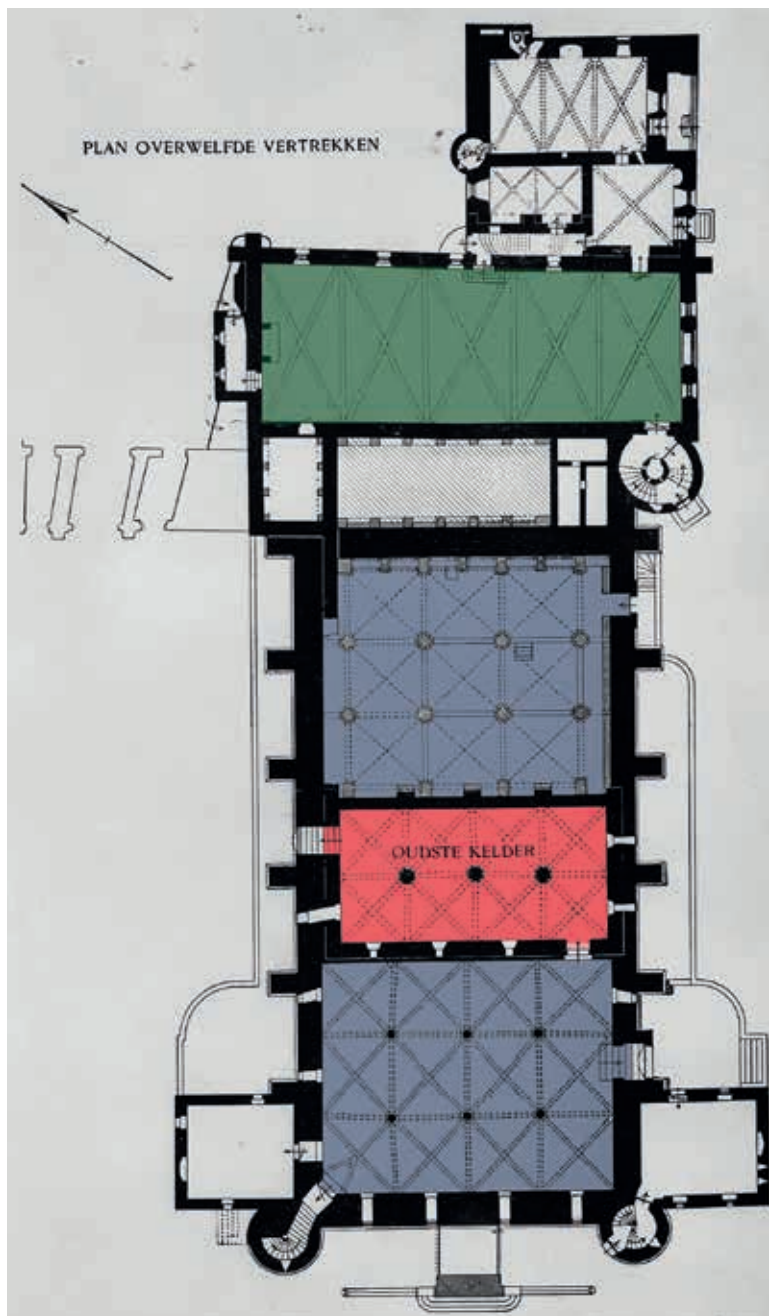
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▲ 1. Seal on which Floris IV is depicted as a hunter with a falcon on his hand, 1210-1234 (Utrecht Archives)

'Hunting in particular was one of their most agreeable diversions, for which the extensive wooded and sandy terrain, known then as a *wildert* or wilderness, with its wolves, foxes and deer, provided ample opportunity: In particular 'Het Haghehoute' as the wooded area between 's-Gravenzande and Leijden was then called, was one of their favourite hunting grounds, and in that Haghehoute they lost no time building a hunting lodge in which they could, if they so wished, hold a hunters' meal or feast, or, overtaken by bad weather, find safe shelter, and that simple hunting lodge later became the accidental source of the formation of our 's-Gravenhage.'¹

This was how the architect and former Government Architect Cornelis Hendrik Peters (1847-1932) described origins of The Hague and the Binnenhof in 1894.² He is not alone in characterizing the earliest domicile of the counts of Holland in The Hague as a hunting lodge or hunting seat. Jacob de Riemer (1676-1762) had written in 1730 about the counts' hunting lodge (*jachthuis*) and this term is still used today to designate the earliest phase of the Binnenhof.³ There are no historical sources from the thirteenth century that refer to the origins of the Hague court. The first narrative source in which the Binnenhof is mentioned by name is the *Chronographia* penned by Jan Beke.⁴ This Latin chronicle dating from the middle of the fourteenth century reports that Count Willem II (1227-1256) had started building a royal palace ('regale palacium') in The Hague, after being crowned King of Germany in 1248. It was from this palace that Willem is supposed to have administered justice and dealt with other important affairs.⁵ There is no mention of what this complex looked like. In the Middle Dutch *Kronijk van Holland*, probably written between 1409 and 1417 by a certain 'clerc uten laghen landen bi der see' (Clerk in holy orders of the low lands by the sea), we read that the section built by Willem II is still known as the 'Oude Zaal' (Old Hall).⁶ This may refer to the 'Rolgebouw' (fig. 2). There is evidence for the existence of a count's residence before Willem II started building his palace, in the form of a document issued on 6 September 1242 in The Hague.⁷ In addition, building history and archaeological research has shown that the middle (oldest) basement below the current Knights' Hall (Ridderzaal) probably predates the 'Rolgebouw'.⁸

The focus of this article is the Hague court *before* the construction of Willem II's palace (the 'Rolgebouw'). Based on terminological research, it explains why the interchangeable Dutch terms *jachthuis* (hunting lodge) and *jachtslot* (hunting manor) are no longer applicable to the earliest phase of the Binnenhof. Using primary source material and literature research, it also establishes where the 'hunting lodge story' originated. To arrive at a new definition of the earliest



2. Plan of the vaulted rooms in the Counts' Chambers complex showing the basement below the 'Rolgebouw' (green) and the basements below the Knights' Hall (blue and pink). The middle or 'oldest basement' (pink) is in the centre below the Knights' Hall (Cultural Heritage Agency)

phase of the Binnenhof, I also made use of recent building history research findings and investigated whether the typological characteristics of hall construction in palaces and castles in the period from circa 1150 to 1250 match those of the first construction phase. Finally, comparative research into other noble residences within and beyond the county of Holland reveals the existence, as early as the thirteenth century, of residences that served primarily as a base for hunting. Those buildings display several similarities with the early Binnenhof.

