

**THE CALADRIUS AND ITS LEGEND,
SCULPTURED UPON
THE TWELFTH-CENTURY DOORWAY OF
ALNE CHURCH, YORKSHIRE**

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Introduction to the Digital Edition

This text was prepared for digital publication by David Badke in August, 2003. It was scanned from the original text. Version 2, with corrected Druce biography, was produced in August, 2004.

Author: George Claridge Druce was born in Surrey, England and lived there and at Wimbledon until 1923, when he retired from managing a distillery company and moved to Cranbrook, Kent. He was a member of the Kent Archaeological Society from 1909, as Secretary from 1925 to 1935 and then Vice-President until his death. He was a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute (1903-48, Council member 1921-28) and of the British Archaeological Association, joining in 1920, serving on its Council 1921-38 and then as Vice President (1938-48). He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (F.S.A.) of London in 1912 and served on its Council 1923-6. Druce travelled extensively (by bicycle) with his camera, and built up a unique collection of photographs and glass lantern slides, which in 1947 he presented to the Courtauld Institute in London. Although interested in almost all branches of antiquarian study, he specialized in the study of the bestiary genre, and was widely recognized as an authority on the influence of bestiaries on ecclesiastical sculpture and wood carving. He also studied manuscripts both in England and elsewhere. He contributed articles to various scholarly journals, presented many lectures, and in 1936 produced a translation of *The Bestiary of Guillaume le Clerc*, a Norman-French manuscript which dates from 1210-11. Druce died in 1948.

— *Adapted from an obituary written by Canon Sydney William Wheatley, F.S.A. in The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd series, 11 (1948), 80.*

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THE CALADRIUS AND ITS LEGEND, SCULPTURED UPON THE TWELFTH-CENTURY DOORWAY OF ALNE CHURCH, YORKSHIRE.¹

By GEORGE C. DRUCE, F.S.A.

[381] The twelfth-century doorway on the south side of the nave of Alne church, Yorkshire (plates I² and II) deserves special attention owing to the character of its sculptured decoration. There are two principal orders of mouldings round the head, each consisting of a series of medallions containing figure sculptures, mostly of animals and birds; some of the stones have been renewed, and carved with foliage and other designs which possibly may differ from the originals. The subjects on the fifteen stones forming the inner order include the Agnus Dei, various animals, the pelican, another bird, which may be an owl, and some of the signs of the zodiac.

The stones of the outer order are nineteen in number; twelve of them are original, and nine of these retain their sculptures in good condition, showing the details fairly well. Eight of them have a label above, upon which the title of the subject is incised. Reading from left to right, the subjects are as follows:

1. VULPIS. A fox lying on its back pretending to be dead, in order to catch birds.
2. PANTHERA. A panther with open mouth facing a dragon, its enemy.
3. ALA (= AQUILA). An eagle with head turned back.
4. HIENA. A hyena biting or dragging the limb of a corpse (out of a tomb).
5. CALADRIUS. A sick man lying on a couch, with coverlet; above him hovers a large bird, the caladrius, whose beak touches his face; the subject of this paper.
6. A goat feeding on a shrub (no title).
7. A winged dragon (title decayed, but was probably DRACO).
8. TEREBOLEM. A man and woman standing side by [382] side surrounded by flames, each with one hand raised. (The usual title of this subject is LAPIDES IGNIFERI.)
9. ASPIDO (CHELONE). Two men in a ship resting upon the back of a sea-monster, which is invisible.

¹ Read before the Institute, 3rd July, 1912.

² Digital edition note: Plate I was unavailable for scanning, and is not included in this edition. The photograph showed an overview of the Alne Church doorway.



Plate II: The Caladrius on the south doorway of Alne Church, Yorks.

The value of these sculptures lies largely in their titles, which enable the subjects to be identified and their meaning ascertained. They are all derived from the *Bestiary*, or *Book of Beasts*, a work which played a great part in influencing decorative detail in ecclesiastical art and architecture in the middle ages, and also inspired the early heralds in their selection of animals and birds for crests and otherwise. By comparing the sculptures at Alne with the illustrations in these manuscripts, we find that not only the titles but the details of the scenes closely correspond, affording a positive proof of their connexion.³

The sculpture of the *caladrius* is the only one with which we are now concerned, and it is remarkable in one respect, in that it is the only example recorded in this country so far, and I know of no other on the continent except that in window-glass of the cathedral church of Lyons. It seems almost incredible that a subject so attractive from the point of view of its symbolism should have been but little used, while others from the same source, of moral rather than religious significance, such as the syren, griffin, fox, and owl are found more or less plentifully from the twelfth century onwards, until we reach the misericords of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Even allowing for loss by destruction or decay, it seems impossible to believe that there are no other examples extant.

