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CATS AND DOGS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HOUSEHOLD PET THROUGH SYMBOLIC
INTERPRETATIONS AND SOCIAL PRACTICES IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND RENAISSANCE

by

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Cats and Dogs:
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Practices in the Middle Ages and Renaissance

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Cats and dogs are perhaps the most ubiquitous and consistently represented animals throughout documented human history. Forms of the respective species have roamed the earth for millions of years; however, cats and dogs have held different societal positions ranging from exalted deities to pests. The ever-changing judgment yet familiarity of these animals earned them metaphorical and visual representations across cultures and periods. In particular, the shifting attitudes and social practices between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in Western Europe fostered the reexamination of the relationship between humans and animals.

Dogs – and later cats – were the earliest animals to be allowed occupancy inside the medieval house solely to serve utilitarian needs. The development of the modern day concept of the household pet began to emerge between the 14th and 16th centuries. By the 16th century, recorded bonds between animal and master became increasingly common alongside breeding for human companionship. The altering human opinion of cats and dogs from objects to animals with the ability to form attachments correlates with the simultaneous iconographic and metaphorical fluctuations of these creatures between the periods. Largely a product of dense textual, biblical, and humanistic philosophies, the medieval interpretations of cats and dogs in art often place the animals at moralistic extremes, while during the Renaissance they adopt more nuanced symbolic and functional roles in art.

Domestication and Primitive Foundations

Domestication fundamentally affected the way that humans perceived each species. The dog was one of the first domesticated animals, which occurred at the end of

the last Ice Age estimated about 12,000 years ago.¹ Dogs have long been tailored to human use and raised under human care and supervision. According to archeological records, the dog also seems to be the first animal to form distinctive breeds for specific purposes – with the greyhound being the earliest known foundation breed.² Cats, on the other hand, may first have been domesticated about 4,000 years ago in Egypt, although some argue they were not completely domestic until the 16th century when the first signs of physiological differences appear in archeological findings compared to feral cats.³

The large gap between the domestication of cats and dogs may explain the varying degrees of inclusion in pre-medieval textual sources. The bible includes 37 verses about dogs scattered throughout the Old and New Testament.⁴ Most of the passages have little good to say about a dog's character, describing the creature as reliant, selfish and single-minded. The cat is only mentioned once in the Old Testament.⁵

¹ Stanley J. Olsen, *Origins of the Domestic Dog: The Fossil Record*, ed. James Sepell (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1985), 71. Olsen references the prehistoric domestic dogs found in Europe in Senckenberg, Germany (Mertens 1936) and Star Carr in Yorkshire, England (Degerbol 1961).

² Stanley J. Olsen, *Domestic Dog: Its Evolution Behavior, and Interactions with People*, ed. James Sepell (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1995), 16. Olsen notes that Canid bones from prehistoric archeological sites reveal diversity in bodily proportions, however there does not appear to have been distinctive breeds until 3000-4000 years ago. The greyhound is the first recognizable breed found in paintings and pottery in Egyptian and western Asian art. He also concludes that the formation of this breed gave way to breeds with narrow heads, light bodies, and long legs seen in later cultures.

³ Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 10. Fossil records of domestication coincide with the thought of cats not being fully domesticated until the 16th century as mentioned by Salisbury. However, some scholars believe that Egyptians kept pets in the home for more than their hunting abilities. The fossil records from Egypt indicate that there was no physiological difference between these cats and feral cats in Egypt – establishing their status of domestication at this time uncertain.

⁴ William Kortlander, *Symbolism of the Dog in the Middle Ages* (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1954), 51.

⁵ Baruch (6:21). Baruch is a deuterocanonical book purportedly written in Babylon.

However, the feline played a greater role in pre-Christian religions including Egyptian, Assyrian, and Norse. They were often featured as mediators between human and divine entities, as pets or assistants to the gods, or - occasionally – as gods themselves. The dog also claims the spotlight in several pagan religions, often as a loyal protector of a god. Perhaps the best known is Cerberus, the multi-headed guardian assisting Hades.⁶ Early literature and pagan practices established mindsets towards cats and dogs that were adapted, perpetuated, and promulgated during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Medieval Social Practices Regarding Cats and Dogs

By the 14th century, the coexistence of humans and animals within the same confines was standard, even in increasingly urbanized towns.⁷ The development of breeds to serve explicit functions diversified the role of the dog to medieval society. The sheepdog was the everyday working dog, mastiffs served security needs, bloodhounds and spaniels hunted game and were for the elite, and the antecedent of the toy dog was found in common and wealthy homes alike as a watcher or ‘keeper’.⁸ Breeding cultured specific instincts but training and care, and the bond formed between dog and master,

⁶ Descriptions of Cerberus vary immensely. According to Greek myth, his father was Typhon, a multi-headed snake, and brother to three other multi-headed creatures. Hesiod’s *Theogony* was in the earliest account of Cerberus between the 8th and 7th centuries BC, recalling him as a fifty-headed beast. However, later writers and artists universally depict the monster with three heads.

⁷ The rapidly growing population within cities and towns also expanded populations of rodents, stray dogs and feral cats. The inability to easily sterilize stray animals led to insupportable concentrations within densely packed urban environments. Animals could also be found more readily alongside humans in rural areas.

⁸ An Smets and Baudouin Van Den Abeele, “Medieval Hunting,” in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, ed. Brigitte Resl (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 61. A dog that functioned as a keeper was essentially the hybrid of a guard dog and companion. They were intended to alert its master of any security breaches, without being responsible for incapacitating the guilty party. A keeper dog would also watch over the family and keep the occupants company while the male head was out.

preserved the use and amiability of dogs. Hunting was an exalted pastime in the Middle Ages, as it had been in Antiquity. The sizeable number of surviving hunting manuals attests to that, and hunting dogs played an essential role in the process. They were well kept and trained year round and celebrated alongside their masters for expert catches. Dogs that hunted the boar were considered the bravest and rewarded with food.⁹ Going beyond the need to reinforce the hound's hunting instinct, the hunt became a complex and symbolic ritual, which elevated the status of the dog.

Cats were also permitted into the house, but for solely for facility to remove pests. It was common for dogs to be given individual names, whereas cats were often called by general names addressing their strength as predators. *Musio*, meaning mouse catcher, was perhaps the most common name for a cat, followed by the Greek root for cunning – *catus*. Isidore of Seville as early as the 7th century describes the ideal cat as a female whose, “qualities are to see, to hear, to kill mice, to have her claws whole, to nurse and not devour her kittens”.¹⁰ The traits Isidore of Seville praised were shared with wild cats. The cat was useful as long as it possessed those features, but as long as it did, it was never truly domesticated. These characteristics made the cat sit on the border of wild and domestic, and it prohibited a cat from ever being truly owned.¹¹ Cats are highly territorial and share their territory with humans for their mutual benefit rather than acquiescing to the medieval belief in human dominion and ownership. The ability to catch mice made cats tolerable during their early stages of domestication, but the fine line between domestic and wild made people wary of cats and consider them with less admiration than

⁹ Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, 41.

¹⁰ Etymologies 12 (2:38).

¹¹ Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, 37.

dogs. Documented food expenditures reveal that during the Middle Ages food was rarely purchased for cats, which shows that cats were expected to capture their own meals and remain independent of their human landlords. Cats on the border of domestication were also collected for the fur trade, but their fur was worth little.

Although cats did not yield the same emotional connection as dogs, there were laws on their behalf, attesting for their functional value to the home. In fact, some of the laws are almost reverential. *Catslechtæ*, and early medieval Irish law, estimated a mouser worth three cows. In the 10th century, Welsh laws valued kittens according to their age and in Saxony, Germany, whoever slaughtered an adult cat had to reimburse sixty bushels of grain, which symbolized the cat's role in eradicating grain-eating mice¹² Additionally, a 1363 sumptuary law regulated the use of cat, lamb, rabbit, and fox fur for esquire or gentlemen under the rank of knight, and forbade the use of such furs for higher classes.¹³ The cat was also the only animal allowed in convents and monasteries. It was seen as the only animal that would not distract the nuns. In *Liber simplicis medicinae*, the twelfth-century nun Hildegard of Bingen mentions the fleeting loyalty of cats only to those who feed them.¹⁴ They were also considered protectors of the holy Eucharist from vermin. Even today, there remains a cat-hole for the official cats of Exeter Cathedral in

¹² Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Cats* (London: British Library, 2011), 8. "One penny for a kitten from the night it was born until it opened its eyes; two pence for a kitten from the time it opened its eyes until it killed mice; and thereafter four pence for the same cat once it started killing mice" Also citing Donald Engels, *Classical Cats: The Rise and Fall of the Sacred Cat* (London: Routledge, 1999), 148.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁴ Translated into English as the Book of Simple Medicines. The nun discussed was Hildegard of Bingen.

the north transept.¹⁵ Very few medieval cases show adoration for cats; however, they were respected for their usefulness in controlling pests.