HUNTING LODGES AND HUNTING MANORS

In *Bouwkundige termen. Verklarend woordenboek van de westerse architectuur- en bouwhistorie* (Architectural terms. Glossary of Western architecture and building history) a *jachtslot* is described as a 'country house occupied during the hunting season by the owner and his companions. Usually consists of a low main building plus outbuildings for staff, horses and hounds, which are sometimes arranged around a forecourt'. The hunting manor or lodge is not to be confused with a *jagershuis* (hunter's house), which is a 'house for the huntsman or master of the hunt, usually a small rustic building in or near the woods'.⁹ The term *jachtslot/jachthuis* was not coined until the nineteenth century when the *nouveau riche* started to take up hunting.¹⁰ The use of this term to describe the thirteenth-century Binnenhof would therefore appear to be problematical. The issue is whether residences were built for a specific purpose, such as hunting or ceremonial occasions, as early as the thirteenth century. Castles built as (or converted into) bases for hunting did exist in the early modern period, such as Venaria Reale near Turin and Chambord in the Loire valley.¹¹ Whether a differentiation according to function already existed in the thirteenth century is difficult to ascertain; historical sources seldom mention the principal's motive for building a castle – with one exception: castles built specifically for defence like Muiderslot and Medemblik Castle.¹² To be able to function as a base for hunting a number of specific facilities were needed: kennels for the hounds, additional stabling for the horses, a falcon mews, living quarters for the master of the hunt or gamekeeper, and extra guestrooms to accommodate the entire hunting party.¹³ Even if these facilities were present, that does not necessarily mean that a particular complex was built with an eye to the hunt. Hunting rights had been in the king's gift since the eighth century, which meant that he was the owner of all the 'wildernesses' and as such free to transfer this right to his liegemen. In subsequent centuries hunting evolved into an important component of court life and a favourite pastime of the nobility.¹⁴ Beyond that, hunting was essential for the provision of food in this period. So it is hardly surprising that many castles were built in the vicinity of these wildernesses during the Middle Ages. One early example is the imperial palace of Kaiserslautern in the middle of the Reichswald forest. As early as the twelfth century Emperor Frederik I (1122-1190), better known as Barbarossa, wanted to build a game preserve here. The wild animals in the fenced-off part of the forest, which included deer and wild boar, were kept especially for the hunt.¹⁵

Added to this was the thirteenth-century power structure. In this period a domain was not ruled from a single location; instead, the ruler travelled from

place to place within his territory. This itinerant company – the ruler and his retinue – is also called a court or, in the case of a count, a count's court. A ruler owned various residences scattered across his domain and these too were called (counts') courts.¹⁶ In the County of Holland there were several such residences, including in Leiden, Haarlem and The Hague. It is difficult to characterize these courts; generally speaking they functioned as economic (often agrarian) centres and some had an official administrative character.¹⁷ Not all the places where the count resided were courts: he also stayed in abbeys and monasteries. From the end of the fourteenth century, the Counts of Holland increasingly resided in one place, a development that had started a hundred years earlier when the chancery became a permanent establishment.¹⁸ The Hague, too, acquired the character of a permanent residence when Albrecht van Beieren (1336-1404) started to spend a large part of his time there.¹⁹ Itinerant courts catered spontaneously to the desire to hunt since every relocation provided fresh hunting grounds. At the end of the Middle Ages, however, a need arose for houses to which rulers could retreat and live more informally. In this period there was indeed differentiation and houses were built, or existing residences were rebuilt, to act as a base for hunting.²⁰ Albrecht, for example, had Castle Teylingen comprehensively remodelled as a recreational hunting lodge in 1383 and 1388.²¹

DIE HAGA

Jacob de Riemer, writing in 1730, was the first to associate the origins of The Hague with 'the hunting lodge of the Counts of Holland'.²² He was not entirely wrong since there was indeed a connection between The Hague and the counts' hunting activities. The aforementioned document of 1242, for example, was drawn up in 'Die Haga', a term denoting an enclosed (or hedged-in) area that lies outside the walls of a castle or town and is used for hunting.²³ A *haga* is therefore different from an enclosed garden, which is always linked to a house or an estate.²⁴ In England there were 'hayes' as early as the eleventh century, although their popularity did not really take off until the thirteenth century. There the term referred to a wooded area surrounded by a massive wall or hedge stocked primarily with red deer.²⁵ Although several early placenames in the Netherlands refer to hayes, little is known about them. We also know nothing more about the thirteenth-century 'Hague's haye' ('Haagse haag'); it is conceivable that this hunting ground was similar to those in England.

Historically, the area around the Binnenhof was undoubtedly heavily wooded. Before 1100 the only habitable areas in Holland were a number of long sandbanks topped by relatively high beach ridges.



3. Jacob van Deventer, map of The Hague including the Haagse Bos, c. 1550 (National Archives)

This area, which stretched from The Hague to Haarlem and was also known as the Old Dunes, was wooded in the Middle Ages.²⁶ From the eleventh century onwards it was the site of extensive cultivation of wood- and peatlands.²⁷ Pollen analysis has revealed that in the ensuing centuries the woods were cut down at a rapid rate.²⁸ It is impossible to completely reconstruct the extent of the forest landscape in the thirteenth century. Some current and former placenames that originated in this period – such as Brederode, Tetrode and Keggenrode – end in ‘-rode’, which is a reference to the ‘rooien’ or ‘felling’ of woods to make way for arable and/or dairy farming.²⁹ In the thirteenth century the Hague woods still offered ample opportunities for hunting. Jan Beke noted that Count Floris v (1254-1296), the son of Willem II, went hunting in the vicinity of The Hague.³⁰ Whether Floris IV (1210-1234),

the father of Willem II and probably the first count of Holland to live in the Binnenhof, also hunted there we do not know. However, he did have himself depicted as a hunter on his seal, something that was fairly common for young men who had not yet been made a knight (fig. 1).³¹ From the fourteenth century, fragmentation occurred in the area around The Hague. Sections of the forest were already known by their own name, such as the Houte, Myente, Berkenrijs, Oude bos, Korte bos and Schakenbos.³² In Jacob van Deventer’s (†1575) city plan of circa 1550 the Haagse Bos is still a prominent presence, although it is hard to say to what extent this wood still resembled that of the thirteenth century (fig. 3).³³ Until 1533 peat was extracted for the counts’ court and that also entailed felling trees. The marshy ground left behind was subsequently filled up with dune sand and planted with

alders. And at the end of the fifteenth century large quantities of shrubs and saplings were purchased in an effort to revitalize the wood, which was in a poor condition owing to the hunt and violent storms. The original forest was eventually completely replaced by new trees.³⁴

THE HAGUE HUNTING LODGE AS FOUNDATION STORY
 'Die Haga' was aware of its association with the counts' hunt quite early on and in 1639 it consolidated this by officially changing its name to 's-Gravenhage, literally the hunting grounds of the Counts of Holland.³⁵ This name, or names resembling it, were already being used to refer to The Hague from the fourteenth century. In *Die cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* from 1517, The Hague is referred to as 'Tsgrauen haech' or 'counts' haye' (fig. 4).³⁶ It is unclear why this new name was chosen. Lacking a city charter, The Hague had to find other ways of promoting itself and it is possible that the implied association with the counts' court was intended to lend it greater prestige and status. Stadholder Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647) resided in The Hague from 1625 to 1647 and, together with his wife, Amalia van Solms (1602-1675), endeavoured to create a royal court here that would be the equal of other courts in Europe.³⁷ He, too, would no doubt have encouraged the association of his court with the earliest rulers of Holland.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, hunting and owning hunting lodges were the preserve of the very highest echelons of society. In the first instance that meant members of the royal family, the

House of Orange, who bought up land and houses for hunting parties. Stadholder Willem III (1650-1702), for example, acquired the Soestdijk manor in 1673 and in 1684 he purchased Oude Loo castle. Once acquired, these estates were furnished with hunting-related facilities and richly decorated with depictions of the hunt.³⁸ The nobility and wealthy middle class followed suit in the eighteenth century, buying up dozens of landed estates with manorial hunting rights. A remarkable number of houses were named 'jachtlust' ('hunter's delight') in this period, presumably because it was deemed to be status-enhancing.³⁹ The connection with the hunt was also emphasized in existing castles and country houses because the hunt was a royal privilege. In the eighteenth century, for example, the lords of Castle Biljoen maintained that Karel van Gelre (1467-1538), an ardent hunter, had built the castle complex as a summer residence and hunting lodge.⁴⁰ Even earlier, in 1672, the poet Robert Keuchenius (1636-1673) had described these origins of Castle Biljoen in a panegyric to the French Sun King.⁴¹ It is in this context that the foundation story of The Hague as the 'hunting lodge of the Counts of Holland' should be seen. It is a notion that, witness the quotation from Peters at the beginning of this article, was still commonplace at the end of the nineteenth century.

