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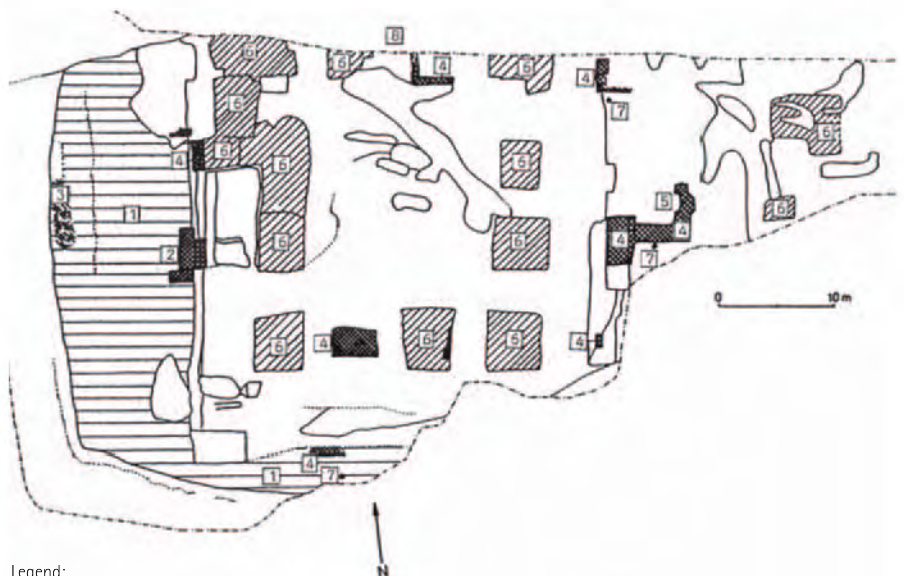
The dog burials at the castle of Arkel in Gorinchem
A study on the status of dogs in the Middle Ages

Introduction: three dog burials at Gorinchem

In 1996 amateur archaeologists carried out excavations along the Dalemsedijk in Gorinchem, on the site of the former bailey of the castle of the lords of Arkel. During these excavations three dog skeletons were found; one belonging to a large dog and two belonging to smaller specimens (Fig. 1, 2).[1] The skull of the large dog is incomplete but still measures 12,3 cm. The skulls of the smaller are intact and measure 12 and 10,5 cm respectively. The dogs were buried next to each other[2], but unfortunately no drawings or photographs were made at the time.
In 1412 the castle of the Lords of Arkel was destroyed by be Count William VI of Holland and Zeeland. His hatred for the Arkels was thus that he desired all trace of the castle to disappear and even ordered the foundations to be removed. As the site has not been built on since, it is certain that the dogs were buried before 1412. This is unusual as dead dogs were usually disposed of as refuge and were thrown into a cesspit or the moat. During excavations at the castles of Teylingen and Brederode, for instance, numerous dog remains were recovered from such sites. The unusual dog burials at Gorinchem seem to suggest that the skeletons are those of dogs of high status, probably belonging to the Lords of Arkel or the castle warden. In short, we seem to be dealing here with a very old dog graveyard, the oldest that I know of in the Netherlands. Whether this is indeed the case is a question I hope to answer below.

Fig. 1 The skulls of the two small dogs buried next to each other at the castle of the Van Arkel family at Gorinchem



Legend:
1. Moat
2. Remnant of a tower or gatehouse
3. Fallen-over wall originally standing on the west side of the moat
4. Stone foundations
5. Main area where ceramics were found. The dog skeletons also came from here
6. Foundations
7. Canon balls
8. Dyke

Fig. 2 Overview of the excavations along the Dalemsedijk at Gorinchem, the site of the former bailey of the castle at Gorinchem.

Dog burials and grave markers

On the whole, dog cemeteries are associated with the 18th century and later, and we see them at various castle sites and country estates.[3] This does not imply that people did not care for their animals in the preceding period, it only means that it was not customary to bury their corpses with pomp and circumstance. However, there are some earlier examples. When the rather unpopular Leiden sheriff Willem de Bont, a staunch

Fig. 3 The 17th-century memorial of the dog Stutzel.