In the sculpture the main part of the couch is not visible, and the man's head appears to rest upon a stool. The folds of the coverlet are well indicated. The bird is very large, out of all proportion to the other details. This sometimes occurs in the manuscript illustrations, but the carver possibly felt that a bird of proportionate size would not be conspicuous enough when seen from the ground, in view of the important part which it plays, [383] and a larger bird too had the advantage of filling his background. The latter difficulty could have been met by introducing a spectator into the scene, which would have been in accordance with some of the manuscript illustrations.

³ For a general account of the sculptures at Alne, see paper by J. Romilly Allen, in *The Reliquary*, vol. i, new series; 1887, p. 167.

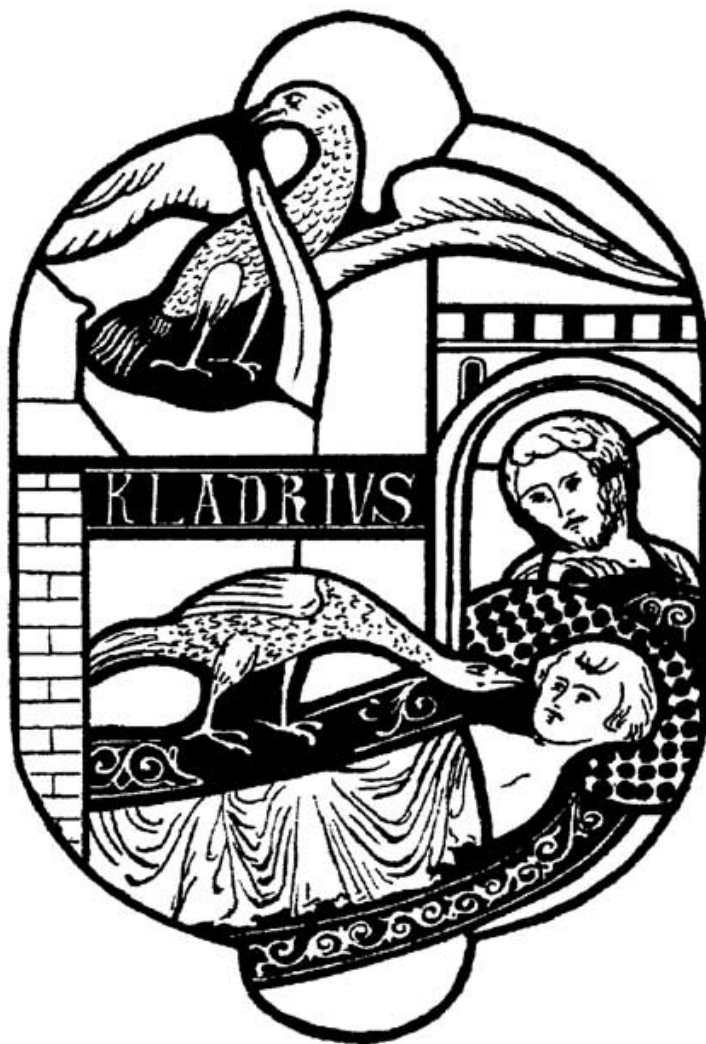


Fig. 1. Caladrius in window-glass of Lyons Cathedral Church.
From M. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du xiii^e siècle en France*, 1902.

The example in glass at Lyons (fig. 1) is in the border of a thirteenth-century lancet window in the apse, and shows a naked man lying on a couch with coverlet over him as before. His head rests upon a cushion and his eyes are open. At the head of the bed is another man, and parts [384] of a building, presumably a palace, appear on the right and left. The bed-rails are represented as bands ornamented with scrolls. Upon the further one stands a large bird with a long neck and head bent down towards the man's face, which it almost touches with its beak. In the upper part of the picture a similar bird is flying into the air. Across the middle is a horizontal

band bearing the title KLADRIUS. This illustration is taken from M. E. Mâle's *L'Art religieux du xiii^e siècle en France*, 1902.

The scene is founded upon a legend that the caladrius was a prophetic bird, and had the power of foretelling whether a sick man would recover or die, by gazing into his face or turning its head away respectively. Both at Alne and Lyons its beak is directed to his face, and it is therefore foretelling his recovery. Upon this story the moralists of the middle ages founded a beautiful religious allegory, the particulars of which are recorded in the bestiaries, and there are also other items of information in connexion with the bird which will claim our attention.