THE HAGUE COURT OF FLORIS IV

Count Floris IV is regarded as the founder of the Binnenhof. In a theory postulated in the 1950s the manor belonging to Lady Meilendis was proposed as the possible basis for the Hague court.⁴² According to a

4. 'Tsgrauen haech' on f. 168v of the *Divisiekronek* of 1517 by Cornelius Aurelius, showing one of the earliest known (not faithful) representations of the Binnenhof and The Hague (National Library of the Netherlands)





5. The basement of the 'Rolgebouw' (photo D. Valentijn, 2017, Cultural Heritage Agency)

document from 1229, Dirk van Wassenaar (1205-1253) sold his rights to the landed estate ('*curtem*') of the late Lady Meilendis, presumably his mother, to Count Floris IV of Holland.⁴³ This *curtem* (or *curtis*) was probably an (agrarian) estate with a central farmstead.⁴⁴ It is not certain whether the Meilendis *curtis* was the actual site where the Binnenhof was later built. What *is* certain is that the land on which the Binnenhof was eventually built had at one time belonged to the Van Wassenaar family.⁴⁵

A year later Floris IV gave away his nearby manor in Loosduinen, which was not far from the Binnenhof.⁴⁶ It is possible that he no longer had any need of it now that he had another residence in the same area. Incidentally, the count owned another manor a little further away: 's-Gravenzande. It is not known how important Loosduinen and 's-Gravenzande were for Floris IV and his father Willem I (1168?-1222), but it is worth noting that they never issued deeds or charters from either of those manors. After Floris IV's death, the 's-Gravenzande manor became the principal residence

of his widow, Countess Machteld (1198-1267). It is possible that she had stayed there frequently during her marriage.⁴⁷ Apart from the heavily wooded surroundings, the Binnenhof's convenient location along the route from the manor in 's-Gravenzande to the one in Leiden and the more distant Aelbertsberg, would have been a reason for building a residence on this spot.⁴⁸

THE EARLIEST CONSTRUCTION PHASE

If the Meilendis manor is indeed the place where the Binnenhof began, there was probably already a functioning (agrarian) landed estate on this spot. Van Veen contends that it most likely consisted of timber buildings because the deed of sale refers to a *curtis*. In other Van Wassenaar documents the word 'house' is always used for a brick building.⁴⁹ The middle basement would in that case have been built after 1229 and before 1248. Building history and archaeological research confirms this surmise.⁵⁰ De Wit argues that the vaulting of this space is 'old fashioned' compared with that in the basement of the Rolgebouw (fig. 5),

which has wall-to-wall vaulting in five elongated bays.⁵¹ According to De Wit similar vaulting would not have been problematical, yet the builders opted for eight cross rib vaults supported by three round columns in the middle of the space (figs. 6 and 7).⁵² However, it is important to note that wall-to-wall rib vaulting can have the effect of significantly raising the floor level of the storey above. It is possible that the client did not want the 'bel etage' to be too high above the courtyard and consequently opted deliberately for cross rib vaulting with columns.

The most recent sub-study of the building history of

the Grafelijke Zalen is the building-history research conducted by Hein Hundertmark and Paula van der Heiden (2021). This gave rise to a number of new interpretations and offers an interesting perspective on the earliest building history of the Binnenhof. The authors contend that the middle basement was part of a rectangular hall building, possibly of two or three storeys. On the eastern side of this complex there was once a completely walled, raised courtyard that ran all the way to the north-eastern corner of today's basement cloakroom. We know this because a piece of wall built of the same large bricks used in the middle basement