Postulations about the role of the cat and the dog on medieval society can be drawn from their social practices and recorded treatment of animals in manuscripts, bestiaries, account books and legal documents. The archetypal attitude was optimistic towards dogs and unenthusiastic and cautious when concerning cats. This is largely due to their varying status of domestication and willingness to adhere to medieval ideas of ownership and control. The everyday experience of working with them and their varying functions to society largely affected their symbolic and metaphorical implications in the contemporaneous art.

Medieval Representations

Animals in the Middle Ages often appeared as guides to moral truths and human paradigms. On a symbolic level, animals could be found to help or hinder a man's earthly pursuit towards spirituality.¹⁶ The spread of texts and religious fervor defined the medieval mental landscape. The art of this period provides a visual testament to the attitudes and beliefs about cats and dogs as well as a symbolic assignment of these animals to a scene based on observed attitudes and preconceived stereotypes of the creature.

The marginalia of manuscripts are among the rare places in which cats are depicted as frivolous, playful, and even pious in medieval art. They can be found etched

¹⁵ Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Cats*, 12. The cats also had an official budget of one penny a week to supplement the animals' diets from 1305-1467. This is one of the few examples of cats being granted additional food, perhaps an indication of their elevation to a guardian (of the Eucharist) – similar to the rewards of a guard dog.

¹⁶ Sophie Page, "The Good Creation and Demonic Illusions," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, ed. Brigitte Resl (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 38.

into the corners of account books, psalters, and bestiaries. Most illustrations can be dismissed as subsidiary additions simply to entertain the viewer, but others equate common conceptions about the nature of the cat to grander implications. There are a few illustrations, such as an early 13th-century English bestiary text, that depicts cats as Eucharistic guardians against rodents (Fig. 1). The center grey-striped cat proudly clings to a capture, while the white cat chases a rat off the border of the margin, while in a panel below another rat snags a host. The victory of the rat at obtaining a host may remark on the actual success of cats as mousers, but it more likely exhibits the intentions of the cats' adversaries. Although drawing from daily life, the cats can be interpreted as metaphorical sentinels of Christ and of sacramental rites.

A contrasting representation of cats can be seen in the English Rutland Psalter of circa 1250-1260, which contains psalms, full-page miniatures, illustrations, and striking marginalia. One folio includes an illumination of four mice hanging a cat on wooden gallows (Fig. 2). While the mice secure the cat, it seems to plead for its life. By overtaking their habitual enemy, the mice secure a mutiny and overturn established norms. The image addresses the accepted function of the cat as a mouser, and uses the juxtaposition of the 'normal' relationship between cat and mouse as a symbol of revolution and change with the cat representing the oppressive party. The Rutland Psalter echoes the theme of mice overtaking their feline predators found in many manuscript illuminations. Perhaps the most detailed is an English book of hours illuminated between 1320 and 1330, in which, over a series of pages, mice with a trebuchet besiege a castle

occupied by a defensive cat.¹⁷ In this series the animals are direct substitutes for humans, and their varying species serve as a metaphor for overturning social order and dominance.

Felines also had much darker associations with witchcraft. During the Middle Ages the church launched a series of anti-heretical propaganda campaigns to sustain a unified doctrine. The practice of witchcraft became associated with pagan rituals and worship.¹⁸ Pagan practices during the 11th and 12th century became deeply associated with magic and necromancy. The first church document to vilify cats, specifically black felines, was a papal bull issued between 1232-1234 by Pope Gregory IX, called *Vox in rama*.¹⁹ The document declared the black cat an incarnation of the Devil and further stated that Satan in his natural form was half-feline and half-man. The dark color was particularly tied to Pagan practice. In Roman mythology, black was a sacred color tied to the goddess Ceres' cloak.²⁰ Returning to manuscript marginalia, there is a noticeable tendency between the 13th and 14th centuries to depict black cats hunting mice. Imagery of the common grey striped tomcat pawing at a mouse like in the Luttrell Psalter is occasionally substituted with a black cat in pursuit of a mouse in Psalters or accompanying bestiary texts (Fig. 3).²¹ After Pope Gregory IX's decree, black cats were

¹⁷ *Mice Strike Back*, illumination from an English Book of Hours, 1320-20, (BL, Harley Ms. 6563, fols. 71v-72).

¹⁸ The crime of witchcraft was considered to be as severe as the use of poison, which was seen as a cowardly form of murder harshly punished by the penal system.

¹⁹ Engels, *Classical Cats*, 165. Ceres' cloak color derives from the goddess' Greek equivalent Demeter. Engels also relates Demeter to the Egyptian goddess Isis. In all three myths, the goddess has a long dark cloak to mask the brightness of her hair.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ A grey striped cat hold a brown mouse in its paws. The Luttrell Psalter, England, C. 1325-35. (BL, ADD. 42, 130, F. 190R), Psalter and Hours, France, c 1300 (BL, Yates Thompson 15, F. 1598v.) A large black cat and mouse. England, Mid- to late 13th century. (BL, Harley 3244, F.49V). A large black cat is followed by a kitten. Bestiary, England, mid-13th century. (BODL., Bodley 533, F. 13R).

slaughtered until the early 19th century, resulting in very few pure dark cats surviving in Western Europe.²² Since the black cat was rarely physically extant in medieval towns, its presence in art indicates a symbolic role rather than a product of direct observation.

Arnold of Liege, a Dominican friar, explained in the early 14th century that a cat toying with a mouse was a well-known metaphor for the Devil playing with the human soul.²³

The black cat crouched by the brown mouse in the English mid-13th-century bestiary uses the familiar conception of a cat as a mouser to represent the cat as the devil and the wandering mouse an emblem of a human spirit seeking heaven, unaware it is being pursued.

Cats also became associated accomplices to certain magical practices such as ritual sacrifice, necromancy and transfiguration. In 1323, a passage from *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* records that Cistercian monks hired a necromancer to recover stolen money.²⁴ The necromancer buried a black cat at a road crossing intending to flay its skin to summon a demon. Sacrificing the animal released its occult properties, binding a spirit to the corporal body. This belief also tied the animal to transfiguration.²⁵ In a sketch of *The Witches' Sabbath* coming from the studio of Hans Baldung Grien in 1515, several naked women with long hair slave around an unknown concoction while another rides a wishbone-shaped stick through parted clouds alongside a crazed goat (Fig. 4).²⁶

²² Engels, *Classical Cats*, 183.

²³ Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Cats*, 3.

²⁴ Engels, *Classical Cats*, 57. It can also be noted that *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* includes several illustrations of cats that lack malice.

²⁵ The notion of humans, especially women, changing into cats was a common Greco-Roman pagan tradition, which was first seen in the story of the Golden Ass of Apeuleius.

²⁶ The “Witch’s Sabbath” series of sketches and prints by Hans Baldung Grien and his studio were created around 1500, but largely draw on medieval traditions. The artist is often considered part of the early Northern Renaissance, and in this sketch the defined

Two cats are also featured in the sketch. The first appears part of the deed, likely the witch's familiar spirit, being supported by a witch with open mouth and eyes. The second's back is turned away while she reads a book with strange characters either pensively or instructionally to the grouped witches. The second cat is humanized by its literacy, and can feasibly be understood as an additional witch in a transfigured state. A witch applying magical ointment could achieve this state, according to the highly influential *Malleus Maleficarum* of 1486.²⁷ The ointment could be the unidentified substance being stirred by the rightmost witch. By associating the cats with the meeting of witches, Baldung Grien visually represents the fear and deleterious ideologies associated with the wild and predatory nocturnal instincts of the cat.

By the early 15th century, witchcraft became interlinked with Devil worship. To practice witchcraft, one could not simply be possessed by the Devil, but had to sign a pact with him directly going against the church and God, thus becoming automatically sentenced to damnation. Through false confessions elicited under torture from their female owners accused of witchcraft, cats were also persecuted as evil demons.²⁸ In a representation of the unholy pact, Jean Tintor depicted the Devil encouraging a worshipper to preform *Osculum Infame*, or kiss of shame, which seals the pact by kissing a cat's bottom (Fig. 5). In this illumination the cat acts as the physical mediator between

musculature and spatial relationships displays a sense of realism similarly practiced by other artists at this time. However, the subject matter aligns with medieval thought and imagery found in bestiaries, manuscripts, and illustrations. This sketch and woodcut (mentioned on page 10) address the social concern of witchcraft, which was becoming antiquated by the 15th century but was a major concern during the Middle Ages. This mass fear of witchcraft was then reawakened during the Enlightenment.