Calvinist, gave his dog Tyter a pompous funeral in 1634, this event prompted rather negative reactions, especially as the man had shown little compassion for his fellow citizens of the Remonstrant denomination. The Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) wrote a satiric poem to commemorate the funeral and Jan Miense Molenaer made two paintings, one showing Tyter's death bed and one showing the funeral itself, both of which are now known only through 18th-century copies.[4] But even if Tyter's funeral excited much comment, there are some other examples. An interesting 17th-century example is the 77 cm high tomb marker for the dog Stutzel against the east wall of the park of the ruined castle of Winterstein (Thuringia) (Fig. 3). It was erected by the dog's owners, whose initials are marked in the upper corners. On the left we read C.V.W. F.S.I., which means Christoph von Wangenheim, „fürstlich-sächsischer Jäger", and on the right we see A.V.W. G.V.S., which means Anna von Wangenheim, „geborene von Seebach". The text on the stone reads:

„ANO 1630 JAR DER JAR DER 19. MARCI WAR.WARD
EIN HVND HIE HER BEGRAWEN
DAS IN NICHT FRESSEN DIE RAWEN
WAR SEIN NAME STVZEL GENANT FÜRSTEN VD
HERN WOLBEKAT GESCHACH VB SEINE GROSSE
TREVLIGKEIT DIE ER SEINE HER VD FRAVEN BEWEIST"

Below this text is an image of a small brown male dog.

A less serious dog epitaph is the one composed by Martin Opitz (1597–1639): „Die Diebe lief ich an, den Buhlern schwieg ich stille; So ward verbracht des Herrn und auch der Frauen Wille".[5]

One of the most famous dog graves is that of Gelert in Beddgelert in Wales (Snowdonia). Gelert is said to have been a favourite hunting dog of Prince Llewellyn ap Gryffud (ca. 1240–1282) (Fig. 4). He was accidentally killed by his boss when the latter returned home one day and found the cradle of his young son overturned with blood all over the place. On seeing Gelert's mouth besmeared with blood, he killed him in a rage, only to discover that his son was unharmed and that

Fig. 4 Gelert's grave in Beddgelert (Wales, Snowdonia). Gelert was supposedly the favourite hound of prince Llewellyn ap Gryffud.

Gelert had in fact saved his life by killing a huge wolf, which lay dead on the other side of the cradle. Out of remorse for his too hasty action, Llewellyn raised a monument over Gelert's grave. This is wonderful story is, of course, untrue. Although Beddgelert does mean grave of Gelert, this is not to say that Gelert was a dog. The dog story is no older than the 19th century and was introduced by the proprietor of the local hotel to boost tourism.[6] The story was based on the legend of St. Guinefort, a French dog who was killed for similar reasons. This story is indeed old and the dog in question was buried by being disposed of in a well outside the castle of the owner who had accidentally slain him, which was then covered with stones and surrounded by trees, in order to mark the spot. Soon, miracles occurred and Guinefort was venerated as a saint. The cult of St. Guinefort is first mentioned in Stephen de Bourbon's (†1262) 'De Supersticione'.

Fortunately, there are also other ways of showing that dogs were sometimes buried in medieval times. Archaeological excavations have brought to light dog burials in Halberstadt[7], Siegburg[8] and on a castle site in Maenclochog (Wales)[9]. In the castle of Schaloen in Limburg (Netherlands) a complete dog carcass dating to around 1600 was discovered.[10] In 2010 two complete skeletons of large male hounds were discovered buried in a pit on the castle site of the Wickenburgh near 't Goy in Houten. A little further on the skeleton of a smaller dog was brought to light.[11] However, not all dogs found on castle sites were buried out of love. At the Ketzelburg near Haibach a male dog of circa 10 years old was discovered in the foundations of a residential tower. This seems to suggest a building sacrifice, even though there were no indications that the dog suffered an unnatural death.[12]

The dogs found on the castle site of Arkel are thus not unique, but as such finds are rare, they are very special. The finds suggest that the Lords of Arkel, or their retainers, had a special relationship with their dogs.