6. The vaults and a column in the middle basement (photo W. Kramer, 1899, National Archives)

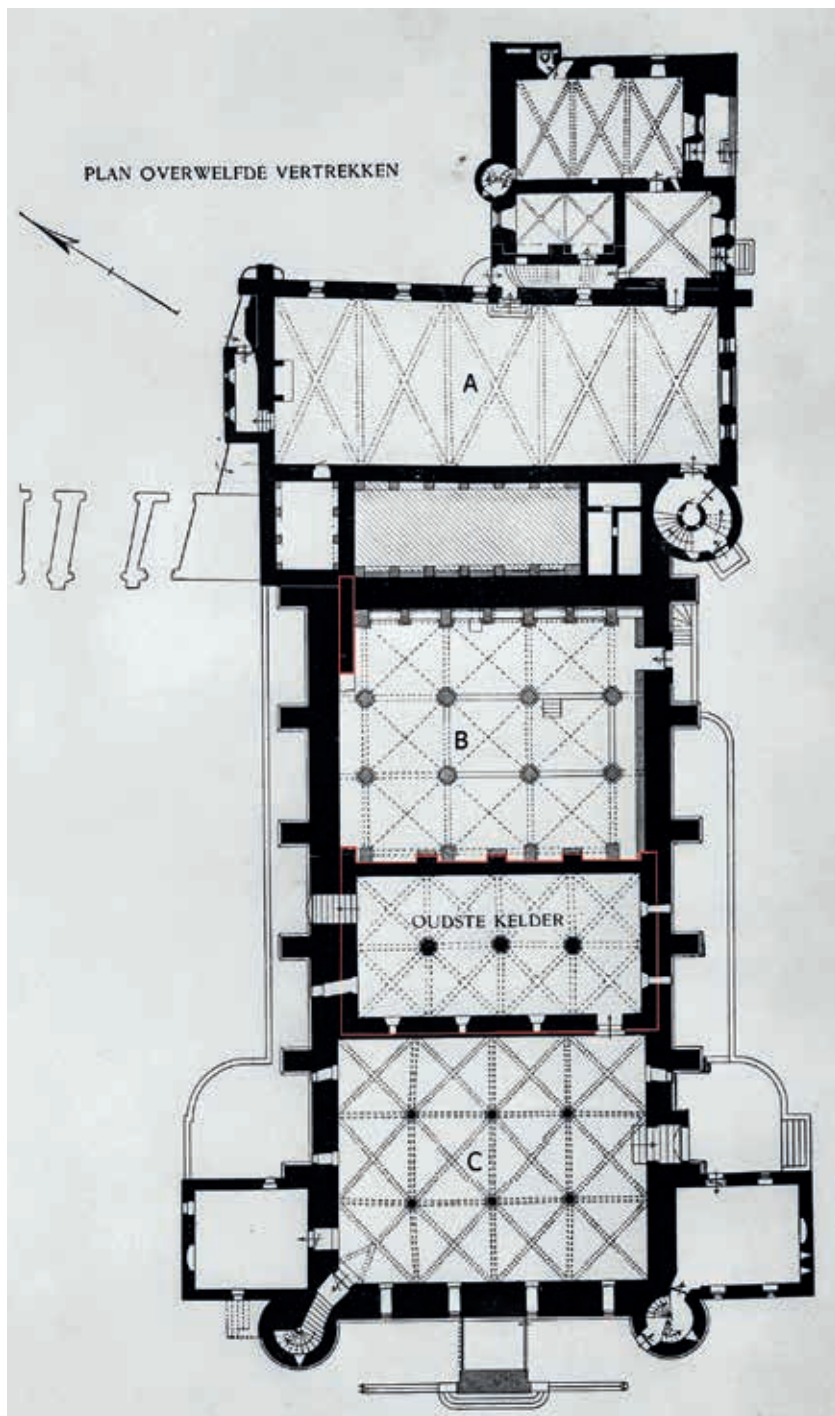


was discovered in this corner.⁵³ Despite the fact that this hypothetical reconstruction is based on found building remains, such a complex (a hall building in the form of an inner bailey) would be typologically unique in European castle architecture in the first half of the thirteenth century. Furthermore, other conclusions are possible when the remains of the court of Floris IV are considered in a wider international context.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE EARLIEST BUILDING PHASE

In 2007 Judith Bangerter-Paetz published *Saalbauten auf Pfalzen und Burgen im Reich der Staufer von ca. 1150-1250*, for which she visited 28 castles in an effort to identify the typological features of hall buildings. Her findings are also relevant to the earliest construction phase of the Binnenhof. The main conclusion that can be drawn on the basis of her study is that the middle basement was from the outset built as a basement and has never had any formal or ceremonial function. Basement levels occur in nearly all hall buildings, often to compensate for a difference in level in the ground plane, as at Wartburg and Rothenburg. On the Binnenhof site, as on that of the Gelnhausen Palace, this need did not arise since both were built on flat ground. In both these complexes the basement level projects above ground level like a 'tall plinth course'.⁵⁴ There are windows in a number of walls in the middle basement, which confirms that the room extended partially above ground level (fig. 8). The small size of the windows also points to the functional use of this space. A basement used as a living or reception space would have had large windows to admit plenty of light. Examples of this include Wartburg Castle and the small hall in Vianden Castle in Luxembourg.⁵⁵ Between 1150 and 1250 it was most unusual to use stone vaulting for formal spaces. Apart from a few exceptions, like Wartburg Castle's Knights' Hall, whose stone cross rib vaulting dates back to 1160, nearly all formal and ceremonial spaces in this period had timber beamed ceilings.⁵⁶

Unfortunately, the middle basement offers few clues to the early court of Floris IV. There are, however, parallels with the castles that Bangerter-Paetz researched. Firstly, it is virtually certain that there was (or was intended to be) a ceremonial room above the basement level. It is conceivable that this space had the same surface area as the middle basement, but that would have been very small compared with the castles studied by Bangerter-Paetz.⁵⁷ Another possibility is that the east wall of the middle basement is not an external wall but a dividing wall, given that the other walls are much thicker. In almost all the hall buildings studied, the dividing walls are thinner than the external walls.⁵⁸ The north and south walls also extend slightly beyond



7. Plan of the vaulted rooms of the Counts' Chambers with the oldest section outlined in red, the basement room of the 'Rolgebouw' (A), the basement Cloakroom (B) and the western basement (C) (Cultural Heritage Agency)

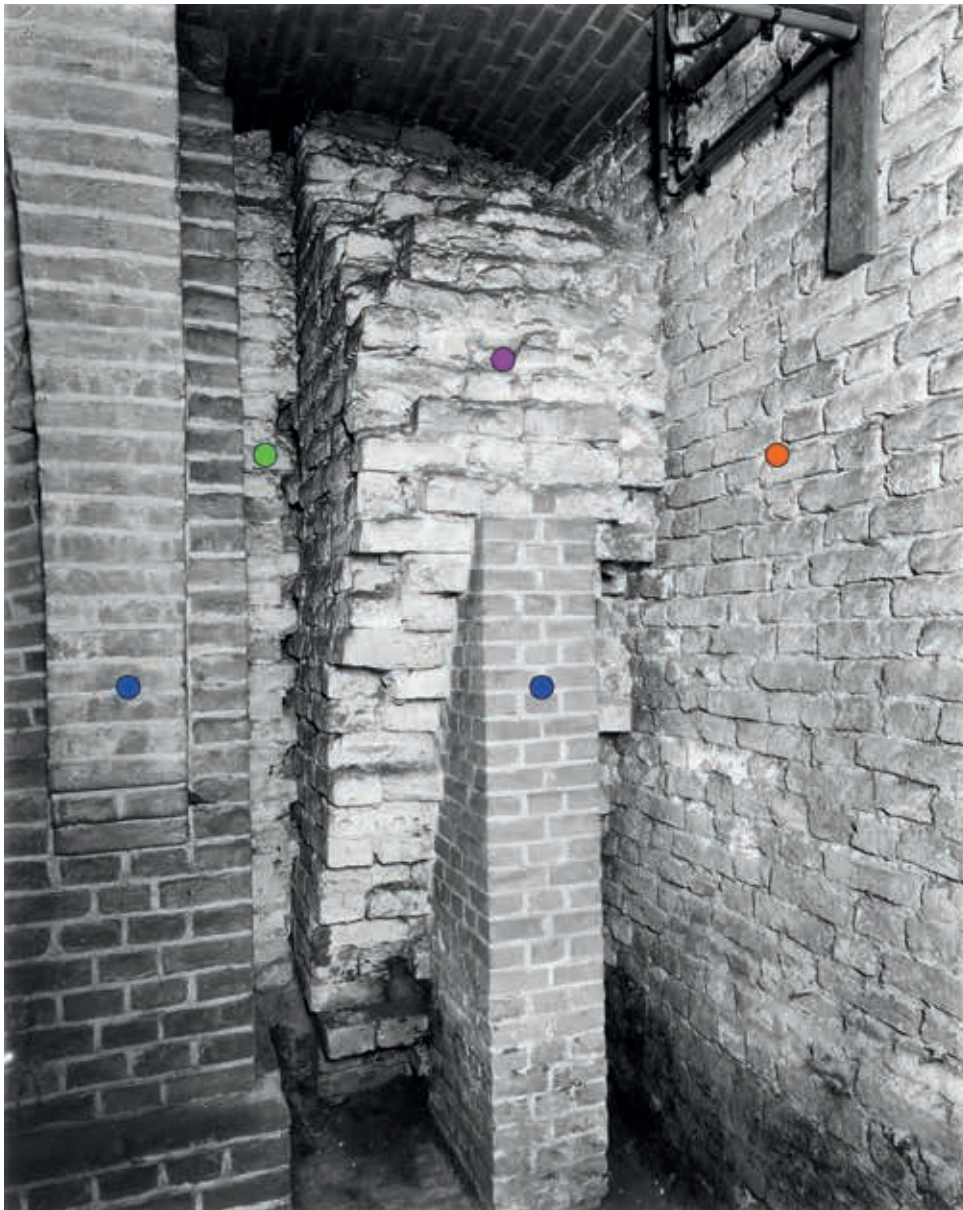
the east wall, raising the possibility of a larger basement space topped by a larger ceremonial room (fig. 9). It might in that case involve an English-style 'hall and chamber' core. The east wall of the middle basement has three buttresses on the outer side, but this construction cannot be explained with reference to Bangerter-Paetz's research because it has not been observed in other hall buildings. It is possible that the buttresses were added to support the cross rib vaulting.