²⁷ Douglas Gray, "Notes on Some Medieval Mystical, Magical and Moral Cats," in *Langland, The Mystics and the Medieval English Religious Tradition*, ed. Helen Phillips (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 189.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 164.

the participant and the Devil. The feline was not always seen as demonic, but was used as a symbol of evil and temptation in art. Part of the Witches' Sabbath series by Baldung Grien, a dynamic 1510 woodcut, details the same scene as Figure 4, but this time only one cat resides in the image (Fig. 6). In this print, the cat is curled up back-to-back with the rightmost witch and does not appear to actively partake in the chaos. The crazed unfolding scene does not seem to intimidate the feline; in fact, it seems comfortable in the setting. Since the cat in this print is not directly involved in or an essential component to the sacrilegious acts it is not demonic. Rather, it acts as a visual indication of sin and darkness. It is a widely employed and understood symbolic inclusion that confirms the immorality of the imagery.

Appearances of the cat in medieval art are overwhelmingly filled with negative implications. Ecclesiastics shunned cats due to their symbolic connotations of evil, death and the devil, witchcraft, and heresy.²⁹ The significance of the cat is ambiguous and complex because the animal lived between the two realms of wild and domestic. The nocturnal and vulturine character of the animal, combined with status in pagan and folk dogmas, allowed it to be a logical scapegoat for medieval moralists. If the cat were at one end of the spectrum during the Middle Ages, the dog would be on the opposite.³⁰

From the outset, dogs were more accepted and liked by medieval cultures. Their obedience and diversification appealed to all classes, and the fondness of these traits is evident in artistic representations. However strong canine's overall attachment to people, critics of the dog could not ignore the numerous biblical passages vilifying the animals

²⁹ Ester Pascua, "From Forest to Farm and Town: Domestic Animals from 1000 to 1450," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, ed. Brigitte Resl (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 101.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 102.

and maintaining their association with greed and gluttony. The feelings shared between dogs and masters are so habitually written about during the Middle Ages that they can appear hackneyed, while their biblical references are almost entirely negative.³¹ This literary incongruity between biblical and secular texts results in the dog also having contradictory, yet common and familiar symbolic appearances in art.

Lazarus and the Beggar, an early 12th-century fresco attributed to the Master of Tahull, elevates the dog into a symbolic healer (Fig. 7). The fresco depicts Luke (16:20-21), a biblical account in which dogs lick the sores of leprosy on Lazarus while he begs for food.³² A different narrative in John (11) tells of Lazarus rising from the dead, cured of his wounds and committing himself as a follower of Jesus. In the fresco, Lazarus bisects the scene. A cane implausibly supports his emaciated and speckled body, while a single multi-colored dog licks at his ankles. The dog's action is cleansing, an allegory for the blessing Lazarus will ultimately receive. According to medieval bestiaries, dogs were believed to cure their own wounds by licking them, and often citing *The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus*, a dog licking a human wound was believed to have the same effect. Although the bible makes no allusion to the curative power of a dog's lick, the fresco shows no wounds in the area receiving the dog's attention. The biblical and artistic renderings do not align. Therefore the dog in the fresco held additional significance to the medieval viewer. Even further allegorical interpretations state that dogs' ability to cure

³¹ Brigitte Resl, ed., "Introduction," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 25..

³² Luke (16:20-21), "And there was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, And desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores".

lesions represents the abrasions of sin being cured by confession.³³ The image of Lazarus with a dog appears frequently in medieval frescos, whereas in smaller works such as Books of Hours or in manuscript marginalia, dogs appeared licking their master's wounds in the same way after battle or injury. Stemming from biblical interpretations, the dog became a recognizable symbol for spiritual or physical healing.

The Dominicans, a order of friars established in the early 13th-century, further allied imagery of the dog with the church through figural depictions of the order as the “hounds of God”, elevating the canines’ role as symbolic protectors against heretics. Inspired by their founder, the Spanish monk St. Dominic, the Dominicans called themselves the *domini canes* or “hounds of God”. According to the earliest account by Jordan of Saxony in 1234, Dominic’s pregnant mother received a prophecy of her son’s preaching mission through a dream of a dog carrying a burning torch in its mouth.³⁴ As the mission of the Dominicans spread, *Triumph of the Church*, a large wall fresco in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella in Florence completed in 1350 by Andrea Bonaiuti, praised their achievement (Fig. 8). Bonaiuti portrays the Pope enthroned around a flock of sheep, a common symbol for Christian followers of the Lord. The Pope is protected by Dominicans in the form of black and white “dogs of the Lord”. The dogs also trail out through the remaining stretch of the fresco, attacking wolves and surrounding converts. Paired with their human equivalents, the *domini canes* rebuke enemies of the Church and covert pagans, spreading Christianity across the scene.³⁵ The

³³ “The Medieval Bestiary,” accessed June 06, 2016, <http://www.bestiary.ca/>.

³⁴ Walter S. Gibson, “Metaphorical Dogs in the Later Middle Ages: The Dogs of God and the Hounds of Hell,” in *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. Laura D. Gelfand (Boston: Brill, 2016), 5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

black and white hounds become emblems for the Dominican order and their role as preachers and protectors of the Church.

Dogs were also secular symbols of protection. In the *Triumph of the Church* fresco, the black and white hounds metaphorically guard the Christian faith through the Dominican order, whereas a miniature from the Rochester Bestiary in 1230 depicts large dogs defending their earthly master against his enemy (Fig. 9). The illumination uses the ancient legend of King Garamantes, who escaped exile by summoning 200 of his most loyal hounds to free him from his captors. The legend was spread by the 13th-century writer Bartholomaeus Anglicus, drawing from lore of the Garamantes tribe from the 5th century BC.³⁶ The detailed miniature from the Rochester Bestiary portrays the crowned king being held by two jailers while nearby large dogs arriving from outside the frame assault the enemy line. The mythological scene serves to display the ceaseless loyalty exhibited by canines. As the accompanying text emphasizes, the dog is not merely an animal in this illumination, but a symbol of protection against adversaries and evil.

Furthermore, the same miniature from the Rochester Bestiary associates the dog with upper class, in this case feudal, ownership. Canine imagery implied prevalent themes of noble sagacity and feudal loyalty both in illuminated manuscripts for the bourgeois and in elaborate illuminated codices for the Burgundian Dukes Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.³⁷ The thematic depiction of the dog remained largely consistent throughout the medieval period. Much earlier than the rule of the Burgundian Dukes, a

³⁶ “The Medieval Bestiary.”

³⁷ John Block Friedman, “Dogs in the Identity Formation and Moral Teaching Offered in some 15th century Flemish Manuscript Miniatures,” in *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society*, ed. Laura D. Gelfand (Boston: Brill, 2016), 2.

late 13th-century English bestiary devotes the majority of a page to the assorted commitments of a dog (Fig. 10). The top and bottom frames address a dog's loyal protection of its master. The uppermost image shows a sheepdog watching a flock as the shepherd dozes, while the bottom image depicts one dog mourning its owner's murder as the second dog seeks justice against the attacker. The middlemost images display dogs in the heat of the hunt. The aristocracy employed dogs primarily for hunting, and they soon became icons of the hunt. The most common artistic renderings of dogs throughout the Middle Ages involve hunting. Manuscript pages are littered with hounds chasing a wide variety of game. Pictures of boar hunts were considered the most noble, and the dog represented the bravery and strength of the master. In the third cell on the bestiary page, two hounds close the distance to a frantic brown hare, close to the capture. The presentation of the antagonistic duo suggests a symbolic complement to the theme of good versus evil addressed.³⁸ Hounds pursuing rabbits are especially common in marginalia with the canine representing the destruction of evil, for which the hare was a preferred metaphor.³⁹

The second frame of the dog at the heels of a stag in the 13th century bestiary presents a more ambiguous interpretation. The stag was a mighty creature and considered an honorable catch during a hunt. However, it was also a common symbol for Christ during the medieval period. The stag's escape from the hunter was paralleled to a devout

³⁸ Margot McIlwain Nishimura, *Images in the Margins* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2009), 39.

³⁹ See Nishimura, *Images in the Margins* for more examples including Hounds Chasing Rabbits into Holes, Mahiet, Breviary, Paris, ca. 1320-25 (Mr. Ludwig IX 2, fol. 308) and A Hound Chasing a Hare [St. Jerome in the Desert] Taddeo Crivelli, Gualenghi-d'Este Hours, Ferrara, ca. 1469 (JPGM, Ms. Ludwig IX 13, fol. 147v). The lone hare in art typically represented unbridled sexuality. The hare's elusiveness was also associated with sinners running in vain on Earth from punishment in the Afterlife.