Dogs and status

In the Middle Ages, and long thereafter, dogs were indicators of their owner's status. The dogs of a nobleman differed from those of a peasant and were treated accordingly, as is clear from civic ordinances in the Netherlands intent on reducing the number of dogs in the cities.[13] In ca. 1360, the Leiden city council ordained that whoever wanted to keep a dog, should be in possession of a *heynxt die men riden mach*. The fine for non-compliance was 12 shillings. This decree was superseded in 1459 by a new one ordaining that whoever wanted to keep hunting dogs in town, should have an income worth a 100 pounds of interest per annum. The fine for non-compliance was 4000 stones.

Fig. 5 Seal of Maria of Brabant (1188-1260), wife of Count William I of Holland (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag).

Ordinary dogs could be kept if one had a barrel of salt in the house. A barrel of salt was very costly, so again this rule set out to reduce the number of urban dogs.[14]

As such dog-friendly legislation did little to solve the dog problem, city councils eventually reverted to getting rid of the animals, especially when they were fearful of outbursts of rabies or the plague.[15] The owners were summoned to kill their own dogs; in the case of non-compliance, a city official known as the dog butcher would take care of the charge.[16] However, such rules did not apply to all dogs. While common dogs were outlawed, the hunting dogs of the elite were exempt, as were small lap dogs. In Amsterdam rings were placed in certain public places and on the city hall or certain churches, by which a dog could be measured. If a dog was small enough to pass through the ring, it would be allowed to survive.[17]

In the country too, there was a clear difference between the treatment of elite dogs and those belonging to farmers and peasants. A farmer who was plagued by deer, hare or rabbits eating his crops could do nothing about it, as they were not permitted to hunt game. Trespassing was regarded as poaching and was heavily punished. To ensure that the country folk did not poach game, they were not permitted to keep hunting dogs or dogs fit for hunting. Any dogs they had, were to be disabled, either by chopping of part of a paw or by placing one paw in a block. Some dogs were made to wear a large piece of wood between their front paws, to disable their movements. A knight, on the other hand, was supposed to keep birds for hunting, as well as dogs and horses, if he were to retain his status. The importance of these animals is also manifest from seals, on which knights usually had themselves depicted in full armour, riding a horse, with their shield in the left hand. The seals of knights who had not as yet received full knighthood differed. They are shown on horseback, accompanied by dogs, with a bird of prey on one arm. This type of seal was also used by ladies (Fig. 5).[18] It is clear then that these animals formed part of the lordly display. Not surpris-

ingly, dogs were considered as prestigious presents.[19] Those who were unable to afford keeping them, sunk in status and risked losing privileges, such as the right to go out hunting.[20]
Apart from hunting dogs, small dogs were kept by the elite. The smaller the dog, the higher its status. How well medieval ladies treated their lap dogs is described in great detail in a poem by Jan van Boendale (ca. 1280 – ca. 1351), who has a knight sigh that he wished he were a dog, for, as a dog, he would be allowed to enter the ladies' apartments and lie on the bed, be covered in furs and kissed and cuddled. A dog, in his opinion, was better off than a man. In fact, for some dogs this certainly held true. During the period that Jacqueline of Bavaria (1401–1436) was married to the duke of Brabant the servant taking care of her white dogs was given a salary of 200 pounds, while her private secretary received no more than thirty.[21]