Hypotheses about this initial phase, including this analysis based on the work of Bangerter-Paetz, should be advanced with a degree of caution, given that the basement is all that is left of this court. Later constructions by Willem II and Floris V provide just as few leads to support statements about the first construction phase of the Binnenhof. Compounding this is the early death of Floris IV in 1234. The middle basement was probably part of his building plans, but there is no guarantee that those plans were realized in their entirety. After his death a guardianship battle arose around his seven-year-old son Willem II. Floris's younger brother, another Willem (1214?-1238), won

this battle (fig. 10) over the objections of Floris's widow, Machteld van Brabant. Owing to the intertwined family ties, this resulted in unrest, not just in their own county, but in the surrounding domains as well. After the death of uncle Willem in 1238, the guardianship passed to Otto (†1249), another brother of Floris IV and bishop-designate of Utrecht, until Willem II reached the age of majority (12 years) in 1239.⁵⁹ If Floris IV's Hague court was not finished at the time of his death, there is every reason to question whether his building plans were carried through in full; his successors may well have had different priorities.

a 8. Window in the middle basement (photo W. Kramer, 1899, Cultural Heritage Agency)





9. Exterior of the middle basement showing the east basement wall (green), the 'prolongation' of the north basement wall (purple), the outer wall of Floris v (1254-1296) (orange) and later additions (blue) (photo G.T. Delemarre, 1953, Cultural Heritage Agency)

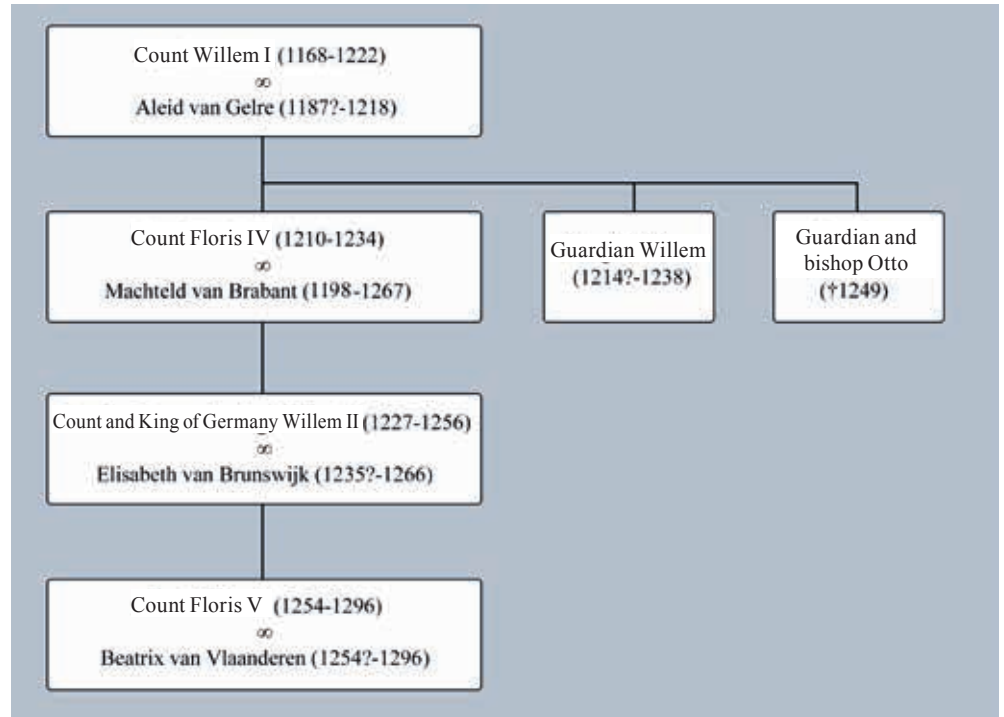
MANORS WITH PROVISION FOR HUNTING

Although the remains of the court of Floris IV are too scanty to support any statements about the presence of hunting facilities, there are manors within and beyond the County of Holland which are known, or surmised, to have been used as a base for hunting as early as the thirteenth century. The dukes of Brabant, for example, owned several houses on the edge of the Zoniënwood (Sonian Forest) near Brussels. One of these was Bosvoorde, which was listed as a hunting lodge (*domus venatorum*) in 1270.⁶⁰ This is probably one of the first mentions of a hunting lodge in the Low Countries in written sources. Castle Tervuren was already being used for hunting by Hendrik I of Brabant (1165-1235) in the first half of the thirteenth century. On the evidence of various documents it appears that he stayed there regularly from 1221 onwards. In 1230 a master forester was appointed, charged with looking

after the forest and the game. In the same period, part of the adjacent abbey forest was fenced off to protect the game animals.⁶¹ The counts of Gelre did not acquire hunting rights in the Veluwe until the first half of the fourteenth century, when they were granted to Count Reinald I (1255-1326). Having acquired these hunting grounds the counts appointed several *wildforsters* (gamekeepers) to assist with the hunt. The gamekeepers lived on tied smallholdings (*wildforstersgoederen*) of which the Veluwe boasted no fewer than twelve. Although the counts of Gelre already owned properties in the Veluwe in the thirteenth century, it is unclear what they consisted of and what connection they had with the counts' hunt.⁶²

The presence of the hedge at the court of Floris IV suggests that here, too, someone would have been employed to maintain the hedge and the game population in the thirteenth century, although there is no

10. Family tree of the Counts of Holland (and family members) mentioned in this article (author, based on information in Cordfunke 1987, note 38)



written confirmation of this. In Holland, it is likely that the position of forester, who had responsibility for the hunt and for maintaining the count's woods, was established in the thirteenth century. The first reference to this 'houtvesterij' dates from 1314.⁶³

Two houses in the county, Aelbertsberg and Vogelenzang, were probably used for the hunt. Located some ten kilometres apart in the present-day municipality of Bloemendaal, they provided a convenient base for the hunt in the Haarlemmerhout (extensive woods south of Haarlem). Vogelenzang was probably not founded until the second half of the thirteenth century, by Floris V, Aelbertsberg possibly early in the twelfth century by Floris II (†1121). Aelbertsberg was definitely a noble residence by the end of the twelfth century.⁶⁴ Archaeological research appears to confirm that these manors were used by the counts of Holland for hunting in the Haarlemmerhout. At Aelbertsberg, two wells dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century have yielded a large quantity of animal bones from horses, cattle, poultry, boars and red deer. The count was the only person permitted to hunt red deer.⁶⁵ Although this discovery points to hunting activities at Aelbertsberg, we cannot categorically state that this noble residence was built specifically for the hunt. J.W. Groesbeek, former Keeper of Public Records for North Holland, argues that Aelbertsberg must have functioned as an administrative centre, in light of the significant number of official documents drawn up here.⁶⁶ Thus the archaeological and written source material show that the counts used the Aelbertsberg residence both for the hunt and for official business. Interestingly, Floris IV never issued official documents

from Aelbertsberg. It is unclear how often he stayed at this residence; perhaps he preferred to use his new court at The Hague.