Christian who evades the traps of the devil with moral vigilance.⁴⁰ Therefore, the symbolic interpretation of the dog is reversed when in pursuit of a stag compared to alternative hunting metaphors. Instead of being a protector against evil, the canine acts as a symbolic threat against the Christian faith.⁴¹ This unique exception confronts the feared notion that hunting blurred boundaries ordained by God by reinforcing the dignity, superiority and nobility of humanity.⁴²

Removed from hunting backdrops, dogs were symbols of devotion. The floppy-eared, small dog, a result of domestication, dominates domestic scenes and heraldic art. The floppy ear may have been disproportionately proliferated through pattern books, art schools, and spread by court artists with international reputation.⁴³ These animals were often shown looking into their master's eyes as a sign of devout commitment. The common name for these types of dog was *fides*, Latin for "faith". The idea of faith closely accompanied couples as symbols of love and the ideal household. The terrier was an emerging small, breed particularly tied to marital fidelity. Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Double Portrait* is a work praised for its realistic interior, which, according to Erwin Panofsky is, "rooted in the medieval tendency of investing visible objects with an

⁴⁰ Nishimura, *Images in the Margins*, 30.

⁴¹ Imagery of unicorn hunts is thematically similar to that of the stag. Occasionally the two creatures are featured together. Such in the case in a section of the 1495 South Netherlandish Unicorn Tapestries that portrays the discovery of a unicorn. The unicorn and a stag mirror one another. In a later tapestry of the same series the unicorn defends itself against an attacking dog, wounding it with its horn.

⁴² Charles Bergman, "A Spectacle of Beasts: Hunting Rituals and Animal Rights in Early Modern England," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, ed. Bruce Boehrer (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 55.

⁴³ Aleksander Pluskowski, *The Ritual Killing and Burial of Animals: European Perspectives* (Oakville: Oxbow Books, 2012), 225.

allegorical or symbolical meaning” (Fig. 11).⁴⁴ According to Panofsky, the gestures and positioning of the couple, as well as the ordinary objects throughout the room speak to the nature of their nuptials. Between the feet of the finely robed pair stands a small terrier whose head faces towards the bride. The dog suggests the qualities most prized in a bride and the expectation of fidelity shared in marriage vows.

Generally, the appearance of dogs in art indicated loyalty, whether it was in the form of a committed relationship, young love, or undying protection against rivals or evil. Scenes of hunting nearly always included hounds chasing animals across pages, but also could be found alongside their masters. Occasionally seen as symbols of greed or lechery, more often the dog was an indication of human virtue. The dog was adapted as a mascot for the Dominican order, and although were poorly portrayed in the bible, they became closely connected with the protection of the Christian church.

Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Social Developments

As a cultural movement, the Renaissance stimulated transformation in many academic pursuits, and social and political upheaval. Starting in Florence during the 14th century, the Renaissance encouraged learning grounded on classical sources, education reform, and humanism based on classical Greek philosophy. Renaissance humanism was a cultural approach that responded to medieval scholasticism, and manifested itself throughout architecture, art, literature, politics, and science. Both art and science saw an increased reliance on speculative observation.⁴⁵ In painting, the spread of oil paint, linear

⁴⁴ Erwin Panofsky, "Jan Van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait." *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 64, no. 372 (1934): 126.

⁴⁵ My use of the word “observation” is broad and not exclusive during the Renaissance. Many medieval artists used naturalistic observations to create realistic images, including Peter Parler, Jan van Eyck, and Rogier van Der Weyden. Rather my use of the word

perspective, and natural and classical rendering of earthly settings were central components of the Renaissance. In science, inductive reasoning based on probabilities established by evidence led to the revitalization of the highly individualistic, humoralist system of medicine. According to the classical medical philosophy, the body is driven by four humours – blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm – each of which corresponds to a resulting temperament – sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic, respectively. Renaissance study also linked the humours to seasons, elements, astrology, organs, qualities, and temperamental characteristics. The Renaissance also instigated religious disorder. Conciliarism limited the pope’s power, while men such as Martin Luther and Erasmus proposed to reform the church. The Protestant Reformation exposed prevalent uncertainties in organized religion centering on the Catholic Church.

Humanist ideals also permeated the relationship between human and animal. Trade introduced unfamiliar species of animals to Western Europe, where they were enjoyed for clothing, enriched the breeding stock, and diversified the food choices.⁴⁶ These changes led to the development of an idiosyncratic compassion and empathy for animals. They were no longer seen as objects solely to be used for human benefit and gratification. In 1597, writer Thomas Beard admonished cruelty inflicted on beasts.⁴⁷ Second family bestiaries have numerous additions to prior publications, which often

correlates more towards the type of reasoning primarily utilized by each period. Abductive reasoning accounts for observation by seeking to find the most likely explanation, and was commonly employed during the Middle Ages. Inductive reasoning, in which observations were seen as evidence for a valid conclusion, was more popular during the Renaissance. Therefore, observations were used differently in theoretical use between the two periods.

⁴⁶ Bruce Boehrer, ed., “Introduction,” in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 26.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

include domestic species.⁴⁸ The enlargement of bestiaries occurs simultaneously with the conceptual shift of the animal. Moralistic and symbolic allusions were still drawn from the characteristics of the animal in question, but bestiaries now increasingly incorporated observations from natural conduct.⁴⁹ During the Renaissance animals remain vital metaphors, but also act as positive and negative models of human behavior.⁵⁰

The notion that a domesticated animal could be kept primarily for a person's company or protection was tested with the dog and cat. These animals existed within the home and were cared for and valued by their bourgeois or aristocratic owners. 15th-century courtesy manuals established etiquette for these animals and defined proper behavior for pet owners such as, "Whenever thou sits to eat at the table board, avoid the cat on the bare wood, for if thou strokes a cat or a dog, thou art like an ape tied with a lump of wood".⁵¹ The Oxford English Dictionary's earliest record of the use of the word 'pet' applied to animals dated 1539.⁵² Cats were considered acceptable household pets by the 16th century after the establishment of selective breeding. The Renaissance rehabilitated felines' inherent virtues of elegance, grace, and patience overshadowed by medieval superstition.⁵³ Dogs took over the laps of noble women and continued to serve as cherished hunting aids. The medieval symbolism of these two animals was perpetuated throughout the Renaissance, but new humanistic ideals incorporated into their symbolic

⁴⁸ Second family indicates the bestiary was expanded from its original edition. It is the largest family of manuscripts. These bestiaries are dated from the 13th to 16th centuries, though most come from the latter. Second family bestiaries from the 16th century often tend to be more expansive and occasionally omit moral derivatives.

⁴⁹ Brigitte Resl, ed., "Introduction," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 12.

⁵⁰ Salisbury, *The Beast Within*, 81.

⁵¹ Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Cats*, 16.

⁵² Boehrer, *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, 21.

⁵³ Stefano Zuffi, *The Cat in Art* (New York: Abrams, 2007), 74.

and functional usages enriched their depictions in imagery. Instead of being two fixed emblematic entities, cats and dogs were used for and interpreted with subtle purposes in Renaissance art.

Renaissance Representations

The long illustrative history of biblical depictions by no means halted during the Renaissance. However, domesticated animals, predominantly cats and dogs, began appearing in biblical imagery when there was no literary inclusion. Instead of strictly following medieval scholastic tradition, artists of the Renaissance created innovative representations of biblical scenes that did not fundamentally alter the meaning of the work, but incorporated visual indicators, which added character and heightened the significance of the setting. Embellishments of sitting, sleeping, and fighting dogs and cats occupy almost every New Testament story from the Annunciation to the Ascension. Animals incorporated in paintings were seldom an afterthought by the artist. They carried an implication for the patron, artists, or viewer whether they occupied a background or appeared as ordinary inhabitants.⁵⁴

The *Last Supper* fresco by Domencio Ghirlandaio, completed in 1480, reinterprets medieval stereotypes of cats (Fig. 12). In the midst of a classical architectural setting, 13 men sit at a long table. Only one man sits slightly off center with his back facing away from the viewer. The man seated across from him, with a multi-colored halo, directly in the center of the fresco raises his hand in a blessing, identifying himself as Christ in the theological last supper. Judas, the disciple to later betray Christ, is the lone figure, a visual cue to spectators of his identity. Next to him, a small grey cat stares directly out at

⁵⁴ Peter Edwards, "The Domesticated Animals in Renaissance Europe," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Renaissance*, ed. Bruce Boehrer (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 195.

the viewer. Medieval culture connected the cat symbolically with the devil and evil. It is not difficult to envision the symbolic connection between the traitorous Judas and the malevolent animal. Perhaps the cat's alert gaze signifies insight into the deceptive fate Judas, who remains seemingly unaware of his feline foil.