Dogs and their owners

Good hunting dogs were treated with great care. The 1345 accounts of the counts of Holland show that dogs were fed white bread.[22] In the Middle Ages white bread was no simple fare, but consumed only by the very rich; common folk ate rye bread at best. The accounts for the castle of Sint-Maartensdijk show that the Lord of Borssele went even further than this and fed his dogs better food than his courtiers. When the supplies of wheat ran out around 23 June 1438 the courtiers were given bread made up of three quarters of wheat and a quarter of rye, while the dogs were given the more expensive white bread. This situation lasted for a considerable time, as it was not until 20 August, when the new harvest was taken in, that the courtiers were again given bread without rye mixed into it.[23]
Not only were status dogs well fed, they also wore expensive collars. Those of the Dukes of Gelre had collars bearing the ducal arms.[24] Dog collars also feature on paintings. On a painting by Gerard David of 1510 the Virgin Mary is shown with the donor of the portrait to her left, accompanied by his dog. The donor's identity, Richard de Visch van der Capelle, cantor of the chapter of Saint Donatius in Bruges, is revealed by the arms on the dog's collar. A portrait of Anna of Hungary of circa 1520 shows her with a dog wearing a collar studded with precious stones and the letter A, the first letter of Anna. It is possible that this dog is a portrait.[25] That medieval dog owners cared enough about their dogs to have them portrayed, appears from various sources. Margaret of Austria possessed a painting that amongst other items, featured her dog Boute. The work is described as *a good painting of a beautiful slave, with on the wing a portrait of madam's and her father's controller Charles Oursson, as well as madam's dog named Boute.*[26] From an inventory of 1529 of the castle of Wijk bij Duurstede, summing up the belongings of the Utrecht bishop Philips of Burgundy, it appears that the bishop owned a painting of a small white dog with long hair, probably a portrait of one of his dogs.
Owners took great pride in their dogs and some even wrote poetry for them. Gace de la Buigne composed an ode for one of the hunting dogs of Philip the Bold (†1404), who, according to his 'Roman des deduis' was very fond of his dogs and birds. Charles of Orléans (†1465) composed songs of praise for his own dogs. No wonder that many noble persons were often inseparable from their pets. It is known that Count Albrecht of Bavaria (1336–1404) let the two dogs, given to him by Dirc of Polanen, sleep on his bed.[27] The 1394 comital accounts show that he kept the dogs in his room, where they were looked after by his chamberlain. They even stayed in his room when he was away for business elsewhere.[28] Frank of Borssele (circa 1395–1470), Jacqueline of Bavaria's fourth spouse, also let the dogs into his bed chamber, where they misbehaved and chewed the tapestries, which had to be repaired at considerable cost.[29]
Favourite dogs, like favourite falcons, joined their owners everywhere, even into church. That again was a practice that was not accepted from everyone. In 1539 the burgomasters and church wardens of the main church in Haarlem decreed that the dog butcher was to remove dogs from the church when they were a nuisance because of their barking. The dogs belonging to the Lords of Brederode and those of other good and respectable men, if tied to a leash, were to be exempt from this rule. By the way, it was not only noblemen that took their dogs to church. When in 1488 Henricus van der Heyden came to inspect the Leeuwenhorst nunnery he was shocked by what he saw. In his report he states that if one of the sisters would henceforth take a dog with her to sing the Divine Office she would be whipped in chapter.[30]
In spite of the fact that dogs were taken everywhere by their owners, I know of only two instances in which a dog was actually buried together with his master. In 1849, during excavations in the collegiate church of Staindrop (County Durham, England), a human skeleton was found with the remains of a dog or greyhound at his feet. It is said to have been the grave of one of the Nevilles who lived in nearby Raby Castle.[31] Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmorland, who was buried in the church, in 1391 used a seal with two greyhounds as supporters of his family arms.[32] In 1871 the remains of Simon, bishop of Sodor and Man, were uncovered in St German's cathedral on the Isle of man, where he had been laid to rest in around 1247. A large dog was found buried at his feet.[33]

Dogs on graves

The close ties that existed between dogs and their medieval owners were also expressed on tombstones and funerary monuments, where they lie at the feet of the deceased (Fig. 6). In the literature on tomb sculpture, such dogs are often interpreted as symbols of fidelity, an idea that was promoted by Erwin Panofsky's interpretation of the brown, hairy dog featuring on Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait in the National Gallery in Londen.[34] Of course, there is some evidence for such an interpretation. Medieval texts abound with stories of faithful dogs and in the bestiaries fidelity is mentioned as one of the main characteristics of the species, but, to my mind, it will not do to interpret every dog in this way, especially not those featuring on funerary monuments.
In his monumental study on medieval funerary imagery Kurt Bauch[35] claims that the earliest dog to appear at the feet of the lying figure on the tomb, the *gisant*, is that on the monument for Louis de France (†1260), the eldest son of Louis IX of France, who was buried in the royal abbey of Royaumont, but whose tomb is now in the abbey church of St. Denis near Paris (Fig. 7).[36] This is incorrect, as we already see dogs on the monuments erected for Louis' younger sister Blanche de France (†1243) and their brother Jean de France (†1248). These tombs formerly stood in the arcade between the choir and the ambulatory at the royal abbey of Royaumont.[37] Drawings of the original monuments show that both tombs consisted of a sarcophagus with a rear side surmounted by a baldachin. Against this rear side a standing figure of the deceased was placed. Jean was shown with a falcon in one hand and gloves in the other and with a hunting dog at his feet (Fig. 8). The funerary slabs, made of Limoges enamel and now in the abbey church of St. Denis, show Blanche with a hound at her feet and Jean with a lion. Both carry a sceptre in their left hand.[38] Even though these monuments or not of stone but of metal, it is clear that the dog already made an appearance in funerary art before the middle of the 13th century. There may be earlier examples still, but unfortunately many of these early monuments are not securely dated and it is often equally unclear who they are meant to commemorate. However, the remaining monuments do indicate that the dog motif did not become truly popular until its adaptation by the French royal family. From Paris, the motif spread to other parts of western Europe from the second half of the 13th century onwards.[39]
Some monuments have not one but two dogs. This feature also came from France, the earliest example being the tomb of Isabella of Aragon (1247–1271), the first wife of the Philip III the Bold (born in 1245 and king from 1270 until 1285) (Fig. 9). Erlain Erlande-