CONCLUSION

The Hague owes its name to the noble hunt that took place here, probably from as early as the first half of the thirteenth century. The presence of that wilderness within their domain would have been an important motivation for the counts to establish a residence there. Whether it was the main motivation is debatable, but Castle Tervuren and Bosvoorde House show that in the thirteenth century such courts were indeed built in the vicinity of (partially) cultivated wildernesses with an eye to the hunt. Nevertheless, we cannot speak of a specialized function since official documents were also issued at the Binnenhof (and at Tervuren); the functions of hunting and administration were not mutually exclusive. Worthy of note is the use of the term 'regale palacium' to refer to the edifice Willem II had built on the Binnenhof site after being crowned King of Germany in 1248.⁶⁷ The term 'palace' was often reserved for the main residence of a ruler and implies that the Binnenhof's ceremonial function, which had definitely overtaken hunting in terms of importance by the fourteenth century, may have been predominant from as early as the second half of the thirteenth century.⁶⁸ The way the Binnenhof is referred to in fourteenth-century accounts may perhaps shed more light on the Hague court's status as the main residence of the Counts of Holland.

All that remains of the court of Floris IV is the middle basement, which is nowhere near enough to attempt a

reconstruction of this court. As such, several hypotheses concerning the nature of the Hague court prior to 1250 are possible. Moreover, because of the untimely death of Floris IV, we do not know whether his building plans were fully implemented. Based on Bangerter-Paetz's research we can state that the middle basement was built originally – as a basement – in the period of Floris IV. This makes it possible to redefine

the court of Floris IV, although this requires a more pragmatic approach than the nineteenth-century, nostalgia-inspired hunting lodge notion. What we know for certain is that Floris IV built a basement on the site of the Hague court: 'And this simple basement later became the accidental source of the formation of our 's-Gravenhage'.⁶⁹

I would like to thank Merlijn Hurx, Jan Kamphuis, Dorothée Koper-Mosterd and Corjan van der Peet for their suggestions and comments after reading earlier versions of this article.

NOTES

- 1 C.H. Peters, 'Het Kasteel "Die Haghe"', in: A.J. Servaas van Rooijen (ed.), *Haagsch Jaarboekje voor 1894*, The Hague 1894, 5-67, there 37.
- 2 C.J. van der Peet and G.H.P. Steenmeijer, *De Rijksbouwmeesters. Twee eeuwen architectuur van de Rijksgebouwendienst en zijn voorlopers*, Rotterdam 1995, 266-271.
- 3 J. de Riemer, *Beschrijving van 's-Graven-Hage, behelzende deszelfs oorsprong, benaming, gelegenheid, uitbreidingen, onheilen en luistre*, Delft 1730, 1.1, 3: 'And so all one can do, as long as there is no certainty, is to speculate about this same uncertain origin. In that respect according to traditional lore the region where 's-Graven-Hage is situated in former days consisted of forest and sandy soil, and that the Counts, drawn by the attractiveness of the place, and also to such an abundance of game as invites hunting, erected a hunting lodge there, on the northern side of the square, that became known as the Plaats.' Interestingly, De Riemer located the counts' hunting lodge not in the Binnenhof but in front of it on the Plaats. H.F.G. Hundertmark and P.C. van der Heiden, *Grafelijke Zalen Binnenhof. Bouwgeschiedenis van het grafelijk hof met koningspalts*, The Hague/Oss 2021, 14, 37, 40.
- 4 Jan Beke's dates of birth and death are unknown. M. Carasso-Kok, *Repertorium van verhalende historische bronnen uit de Middeleeuwen. Heiligenlevens, annalen, kronieken en andere in Nederland geschreven verhalende bronnen*, 's-Gravenhage 1981, 312. It is possible that he is the same priest mentioned in the 1344-1345 accounts of the monastery in Egmond.
- 5 J. Beke, *Chronographia Johannis de Beke*, publ. by H. Bruch, 's-Gravenhage 1973, 197. LXX(g).46-48, LXX(h).1-3: 'Idem rex gloriose receptus est infra comitatum Hollandie, qui et in Haga regale palacium construxit, ubi de causis arduis regni tribunale consistorium frequentavit. Civitatenses autem et castrenses imperialis camere reddiderunt eidem benivole census regium, ita quod indeficienti thesauro suum exuberaret ghazofilacium.' At the end of the fourteenth century Beke's chronicle was translated into Middle Dutch. This version, which is known as *Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, contains the same passage: J. Beke, *Johannes de Beke. Croniken van den Stichte van Utrecht ende van Hollant*, publ. by Bruch, 's-Gravenhage 1982, 128. LXVI.290-295: 'And when he was done there, the king travelled to the county of Holland where he was warmly received. There, in die Haghe, he built a royal palace from which he dealt with the most important affairs of the realm. The townspeople and courtiers presented the king with gifts for his imperial chamber, as a result of which his chamber was lavishly filled with treasures.'
- 6 B.J.L. de Geer van Jutphaas, *De kronijk van Holland*, Utrecht 1867, 99. 'After the coronation the king came directly to Den Hage and summoned competent workmen to build a royal palace on that spot that is still known today as the old hall.' The clerk's birth and death dates are unknown. J.M.C. Verbij-Schillings, 'Heraut Beyerens en de Clerc uten Laghen Landen', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 107 (1991), 23, 37-39. The clerk's chronicle has been dated stylistically to between 1409 and 1417. He copied parts of Beke's Middle Dutch translation, written after 1393, and borrowed extensively from the Hollands-Utrecht version the *Hollantsche Cronike* of Heraut Beyerens (†1414). Heraut wrote his chronicle before 25 May 1409. The 'Count Willem' to whom the clerk dedicated his chronicle must be Willem VI (1365-1417), which means that he penned his work between 1409 and 1417.
- 7 J.G. Kruisheer, *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299*. II: 1222-1256, Assen/Maastricht 1986, see resources.huygens.knaw.nl. 220-221, 626.
- 8 C. de Wit, 'Het ontstaan van het Haagse Binnenhof', *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 53 (1954), 1-20, spec. 9-10; M.A.A. van Ven, *Het grafelijk en stadhouderlijk hof Den Haag. Een overzicht van opgravingen en waarnemingen van 1770 tot en met 2013*, The Hague 2015, 64-65, 318-319.
- 9 E.J. Haslinghuis and H. Janse, *Bouwkundige termen. Verklarende woordenboek van de westerse architectuur- en bouwhistorie*, Leiden 2005, 244.
- 10 F. Vogelzang and B. Olde Meierink, 'Jachtsloten, jachthuizen en jachtkamers', in: C. Gietman et al. (ed.), *De jacht. Een cultuurgeschiedenis van jager, dier en landschap*, Hilversum 2021, 199-200.
- 11 R. Peel, 'Anniversary 1: Crown of Delights', *Historic Gardens Review* 16 (2011), 17-18; J.M. Pérouse de Montclos and R. Polidori, *Les Châteaux du Val de Loire*, Paris 1997, 122, 132-137.
- 12 R. Gruben and N. de Jong-Lambregts, 'Dwangburchten voor West-Friesland of een oostelijke kustgordel voor het graafschap Holland? De strategische overwegingen van Willem II (1227-1256)', *Archeologische Kroniek van Noord-Holland 2019*, Haarlem 2020, 225.
- 13 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 200-201, 215.
- 14 A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late Middeleeuwen*, Hilversum 2009, 344; L. Wessels, 'De jacht. Een cultuurhistorische inleiding', in: Gietman et al. 2021 (note 10), 14.
- 15 W. Rösener, 'Jagd, Rittertum und Fürstenhof im Hochmittelalter', in: W. Rösener (ed.), *Jagd und höfische Kultur im Mittelalter*, Göttingen 1997, 136-138.
- 16 M. Mostert, 'De graaf van Holland, het grafelijke hof en de hoven van de graaf (tot het einde van de 13e eeuw)', in: T. de Ridder et al. (eds.), *Graven in Holland. De hoven van de Hollandse graven tot het eind van de 13e eeuw in vergelijkend perspectief* (Westerheem, special 3, September 2014), 7-8.
- 17 De Ridder et al. 2014 (note 16), 270-271.
- 18 J.G. Kruisheer, *De oorkonden en de kanselarij van de graven van Holland tot 1299*. I, 's-Gravenhage [etc.] 1971, 194-195.
- 19 J. G. Smit, 'De verblijfplaatsen van de graven van Holland en Zeeland in de late middeleeuwen', *Holland* 24 (1992), 113-114, 122-123.
- 20 K. Maylein, *Die Jagd. Bedeutung und Ziele. Von den Treibjagden der Steinzeit bis ins 21. Jahrhundert*, Marburg 2010, 470-477; H.W. Eckardt, *Herrschaftliche*