A later mid-16th century painting by Jacobo Bassano depicts another biblical meal – The Supper at Emmaus (Fig. 13). This passage in the Gospel of Luke describes the appearance of the resurrected Christ to two apostles who, only over broken bread, realized his identity. The innovative painting emphasizes everyday life by situating the significant passage in a humble inn. A dog rests in a docile manner, while a cat lurks around the corner of the table tentatively observing a morsel of fallen food. Here the animals are simply a realistic addition to incorporate a sense of familiarity into the legendary tale. The painting offers freedom from the restrictive models leading the representation biblical themes.⁵⁵

Ghirlandaio's awareness of medieval antecedents merged with Bassano's refreshing use of household pets to influence Frederico Barocci's *Last Supper*, started in 1590 (Fig. 14). The colorfully dressed disciples and Christ are seated in the middle ground of the eventful painting. Celestial cherubs gaze down at the table while ordinary people dominate the foreground. A dog curiously sniffs a bowl for food. On one hand, the inclusion of the animal correlates with its common company and behavior. The dog and the workers ground the scene in daily life. On another, the dog also behaves in accordance with the sneaky, gluttonous and covetous qualities attributed during the Middle Ages. The variation between the inclusions of pets in the three biblical supper

⁵⁵ Zuffi, *The Cat in Art*, 108.

themes epitomizes the fluctuating figural norms during the Renaissance. Artists embraced the medieval symbolism of animals to make subtle commentary about a figure or a scene rather than as a direct testament on the animal and its character. Cats and dogs were included in paintings, especially biblical topics, to generate an accurate and comfortable setting.

Both animals were also entwined with human sensuality. The independent yet mysterious feline active during the night offered a sensible embodiment of lust and desire. Albrecht Dürer's 1504 engraving *Adam and Eve* shows the first woman at the moment she accepts the fruit from the tree of knowledge (Fig. 15). A dense northern forest surrounds the figures, which follow classical Greek proportions. At their feet rests a series of animals, a cat and a mouse in the forefront. In the medieval period, the cat chasing the mouse was a symbol of the devil chasing the human soul. However, the Renaissance frequently allied antagonistic pairs as symbols of men and women's erotic lust.⁵⁶ The cat's tale whisks against Eve's ankle, linking her act with fertility and temptation. Adam's focus remains entirely on Eve as he steps on the mouse's tail, symbolically sealing the fate of the incessant game of cat and mouse.

The northern artist studied in Italy, and brought back with him the desire for liberal education and observational study embraced by the Italian Renaissance. Dürer was familiar with the humoral theory and utilized it allegorically in *Adam and Eve*. When all four humors were balanced in the body, it was thought to be healthy and at peace. Animals were thought to be more prone to excess of certain humors resulting in distinctive temperaments. The animals filling the bottom right all were characteristically

⁵⁶ "Cats in Renaissance Art: The Great Cat," accessed July 03, 2016, <http://www.thegreatcat.org/cats-in-renaissance-art/>.

associated with each of the humors. The calm ox was seen as phlegmatic, the despondent elk as melancholic, the carefree rabbit as sanguine, and the restless and easily angered cat as choleric.⁵⁷ The presence of these animals suggests there was a balance in the garden. Yet, the cat at the forefront suggests an agitation to the balanced system brought upon by Eve's temptation. Dürer used the humoral theory to prefigure the rest of the biblical narrative.

The dog, meanwhile, was thought to have excesses of black bile stemming from the gallbladder, making it melancholic and wistful. These types of dry and cold animals were seen as especially given to intercourse.⁵⁸ By the late 13th century small dogs occupied the laps of ladies – physically and literarily. They were often seen as symbols of fidelity, but the relationship between a woman and her dog was increasingly seen as precariously erogenous. One 16th-century writer stated about lapdogs, “The smaller they be, the more pleasure they provoke, as more meet fellows for mincing mistresses to bear in their bosoms, to keep company withal in their chambers, to succor with sleep in bed...”.⁵⁹ The dogs could signify a seductive connotation beyond marital devotion. In Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, the beautiful, nude young woman lies on a bed with a posy of roses in her hand, long golden hair cascading over her shoulder, and a small dog at her feet. The figure looks at the viewer unabashed, her hand rests between her thighs, and the dark background coupled with the warm fleshy tones makes the scene appear quite erotic. It was commissioned as a present for the Duke of Camerino Guidobaldo della Rovere for

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Irven Resnick and Kenneth Kitchell, Jr., trans., *Fathers of the Church: Albert the Great, Questions Concerning Aristotle's On Animals* (Washington, D.C: Catholic University of America, 2008), 266.

⁵⁹ Edwards, “The Domesticated Animals in Renaissance Europe,” 195. Qtd. in Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), pp.107-108.

his marriage to Giuliana Varano. The woman is no courtesan - bouquets of roses were common icons of love, and the small dog fidelity. A minor detail altering the common symbolic interpretation of the dog is the collar. Collarless dogs were associated with unbridled sexuality.⁶⁰ Although it is only a minor detail, the eroticism of the scene can be confirmed by the presence of the collarless, sleeping canine. It is conceivable that the painting was a reminder of Giuliana Varano's marital obligations as well as a picture of the ideal role of the Duke of Urbino's new bride. Regardless, the nature of a sensual topic could be defined by the inclusion of a specific type of dog or animal during the Renaissance.

The inclusion of animals into portraiture and images of saints, philosophers, and other celebrated influential people also became increasingly common in the Renaissance. Antonello da Messina's 1475 painting *St. Jerome in his Study* shows the saint in a large, vaulted room, at work on his most important accomplishment – translating the Bible into Latin (Fig. 17). A small, grey cat rests tranquilly a few feet away on the desk platform. In a later work of the same subject, Albrecht Dürer places the absorbed St. Jerome at a desk in the back of the room while his attribute, a lion, rests placidly next to a small dog (Fig. 18). Dürer's detailed treatment of light and space makes the setting believably realistic, down to the napping canine. Although the lion is the only abnormal inclusion, read symbolically, it is intended to identify the saint, while the dog is meant to normalize the scene. The melancholic humoral temperament of the dog was also connected to intellectual pretensions.⁶¹ It was ascribed the mark of a genius. The cat in Antonello da Messina's painting fulfills the same role of normalizing the setting. The cat was also a

⁶⁰ Friedman, "Dogs in the Identity Formation," 23.

⁶¹ Resnick and Kitchell, *Fathers of the Church*, 266.

symbol of wisdom and cunning, and their supposedly lunar influence often earned them insertions into scenes with philosophers or scholars. In imagery of St. Jerome and other scholarly saints the dog and the cat were used mutually due to their similar symbolic temperaments and positions in a domestic house.

In Renaissance portraiture, dogs were often included as symbols of status or indicators of personality. Lucas Cranach the Elder painted a full-length double portrait of Henry the Pious, Duke of Saxony, and his wife Katharina von Mecklenburg in front of a featureless black backdrop in 1504 (Fig. 19).⁶² The Duchess wears a colorful dress fashionable for German noble women, and at her feet sits a small, well-groomed dog. The dog attests to her devotion to her husband. The submissive, indoor animal echoes the expectations of married women to obey their spouse and maintain an idyllic household. In contrast, the Duke of Saxony's body tilts in confident contrapposto as he grabs the hilt of his sword. At his feet a large hunting dog sniffs energetically. The hunting dog affirms the Duke's wealth and affluence, which is also expressed by his embellished garb. The large dog and the hunt attested to a man's masculinity, social rank, and worldly success.⁶³ There are countless examples of dogs featured in portraiture as alternatives for symbolic objects associated with a particular figure. The large dog can be seen in portraits of nobles, aristocracy, and full-length, grand portraits of emperors or kings. The larger animal was a sign of masculinity and power. On the contrary, the acceptable animal for

⁶² This is one of Cranach's early works. Cranach started painting in Vienna around 1500, then gained the courtly attention of Duke Friedrich III in 1504, and painted into the early 1550s.

⁶³ Laura D. Gelfand, *Our Dogs, Our Selves: Dogs in Medieval and Early Modern Art, Literature, and Society* (Boston: Brill, 2016), 2.

women was a toy dog. Their delicacy and grooming complemented the pampered women who held them.

The presence of animals in portraiture could also be a suggestion of temperament. *Youth with Cat and Dog*, attributed to Dosso Dossi, is an enigmatic painting that shows a young man with a dog under his left shoulder and cat at his right. Completed between 1520 and 1530, the youth's obscure and timeless robes and white turban, and the rare inclusion of the cat, may suggest the figure is an allegory rather than an identifiable pet lover.⁶⁴ The dark background consumes part of the adolescent man's closely framed face, further enhancing the esoteric quality of the portrait. The cat glances at the dog whose gaze is directed reticently downward. The antagonistic pair seems reconciled, at least temporarily, by the young man. This alludes to an achievable peace between contradictory qualities coexisting in man and nature - represented by the insolence of the cat and docility of the dog.⁶⁵ The triangular composition is capped by the placid, enigmatic facial expression of the youth. He is the mediator between the creatures, and perhaps he is familiar with struggle between the two temperaments in his own character.