Fig. 6 Lissabon, Sé. Fourteenth-century tomb of Lopo Fernandes Pacheco, the seventh Lord of Ferreira des Aves (photograph author).

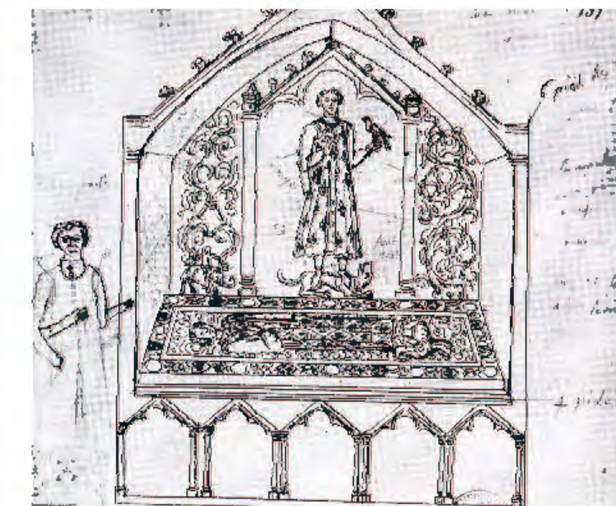


Fig. 7 Dog at the feet of the gisant of Louis de France (died 1260), the eldest son of Louis IX of France. The tomb was originally in Royaumont but in the wake of the French revolution it was taken to the abbey church of Saint-Denis, Paris

Fig. 8 Drawing of the tomb of Jean de France (died 10 march 1248) in the abbey of Royaumont

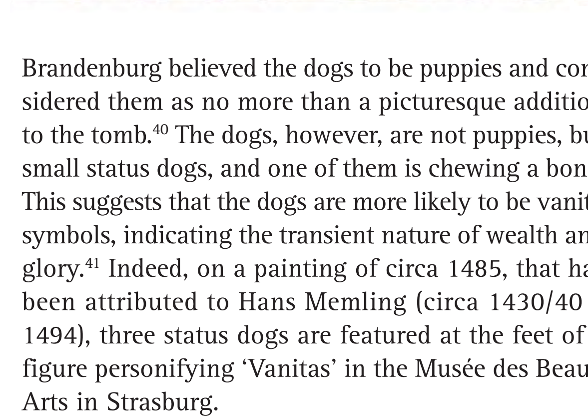


Fig. 9 Dogs at the feet of the gisant of Isabella of Aragon (1247-1271), the first wife of Philip III the Bold, king of France from 1270 to 1285

Fig. 10 Detail of the brass of Sir John Cassey and his wife Alice in the church of Deerhurst, circa 1400. The dog at Alice's feet is named 'Terri'.

Brandenburg believed the dogs to be puppies and considered them as no more than a picturesque addition to the tomb.[40] The dogs, however, are not puppies, but small status dogs, and one of them is chewing a bone. This suggests that the dogs are more likely to be vanity symbols, indicating the transient nature of wealth and glory.[41] Indeed, on a painting of circa 1485, that has been attributed to Hans Memling (circa 1430/40 – 1494), three status dogs are featured at the feet of a figure personifying 'Vanitas' in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Strasburg.