- Jagd, bäuerliche Not und bürgerliche Kritik*; Göttingen 1974, 59.
- 21 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 200-201.
- 22 De Riemer 1730 (note 3).
- 23 Kruisheer 1986 (note 7); R.D. Künzel, D.P. Blok and J.M. Verhoeff, *Lexicon van Nederlandse toponiemen tot 1200*, Amsterdam 1988, 292, 339.
- 24 A garden (*tuin*) was also called a 'tun', which means enclosure; M.L.A.I. Philippa et al., *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*. 4, Amsterdam 2009, 433.
- 25 H. Renes, 'Wildparken in Nederland. Sporen van een oude vorm van fauna-beheer', *Historisch Geografisch Tijdschrift* 23 (2005), 21-23.
- 26 E. Vogelaar, *Bosgeschiedenis van het Oude Duinlandschap in politiek, sociaal en economisch perspectief*, Delft 2012, 3-4.
- 27 P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, 'Van Waterland tot stedenland. De Hollandse economie ca. 975-ca. 1570', in: T. de Nijs, *Geschiedenis van Holland. Deel 1: tot 1572*, Hilversum 2002, 109.
- 28 W.H. Zagwijn, 'Een landschap in beweging. De duinen van Holland sinds het Neolithicum', in: D.P. Hallewas, G.H. Scheepstra and P.J. Woltering (eds.), *Dynamisch landschap. Archeologie en geologie van het Nederlandse kustgebied*, Assen 1997, 111.
- 29 Gruben and De Jong-Lambregts 2020 (note 12), 240; R. Rentenaar, 'De Nederlandse duinen in de middeleeuwse bronnen tot omstreeks 1300', *KNAG geografisch tijdschrift* XI (1977), 5, 368-369.
- 30 Beke 1973 (note 5), 237. LXXV(c).9-15: 'Interea Florencius illustris comes harum tradicionum inscius paulo pridem excellentis edificii curiales mansiones sue preclara palacia contruxerat in Vogelensanc et in Haga, ubi cum proceribus et puellis infra silvarum frondosa latibula vel continuum venacioni dedit operam aut in armis militarem exercebat industriam.' Beke 1982 (note 5), 152. LXXI.78-82: 'This noble count, who knew nothing of the treachery, and had not long before then built another house and a palace, one in the Haarlemmerhout that had been given the name Vogelzang and another in Den Haghe. From here, accompanied by lords and ladies, he rode into the woods to hunt and to engage in other chivalrous trials.'
- 31 Kruisheer 1971 (note 18), 52-53; Janse 2009 (note 14), 344-345.
- 32 J. Buis, *Historia forestis. Nederlandse bosgeschiedenis. I*, Utrecht 1985, 14.
- 33 B. Vannieuwenhuize and R. Rutte, *Stedenatlas Jacob van Deventer. 226 stadplattegronden uit 1545-1575. Schakels tussen verleden en heden*, Bussum 2018, 324-325.
- 34 Buis 1985 (note 32), 14-15.
- 35 G.J.W. Berkel and K. Samplonius, *Nederlandse plaatsnamen. Herkomst en historie*, Utrecht 2006, 156-157.
- 36 C. Aurelius, *Die cronycke van Hollandt Zeelandt ende Vrieslant*, Leiden (J. Severszoon) 1517, f. 168v; R.A. van der Spiegel, 'Over de naam 's-Gravenhage', *Hofvijver Magazine* 3 (2013). Variations on this name were first used outside the city, probably as a way of avoiding confusion with other placenames containing the word 'haag'. Early examples are: Haga comitis, 1362; Des graven Hage, 1354; Ghreuenhaghen, 1347.
- 37 M.C. van der Sman, 'Voorwoord', in: M. Keblusek and J.M. Zijlmans (eds.), *Vorstelijk vertoon. Aan het hof van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia*, The Hague 1997, 7.
- 38 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 205.
- 39 Vogelzang and Olde Meierink 2021 (note 10), 208.
- 40 C. Gietman, 'Jagen en Jachtrijden', in: C. Gietman and J. Jas (eds.) *Biljoen. Kasteel – bewoners – landgoed*, Zwolle 2020, 295.
- 41 I.A. Nijhoff, *Geldersch Arkadia, of Wandeling over Biljoen en Beekhuizen*, Arnhem 1820, 5-6.
- 42 De Wit 1954 (note 8), 11-14; P.J. van Breemen, 'Over een mogelijke oorsprong van die Haghe en Haagambacht', *Jaarboekje Die Haghe* 1950 (1950), 52.
- 43 Kruisheer 1986 (note 7), 90-91, 489. 15 November 1229, Leiden. Dirk van Wassenaar sells his rights to the court of the recently deceased Lady Meilendis to Count Floris IV, and renounces those rights in the presence of the counts' servants; J. Kort, 'Meilendis en de hof van Den Haag', *Jaarboek Die Haghe* 2002 (2002), 12-23.
- 44 Mostert 2014 (note 16), 9.
- 45 Van Breemen 1950 (note 42), 80-81.
- 46 Kruisheer 1986 (note 7), 98-100, 497. 19 February 1230, Utrecht. Willbrand, Bishop of Utrecht, takes the Loosduinen chapel, relinquished by Count Floris IV and Countess Machteld for the founding of a monastery, as well as the Cistercian convent[,] under his protection, affirms this in his effects, grants [it] the right to have its own priests, to give extreme unction to the sick and to bury members of the convent and others, subject to the rights and the approval of their parish priests; and exempts it from taxes.
- 47 M.M. Dahmeijer-Fousert, 'Wij Machteld, Gravin van Holland... Korte levensschets van Machteld van Brabant, echtgenote van graaf Floris IV, moeder van Willem II en grootmoeder van Floris IV', *Historisch Jaarboek Westland 1988*, Naaldwijk 1988, 75, 80-85; E.H.P. Cordfunke, *Gravinnen van Holland. Huwelijk en huwelijks-politiek van de graven van het Hollandse Huis*, Zutphen 1987, 93. Machteld established a parish church, a beguineage and probably also a hospice in 's-Gravenzande.
- 48 Van Veen 2015 (note 8), 61.
- 49 Van Veen 2015 (note 8), 60-61.
- 50 The basement was built using a larger brick than that used elsewhere in the complex; Van Veen 2015 (note 8), 363. Brick dimensions (length × width × depth in centimetres) in the middle basement: south wall 31-32 × 14.5-15 × 8-9 (10) and ten-course height 100-101; west wall 28-30 × 13-14 × 8 and ten-course height 98; east wall (29) 31-32 × (13) 14.5-15 × (7.5) 8-9 and ten-course height 95; Hundertmark and van der Heiden 2021 (note 3), 37. Brick dimensions: 29-30-31-31.5 × 14-14.5-15 × 8.5.
- 51 The Rolgebouw (literally 'scroll building') is named after one of the rooms in this building (the Rolzaal or 'scroll room') which was initially used as a court of law.
- 52 De Wit 1954 (note 8), 9-11.
- 53 Hundertmark and van der Heiden 2021 (note 3), 37-40.
- 54 J. Bangerter-Paetz, *Saalbauten auf Pfalzen und Burgen im Reich der Staufer von ca. 1150-1250*, Hannover 2007, 55, 299.
- 55 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 56, 579-592, 615-628.
- 56 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 134-141.
- 57 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 38, 40-41. The smallest hall buildings according to her are those in Gnandstein (7.5 × 18 metres), Eckartsburg (11 × 14.5 metres), Gutenfels (8 × 21.5 metres), Wildburg (9.5 × 18.5 metres) and Ulrichsburg (10 × 17/19 metres); De Wit 1954 (note 8), 3. Middle basement (7.88 × 5.70 metres).
- 58 Bangerter-Paetz 2007 (note 53), 149-150.
- 59 Kruisheer 1971 (note 18), 7-8; Cordfunke 1987 (note 47), 91-93.
- 60 Bosvoorde is mentioned in the summary of goods making up the dowry of Margaretha of France (1254-1271), the future wife of Duke Jan I van Brabant (1252/1254?-1294); A. Wauters, 'Suite à ma notice sur le duc Henri III de Brabant: les doctrines des hérétiques du XIII^e siècle, le duc Henri IV, les premières années de Jean I^{er}', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Lettres des Sciences et des Arts de Belgique* II, XL (1875), 370-374; A. de Bardzki-Granon, 'Dossier De Bezemhoek: een wijk tussen water en woud', *Erfgoed Brussel* 23-24 (2017), 33.
- 61 G. Berings, *Tervuren in de Middeleeuwen: aspecten van de Brabantse geschiedenis*, Tervuren 1984, 50.
- 62 K. Bouwer, *Voor profijt en genoegen: de geschiedenis van bos en landschap van de Zuidwest-Veluwe*, Utrecht 2008, 40-42, 59-58.
- 63 In that year Count Willem III (1286?-1337) mentioned the *houtvester* of Haarlem in an official document; G.H.C. Breesnee, *Inventaris van het archief van de Houtvesterij van Holland*