Symbolism established during the Middle Ages was maintained throughout the Renaissance. As seen in *Last Supper* by Ghirlandaio, the cat was still often allied with evil, but the artist altered the specific use to indicate a traitor. In portraiture, large dogs continued to be symbols of power, the hunt, and worldly wealth, while the small dog became an attribute for noble women. Regardless of the dog's association with fidelity and marital devotion, society grew suspicious of erotic nature of the lapdog. Freed from medieval persecution, the autonomous and uninhabited nature of the cat became

⁶⁴ Caroline Bugler, *The Cat: 3500 Years of the Cat in Art* (London: Merrell, 2011), 202.

⁶⁵ Zuffi, *The Cat in Art*, 99.

associated with female sexuality. Cats and dogs had similar functions in images of philosophers, scholars, and occasionally saints, as seen in the two images of St. Jerome by Dürer and Messina. The animals also became indicators of disposition based on humoral theory and humanist philosophy. Instead of being converses of one another, the symbolic interpretation and use of the cat and dog became complementary during the Renaissance.

Conclusion

Cats and dogs were the first animals conditionally allowed into households during the Middle Ages – cats for pest control and dogs for security, herding, and hunting. The strongly territorial, independent cat teetered on the edge of domestication until the 16th century, while canines were the first proven domesticated animal and already were being selectively bred by the 6th century. The obedience exhibited by dogs allowed them to be viewed more favorably than the unpredictable feline. Canines became symbols of loyalty, love, healing, and hunting during the medieval period. However, they were also symbols of greed and lechery chiefly, due to overwhelmingly negative biblical portrayals. Cats escaped biblical mention, but due to a long history of pagan connections they became advantageous targets for Christian persecution. They were associated with evil, darkness, witchcraft, heresy, and occasionally the physical embodiment of the Devil. In some manuscripts, however, cats were shown in a completely different light. They often served as vehicles of revolution, and guardians of the Eucharist. Medieval symbolism of the cat and dog was contradictory, but placed the animals as moralistic counterparts.

Entering into the Renaissance, the outlook of animals altered dramatically. Instead of being seen objects, animals earned empathy and formed tangible bonds with their

owners. Cats were fully domesticated and acceptable pets for the aristocracy, and dogs continued to steal the hearts of their owners.⁶⁶ Small dogs were popularized as animals only intended for companionship. Animals were allowed in the house for pleasure rather than strictly utilitarian needs, the earliest notion of a pet as we see them today. In stride with other social, political, and artistic changes, imagery of the cat and dog adopted comparable uses and implications. The creatures were used as symbols of sensuality, familiarity, and temperament, as pets for scholars and as attributes in portraiture. Examining the three biblical dinner scenes displays the continuation of medieval symbolism. Instead of persecuting an animal for its literary or symbolic connotation, the Renaissance adopted well-established symbolism to subtly convey thematic overtones within the setting.

⁶⁶ Lady Jane Grey, the de facto monarch of England and Ireland for nine days in 1553, is perhaps the most iconic woman to be known to have owned both cats and dogs. Also the Duchesse d'Orléans recorded her grandson, the duc de Chartres, playing with his cat named Castille.

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transmittunt inter. eorumque saciata typis. rapit species eorum
 in partem qualitatem; In animalibus bigena dicuntur quod ex di-
 versis nascuntur. ut mulus. ex equo et asino. burdo ex equo et asina.
 hybride ex asino et porcus. tyri ex oue et yro. mulino ex capra et ar-
 te. est autem dux gregis; *De mure*



Musio appellatur
 quod muribus infestus sit.
 hunc uulgius catum
 a captura uocant. Alii
 dicunt quod captat
 uideat; Nam tanto
 acute cernit: ut ful-
 gore luminis noctis
 tenebras super; Un-

de a greco uenit catul idest ingenuosus; *De muribus.*



Mus pusillum animal grecum uo-
 men est. quicquid uero ex eo trahit. lati-
 num sit; Alii dicunt mures quod ex umore
 terre nascuntur; Nam humus cum rimis ubi
 implentur uocatur crescit.

sicut quedam martima augentur. que rum-
 sul minuentur luna deficient;

De mure et fida



Figure 1. England, early 13th century, Manuscript illumination. (Bodl., Ashmole 1511, F. 35V).



Figure 2. The Rutland Psalter, England, c. 1250-60, Manuscript illumination (BL, ADD. 62, 925, F. 60 R).



Figure 3. England, mid- to late 13th century, Manuscript illumination. (BL, Harley 3244, F. 49V).



Figure 4. Studio of Hans Baldung Grien, *The Witches' Sabbath*, c. 1515, Pen, ink and gouache on paper, 15 x 10 cm, Musée de l'œuvre Notre-Dame, Strasbourg.



Figure 5. Jean Tintoret, Detail of a miniature of Devil and the cat worshippers kissing the cat's backside, *Traittié du crisme de vauderie* (*Sermo contra sectam vaudensium*), Bruges ca. 1470-1480, Manuscript illumination. (Paris, BnF, Français 961, fol. 1r).



Figure 6. Hans Baldung Grien, *The Witches' Sabbath*. 1510, Chiaroscuro woodcut in two blocks, printing in gray and black, 38.9 x 27 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

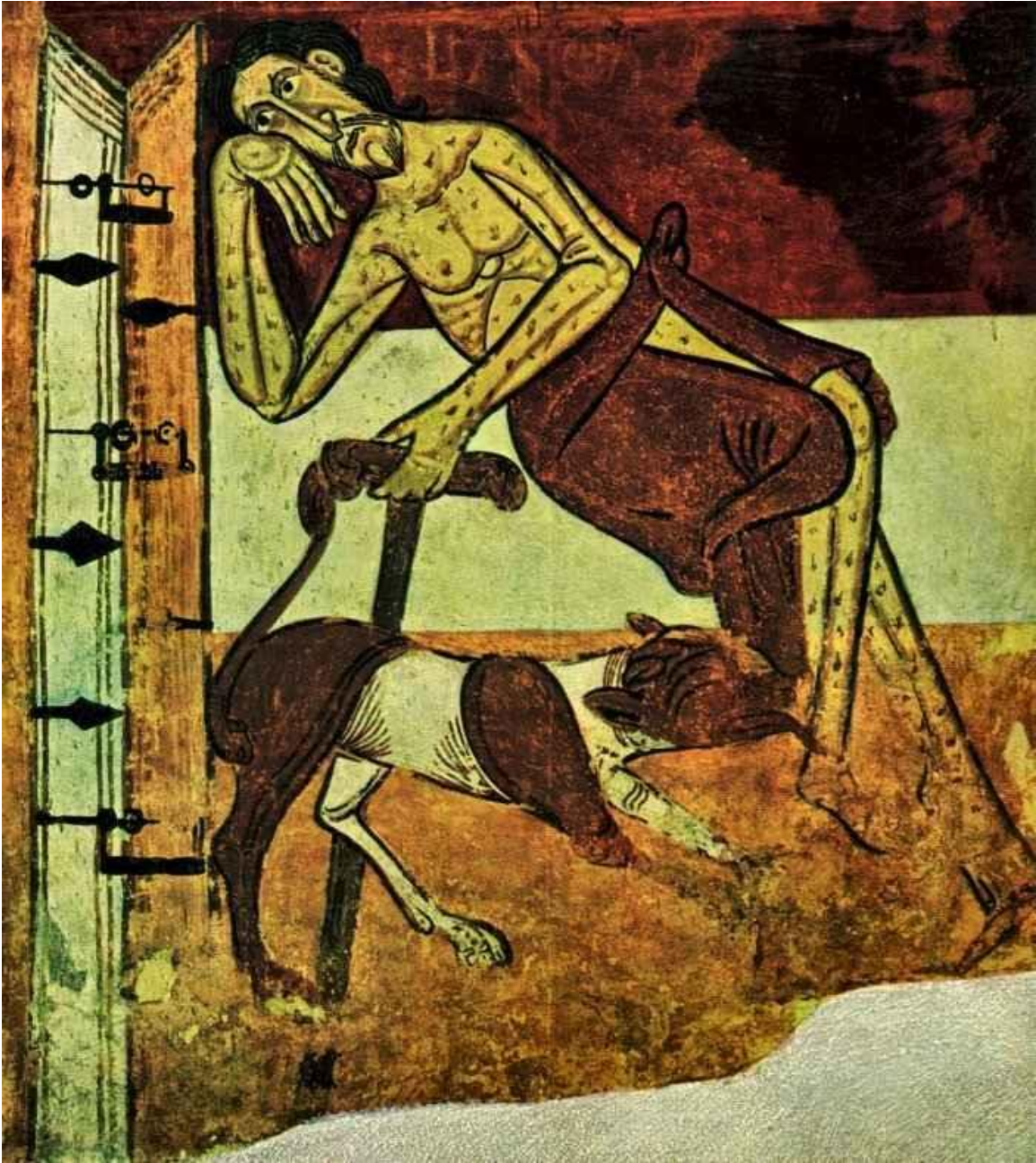


Figure 7. The Master of Tahull, *Lazarus and the Beggar*. Early 12th century, fresco. Barcelona, Museum of Catalan Art (originally triumphal arch of San Clemente de Tahull).