Isabella of Aragon's tomb dates to around 1275 and was to be an important model throughout the remaining years of the 13th and in the 14th century, not only in Paris but even further afield. This is not surprising, as the French at this time conducted very expansive marital politics, so that their influence came to reach all over Europe. Following Isabella's death Philip married Maria of Brabant and their children married into the royal families of Navarre, Austria and Bohemia, as well as England.

As the dog motif spread and time elapsed, changes occurred. There are clear regional differences. The original meaning of the dogs also began to vary. Sometimes dogs did indeed become symbols of fidelity, in other cases they were thought of as favourite pets. In Deerhurst a small dog on the brass of circa 1400 of Sir John Cassey and his wife Alice bears the name 'Terri' (Fig. 10).[42] Another dog, 'Jakke', was named on the brass for Sir Brian Stapleton of 1438 in the church of Ingham (Norfolk).[43] These examples are, however, quite unique.

That the dogs on funerary monuments were more likely to indicate status than fidelity is also evident from the fact that, in the later Middle Ages, they were often replaced by other animals, although dogs and lions were still the most numerous. The 'new' animals often related to the heraldic arms or emblem of the owner.[44] The monument for Robert de Vere in the church of Bures shows him with a wild boar at his feet. In the collegiate church of Cleves, the Counts of Cleves have a swan at their feet. So does Margaret de Bohun (†1391), granddaughter of Edward I, on her tomb in Exeter Cathedral. Both the Counts of Cleves and the Bohuns claimed a descent form the legendary swan knight.[45] The 16th-century tomb of Sir John Gilbert of Compton (†1596) and his wife in Exeter cathedral, shows the lord with a squirrel at his feet, the emblem of the Compton family.[46] Sir John Speke of White Lackington († ca. 1517) has a porcupine at his feet (Fig. 11).

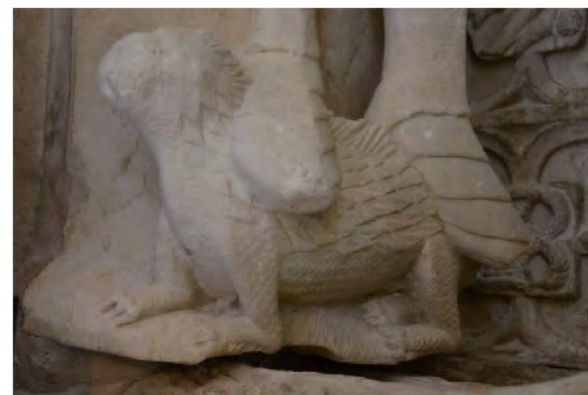


Fig. 11 On the north side of the choir ambulatory of Exeter Cathedral is the monument for Sir John Speke of White Lackington († ca 1517), who has a porcupine as his bearer of arms. A porcupine consequently rests at his feet

Conclusion

To conclude, the three dog burials at the castle of Arkel in Gorinchem suggest that medieval dog owners cared about their dogs and treated them with respect. The medieval sources underline this and show that status dogs were very well taken care off. Dogs underlined the status of their owners and it was for this reason that they figure on funerary monuments. Indicating the status of the deceased as well as being a symbol for the transience of worldly status and fame, this original meaning was soon accompanied by others. Some used the dogs as symbols of fidelity, others as a means to commemorate a favourite pet. Seen in this context, it does indeed seem possible that the three dogs buried before 1412 at the castle represent an early form of dog cemetery.