- en West-Friesland, The Hague 1924, 7; F. van Mieris, *Groot Charterboek der Graaven van Holland, van Zeeland en Heeren van Vriesland. II*, Leiden 1754, 143.
- 64 J.W. Groesbeek, *Middeleeuwse kastelen van Noord-Holland. Hun bewoners en bewogen geschiedenis*, Rijswijk 1981, 51-52; P. Hoekstra, *Bloemendaal: proeve ener streekgeschiedenis*, Wormerveer 1947, 34.
- 65 L.H. van Wijngaarden-Bakker, 'Adellijke status en dierenresten van Aelbertsberg te Bloemendaal', *Haarlems Bodemonderzoek* 20 (1986), 55-56.
- 66 Groesbeek 1981 (note 63), 52-53. A.C.F. Koch, *Oorkondenboek van Holland en Zeeland tot 1299. I: Eind van de 7e eeuw tot 1222*, 's-Gravenhage 1970, see resources.huygens.knaw.nl. 590-591, 405. July 1220, Aelbertsberg. These documents included the marriage settlement between Count Willem I and his second wife Maria van Brabant (†1260). For her marriage portion, Willem I gave Maria the city of Dordrecht along with the toll and other revenues, the shire of Poortvliet and Malland and the court of Valkenburg and, as a morganatic gift, the watermills of the port of Zieriksee, the hay-farmers? of Schouwen and the servants living outside Holland.
- 67 Beke 1973 (note 5).
- 68 S. Thurley, *Houses of Power. The Places that Shaped the Tudor World*, London 2017, 16.
- 69 Quotation adapted by the author, see Peters 1894 (note 1).

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A HUNTING LODGE IN THE HAGUE

IN SEARCH OF THE HAGUE COURT OF FLORIS IV

JUDITH VAN KESTEREN-LOK

Since 1730 the origins of The Hague and the Binnenhof have been traced back to a hunting lodge supposed to have been built by Count Floris IV (1210-1234). That 'hunting lodge of Floris IV' is the focus of this study. It explains, based on terminological research, why the Dutch term *jachthuis/jachtslot* is not applicable to the earliest phase of the Binnenhof since the term did not come into use until the nineteenth century, when the newly rich started to take up hunting. Besides, the thirteenth-century power structure was such that rulers travelled constantly around their dominions, and so the need for hunting lodges did not yet exist; every relocation provided fresh hunting grounds. It seems unlikely that there would have been residences for a specific function like hunting or formal entertaining as early as the thirteenth century; the one did not necessarily exclude the other.

This article explores the origins of the 'hunting lodge story'. The first mention of The Hague is in a charter dating from 1242. It refers to 'die Haga' (*haag*=hedge), meaning an enclosed area for hunting. According to the chronicler Jan Beke, Willem II of Holland (1227-1256) established a 'palace' in The Hague after being crowned King of Germany in 1248. So there was already a count's hunting ground in this area before then. At the beginning of the seventeenth century The Hague changed its name to 's-Gravenhage, presumably

because the aristocratic connotations (*graaf* = count) enhanced its status. The Hague had no city charter and consequently sought other ways of raising its profile. In subsequent centuries hunting, and the possession of a hunting lodge, was the preserve of the wealthy elite.

Seeking to redefine the Binnenhof's origins, I investigated whether the typological characteristics of hall construction in the thirteenth century matched those of the first phase of construction. In the event it proved difficult to reconstruct that initial construction phase since all that survives from the period is the middle basement below the Ridderzaal of the Counts' Chambers. A comparison with other residences showed that this space was originally also used for storage.

Comparative research into other courts within and beyond the County of Holland appears to confirm that from as early as the end of the thirteenth century there were houses that served chiefly as a base for hunting. One such was Bosvoorde, which was already designated a *domus venatorum* (hunting lodge) in 1270. The presence of the count's hunting ground suggests that the Binnenhof was in all likelihood also used for hunting, although not exclusively; official business was also conducted here. From 1248 onwards the Binnenhof's ceremonial function took precedence since the term 'palace' was almost always used for a principal residence.