Figure 8. Andrea di Bonaiuto da Firenze, *Allegory of the Active and Triumphant Church and of the Dominican Order*. 1365, fresco. Spanish Chapel, Santa Maria Novella, Florence.



Figure 9. Detail of a miniature of King Garamantes, being rescued by his dogs; from the Rochester Bestiary, England (Rochester?), c. 1230. ([Royal MS 12 F. xiii](#), f. 30V).

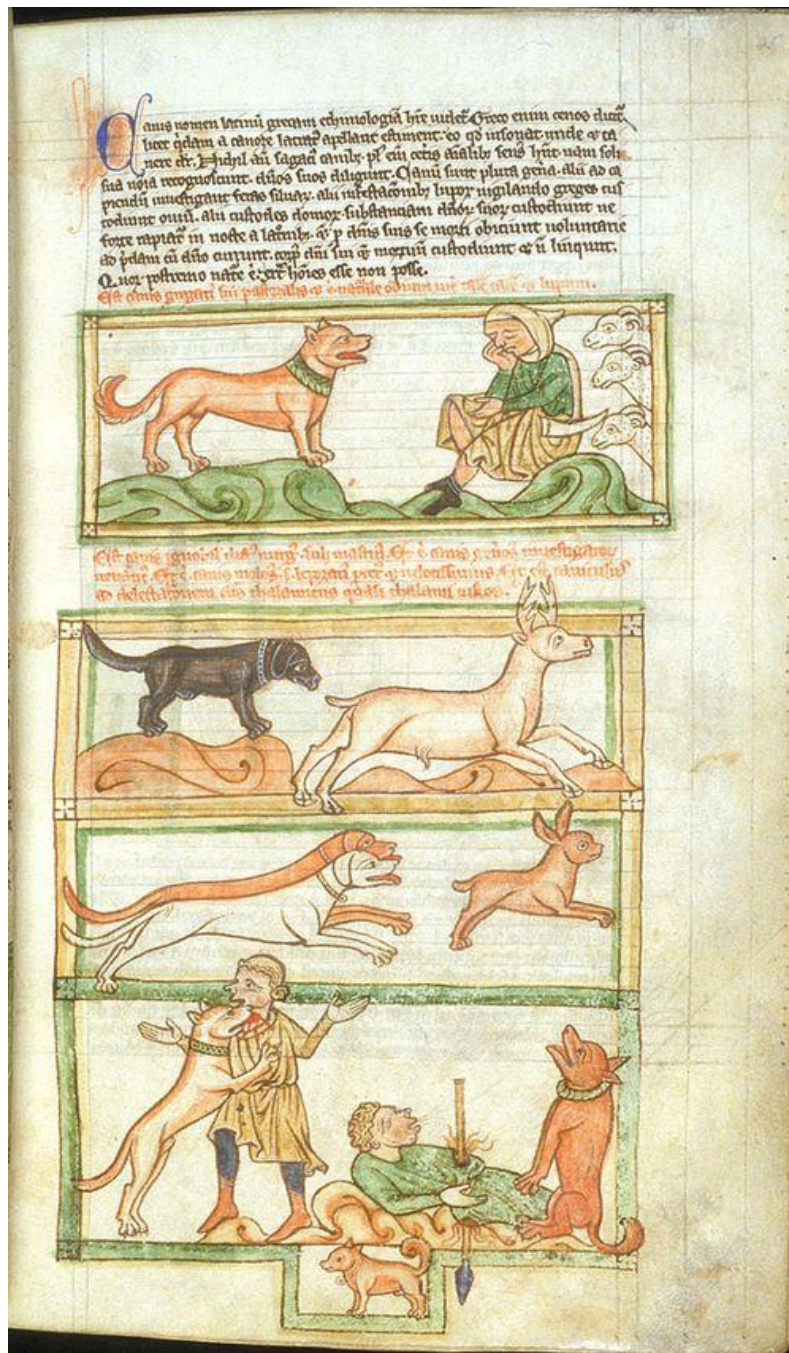


Figure 10. Miniatures of a sheepdog, a hunting dog in pursuit of a stag, a hunting dog in pursuit of a hare, and (bottom) the story of the dog mourning by the body of his murdered master and identifying the killer; from a bestiary, England, 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 13th century (after 1236), Manuscript illumination. ([Harley MS 3244](#), f. 45r).



Figure 11. Jan Van Eyck, *The Arnolfini Double Portrait*. 1434, Tempera and oil on wood. National Gallery, London.



Figure 12. Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Last Supper*. 1480, Fresco, 8 m. Museo Di San Marco, Refectory, Florence, Italy.



Figure 13. Jacobo Bassano, *The Supper at Emmaus*. 1537, Oil on canvas, 235 x 250 cm. Cittadella Cathedral, Padua, Italy.



Figure 14. Frederico Barocci, *Last Supper*. 1590, Oil on canvas. Urbino Cathedral, Italy.

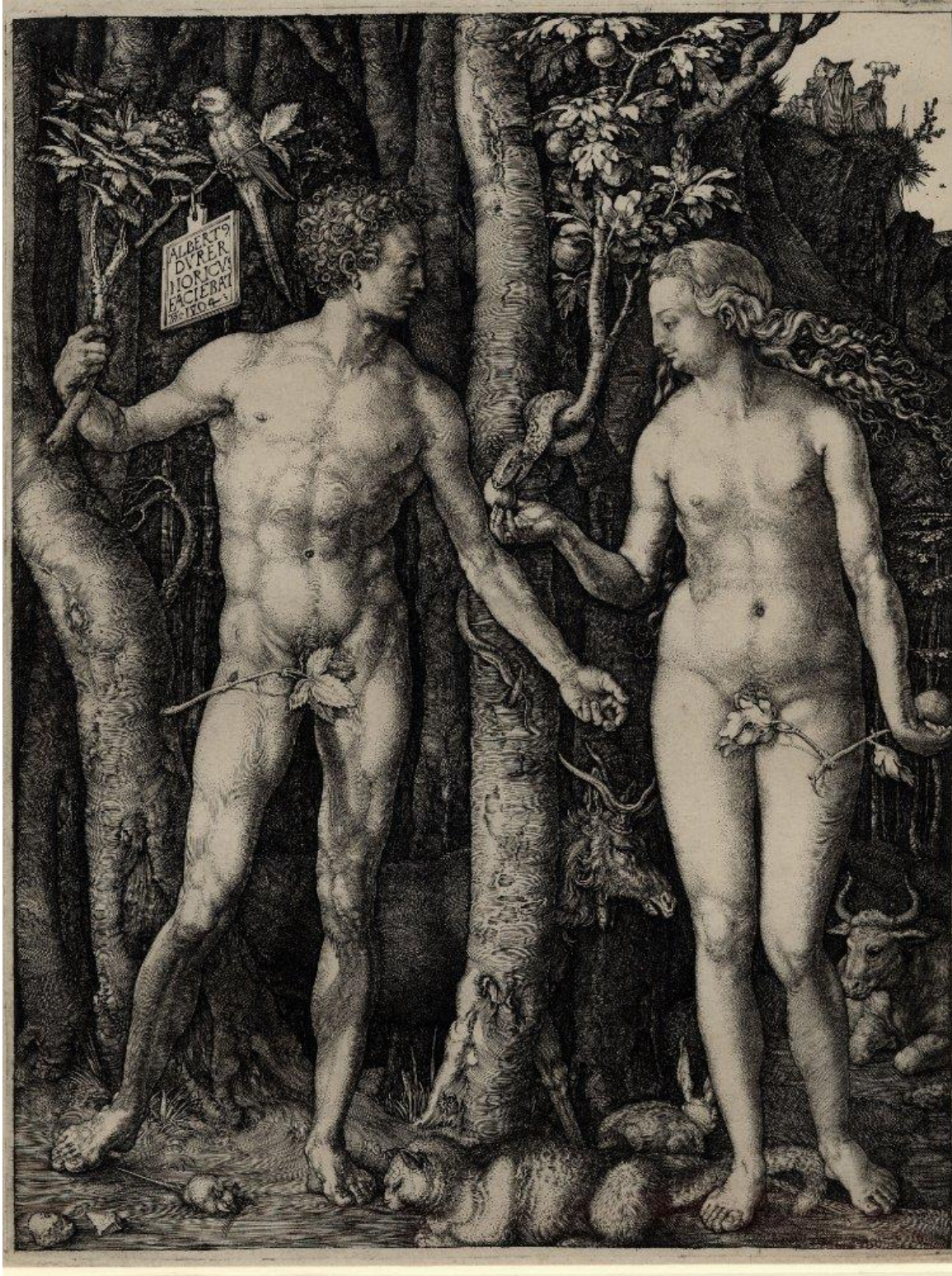


Figure 15. Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*. 1504, Engraving, 24.8 x 19.5 cm.