Anmerkungen

1 Object KB 96, nr. 5.
2 In a newspaper article in „De Dordtenaar" of 28 September 1996 it is said that the dog remains were found „bij elkaar" (together). Ton Wijkamp, who was present at the excavation, confirmed that the animals were buried next to each other (with thanks to Martin Veen).
3 See also Karl Siegfried Guthke: „Fast menschlich – aber Treu". Grabschriften für Tiere. In: Sprechende Steine. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Grabschrift, Göttingen 2006, S. 251–274.
4 Leo Simons et al. (Ed.): De werken van Vondel, part 3: 1627–1640, Amsterdam 1929, S. 408.
5 Martin Opitz: Ausgewählte Dichtungen, Leipzig 1869, S. 67: Epigramm Nr. 41: Grabschrift eines Hundes.
6 Michael Senior: Faithful Hound. Beddgelert and the truth about its legend, Llanrwst 2009.
7 Ralf-Jürgen. Prilloff / S. S. Prilloff: Eine mittelalterliche Hundebestattung aus Halberstadt. In: Jahresschrift für mitteldeutsche Vorgeschichte 80 (1998), S. 165–176.
8 Thomas Ruppel: Eine Hundebestattung der Zeit um 1600. Eine Siegburger Töpferwerkstatt der Familie Knütgen. In: Kunst und Altertum am Rhein. Führer des Rheinischen Landesmuseums Bonn und des Rheinischen Amtes für Bodendenkmalpflege 133, Köln-Bonn, 1991, S. 93–101.
9 http://www.cambria.org.uk/maenclochogreport.pdf
10 Roel C.G.M. Lauwerier / J.M. van Winter, T. de Jong / J.T. Zeiler: Voeding op Limburgse kastelen. In: Wim H.M. Hupperetz et al. (eds.): Middeleeuwse Kastelen in Limburg. Verschijningsvormen van het kasteel, zijn adellijke bewoners en hun personeel, Venlo 1996, S. 151.
11 The dates of these skeletons are problematic as the Wickenburgh, which is named as early as 1300, was inhabited over a long period of time. From the stratigraphic evidence the excavators believe the dogs to be medieval.
12 Harald Rosmanitz: Die Ketzelburg in Haibach. Eine archäologisch-historische Spurensuche, Neustadt a. d. Aisch 2006, S. 99–102.
13 Jannis Willem Marsilje: Aangelijnd in middeleeuws Leiden. De houding van de magistraat ten opzichte van de hond in de periode tot 1573. In: Leids Jaarboekje 3 (1991), S. 51–68.
14 Marsilje 1991, S. 55–56.
15 Marsilje 1991, S. 62–64
16 Marsilje 1991, S. 54–55
17 Frederic August Stoett: Nederlandsche spreekwoorden, spreekwijzen, uitdrukkingen en gezegden, Zutphen 1923–1925 (4th edition), S. 85 Nr. 219.
18 Toni Diederich: Grundzüge des Siegelwesens im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert. In: Werner Schäfke: Der Name der Freiheit 1288–1988. Aspekte Kölner Geschichte von Worringen bis heute, tentoonstellingscatalogus Stadtmuseum Keulen 1988, S. 83–104; Raymond van Uytven: De papegaai van de paus. Mens en dier in de Middeleeuwen, Zwolle 2003, S. 117.
19 Sir Hendrik van Gemen was given two greyhounds in 1380 by the duke and duchess of Gelre, cf. G. Nijsten: Het hof van Gelre. Cultuur ten tijde van de hertogen uit het Gulikse en Egmondse huis (1371–1473), Kampen 1992, S. 241.
20 Oscar van den Arend: Zeven lokale baljuwschappen in Holland, Hilversum 1993, S. 25–26.
21 Ruth Putnam: A Mediaeval Princess; being a True Record of the Changing Fortunes which brought Divers Titles to Jacqueline, Countess of Holland .., New York 1904, S. 73.
22 H.G. Hamaker: De rekeningen der grafelijkheid van Holland onder het Henegouwsche Huis, part 3, Utrecht 1876, II, S. 194.
23 A.A. Arkenbout: Frank van Borselen, ca. 1400–1470. Het dagelijkse leven op zijn hoven in Zeeland en in het Maasmondgebied, Stichting Historische Publicaties, Rotterdam 1994, S. 83.
24 Arnhem, Gelders Archief HA 453 fol. 140v, cf. Nijsten 1992, S. 249.
25 Jacqueline Kerkhoff: Madame Marije. Jeugdjaren aan het hof in Mechelen, Wenen en Innsbruck. In: B. van den Boogert et al. (red.): Maria van Hongarije. Koningin tussen keizers en kunstenaars, 1505–1558, Zwolle/ Utrecht/'s Hertogenbosch 1993, S. 50.
26 Clara Maclinia: Roemrijk Mechelen, Ten huize van twee hertoginnen. In: Openbaar Kunstbezit Vlaanderen 2005, Nr. 3, S. 38.
27 Frits.P. van Oostrom: Het woord van eer. Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400, 1993 (4), S. 29.
28 De Boer et al. 1983, S. 94: doe mijn here Sinte Gheertrudenberghe was omtrent Sinte Mertijns misse Translatio gaf Hannekiin die kamerlinc Roelant dem grote winde ende anders mijns heren honde die inder kamer ghebleven waren teten (When the count went to Haarlem at around the time of the feast of St. Petrus-ad-vincula Hannekiin stayed behind to look after the dogs).
29 Van Uytven 2003, S. 142.
30 Geertruida de Moor: Verborgen en geborgen. Het cisterciënzerinnenklooster Leeuwenhorst in de Noordwijkse regio (1269–1574), Hilversum 1994, 71; RAZH Leeuwenhorst charter d.d. 26 april 1488; A.H.L. Hensen: Een viertal visitatiebrieven van Leeuwenhorst. In: BBH 36 (1915), S. 358–387.
31 Geo S. Tyack: Lore and Legend of the English Church, London 1899, 81; John Cherry: The Middleham Jewel and Ring, The Yorkshire Museum 1994, S. 42.
32 Bernard. Burke: The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, Comprising a Registry of Armorial Bearings from the Earliest to the Present Time, volume II, reprint 2009, S. 727.
33 Francis Bazley Lee: Notes and queries, 1871, volume 2, S. 222.
34 Erwin Panofsky: Early Netherlandish Painting, Part 1, Cambridge Mass. 1953, S. 203.
35 Kurt Bauch: Das mittelalterliche Grabbild. Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa, Berlin-New York 1976, S. 73–74.
36 Alain Erlande-Brandenburg: Le roi est mort: etude sur les funerailles, les sepultures et les tombeaux des rois de France jusqu'a la fin du XIIIe siecle, Bibliothèque de la Société français a'archéologie 7, Genève 1975, Nr.. 98, S. 167–168.
37 Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, S. 93.
38 Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, S. 119 and 123.
39 In his study of thirteenth-century funerary monuments in England, Harrie Tummers writes that he was unable to find a dog on a tomb that could with any confidence be dated prior to the last quarter of the thirteenth century, cf. Henricus A. Tummers, Early secular effigies in England. The Thirteenth Century, Leiden 1980, S. 41.
40 Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, S. 169.
41 We also find such dogs on the double tomb of Louis and Philip of Alençon (Saint-Denis), both prematurely-de-