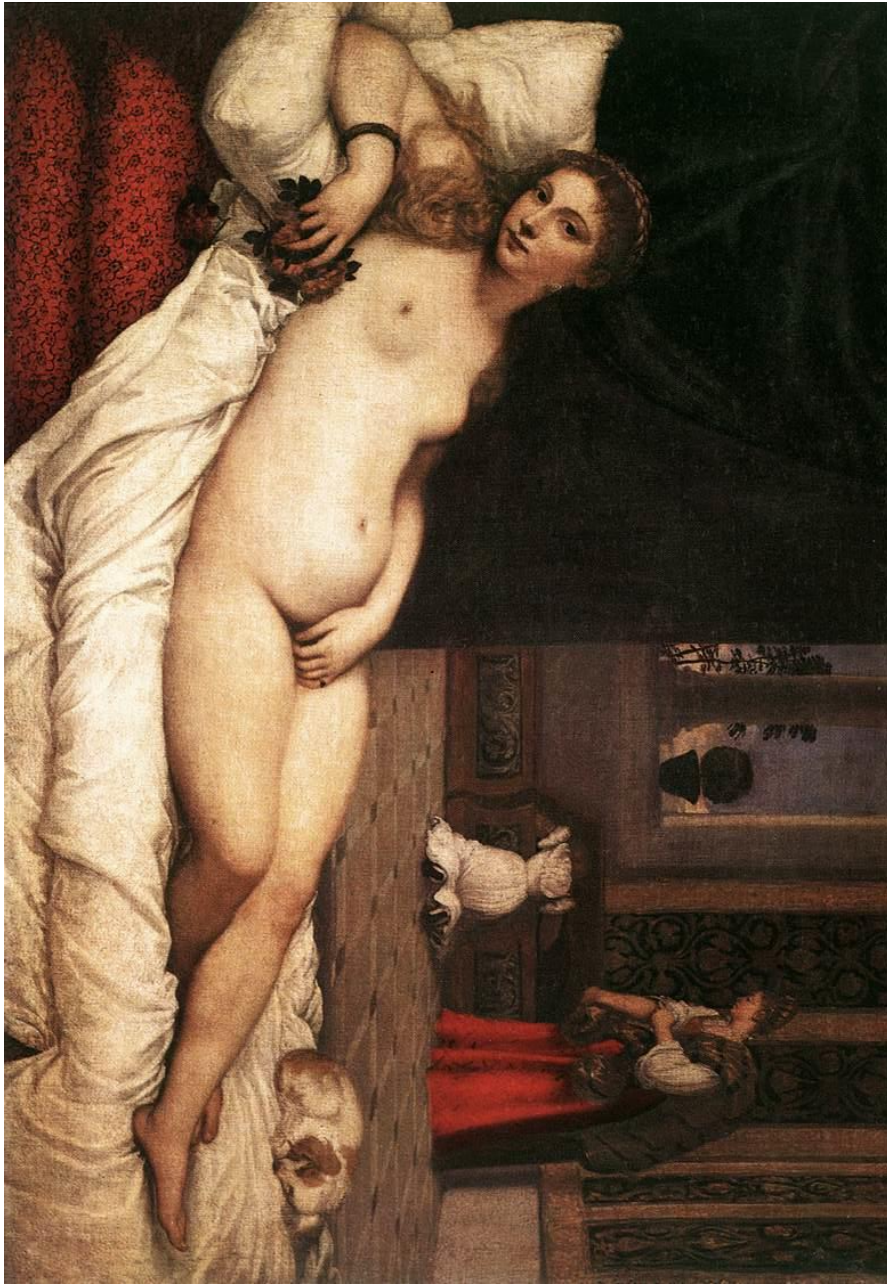


Figure 16. Titian, *Venus of Urbino*. 1538, Oil on canvas, 119.2 x 165.5 cm. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.



Figure 17. Antonello da Messina, *St. Jerome in His Study*. 1475, Oil on wood, 45.7 x 36.2 cm. National Gallery, London.



Figure 18. Albrecht Dürer, *Saint Jerome in His Study*. 1514, Engraving, 24.7 x 18.8 cm.



Figure 19. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portraits of Henry the Pious, Duke of Saxony and his Wife Katharina Von Mecklenburg*. 1514, Oil on canvas transferred from wood, 184 x 82.5 cm each. Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.

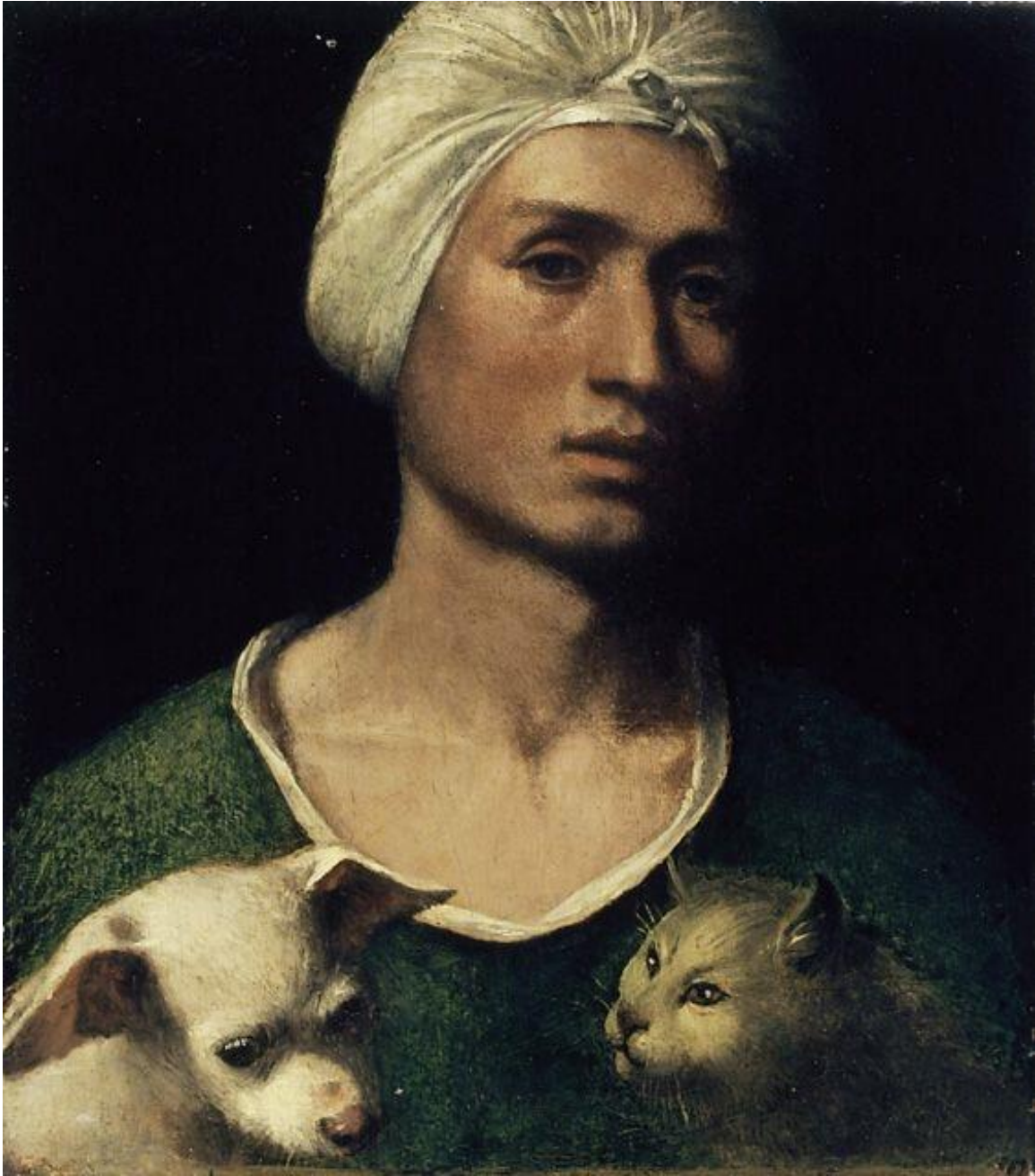


Figure 20. Dosso Dossi (attributed), *Youth with Cat and Dog*. 1520-1530, Oil on wood, 28 x 24 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England.