ceased sons of Philip III the Bold. The left boy has two dogs at his feet, one wearing a collar with three large bells on it. The other is chewing a bone. The right boy has a large hound at his feet, chasing a rabbit. These are the same status elements therefore that we see on hunting seals.

42 Edward Gilbert: A Guide to the Priory Church and Saxon Chapel, Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), Deerhurst 1956 (Reprinted 1980), S. 10 and on the inside of the cover.

43 John Chambers: A general history of the county of Norfolk: intended to convey all the information of a Norfolk tour, with the more extended details of antiquarian, statistical, pictorial, architectural, and miscellaneous information; including biographical notices, original and selected, part II, Norwich 1829, S. 737.

44 Bauch 1976, S. 74.

45 Margaret Bohun was married to Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon (†1377), whose effigy lies next to that of his wife on their communal tomb in the south transept of Exeter Cathedral. He has a lion at his feet. In this particular instance the lady's animal emblem was placed on the tomb to show that she was of royal blood and of higher rank than her husband. The tomb was originally in the Courtenay chapel on the south side of the nave. This chapel was demolished in 1833; the tomb survived but is much restored.

46 Gilbert's brother Humbert was a colonist and he drowned with his ship named 'Squirrel' on the way back from America.

Photo credits

1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11: photograph: author; 2: Drawing after W. Floore, from: P. Floore, Het kasteel van de heren van Arkel, in: Oud-Gorcum Varia, tijdschrift van de historische vereniging "Oud-Gorcum", 1998-2, 15-41, 199-202 , specifically 200; 3: photograph: internet; 5: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Den Haag; 8: from: A. Erlande-Brandenburg 1975, plate 109; 10: detail from a plate sold in the church