With a view to gathering up all the details, I have consulted a large number of manuscript bestiaries and other works, but there does not seem to be much variation in the main features of the story, at any rate in that part on which the religious symbolism is founded. The following is a translation of the Latin text of MS. 12. F xiii, of the early thirteenth century, in the British Museum:

The Caladrius or Caradrius, as the Natural Philosopher ⁴ says, is all white like the swan, and has a long neck. The dung of its inside cures blindness (*caliginem oculorum*). This bird is found in the courts of kings. If anyone is ill, by means of this caladrius it can be found out if he will live or die. For if the man is destined to die, it turns its face away from him, and by this sign people know that he is going to die. If he is destined to live, it directs itself towards his face, and as though it would take all the illness of the man upon itself, it flies into the air towards the sun, burning up as it were his infirmity and dispersing it; and so the sick man is cured.

The caladrius is a type of our Saviour. For he is all white, because he has committed no sin, neither is there any guile found in his mouth. But Christ coming down from heaven turned his face away from the Jews, because of their unbelief, and turned to us Gentiles, bearing our infirmities. Raised upon the wood of the cross and ascending on high he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men. But the caladrius is reckoned, in Leviticus, among the unclean birds which are forbidden to be eaten and imitated.⁵ And yet it signifies Christ. For it is unclean by virtue of [385] that property of its nature through which it, having a long neck, seeks food for itself out of the very bowels of the earth. And therefore through that property it typifies the contemplative man, who has an appearance of religion, who reads about heavenly things, but whose life is earthly, who in this matter should not be copied. But by that property which it has, of turning itself away from those who are about to die, and conversely towards those who will live, and flying upwards towards the sun, it signifies Christ; just as the lion and eagle, though they are unclean according to the law, yet are types of Christ by reason of some quality of their own. For the lion is king of beasts, and the eagle king of flying fowl, and Christ is king of all the faithful.

The illustration in MS. 12 F xiii is not filled in, but there are good illustrations in other manuscripts at the British Museum, Bodleian Library, and elsewhere. The account in MS. Harl. 4751 (B.M.)

⁴ Physiologus, the title of the early Greek bestiary.

⁵ Lev. xi, 19 and Deut. xiv, 18.



Plate III, No. 1. Caladrius foretelling recovery (MS. 12 C xix, B.M.)



Plate III, No. 2. Caladrius foretelling recovery (MS. Harl. 4751, B.M.).

accords generally with that given, but the reference to the caladrius as an unclean bird is differently put:

But you say, because according to the law the caladrius is unclean, it ought not to be likened unto Christ, but John says on this wise: Because as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so the Son of man must be lifted up; and it is said in the law, the serpent is wiser than all beasts. The lion and eagle are unclean, and yet they are likened unto Christ by reason of their royal honours, because the lion is the king of beasts and the eagle of flying fowl.

And again, in MS. 12 C xix (B.M.), a Flemish manuscript of the end of the twelfth century, additional quotations from the Bible are given, and the reasons why the unclean beasts (the serpent, lion, and eagle) may signify Christ are further elucidated:

By reason of their kingship they are types of Christ; by reason of their rapacity they are types of the devil. And many other there are among created things which have a double significance; some indeed are praiseworthy, others are deserving of blame, and they are distinguished by a great diversity either of habits or of nature.

The texts of various other manuscripts agree with MS. Harl. 4751, especially Bodl. 764, which both in illustrations and text has much in common with it; also MS. Burney 327 (B.M.) and the first bestiary contained in MS. Douce 88 (Bodl.); but in MS. Douce 151 (Bodl.) there is another paragraph coming after the words "gave gifts unto men," with additional symbolism:

But daily does (Christ) the aforesaid caladrius behold our weaknesses, minister to the mind through confession, and heal those to whom he offers [386] the grace of penitence. But he turns his face away from those whose heart he knows to be impenitent. These he rejects, but he heals those towards whom he directs his face.⁶

With the exception of a few words here and there the texts of MS. Bodl. 602, MS. 233 at Berne, and MS. 10,074 in the Royal Library at Brussels⁷ agree with that of MS. 12 C xix. MS. 318 at Berne, MS. 22 in the chapter library at Westminster Abbey, the second bestiary in MS. Douce 88, and others at the British Museum present no special features. The Brussels manuscript is as early as the ninth century and the illustrations are of an unusual character. The others are mostly of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Migne gives two versions in his edition of the work *De bestiis et aliis rebus* attributed to Hugo de Saint-Victor (Hugo de Folieto) (1097-1141), but whether they are from twelfth-century manuscripts is not stated.⁸ There is a good thirteenth-century illustrated manuscript of the first version in the British Museum (Sloane 278).

⁶ J. R. Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, p. 353, expresses the opinion that the author had in mind Ezek. vii, 22, and Psalm lxxx, 7, the latter: "Deus virtutum converte nos et ostende faciem tuam, et salvi erimus."

⁷ The texts of the two latter are given in Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, ii, p. 131.

⁸ *Patrol. Cursus Completus*, vol. 177, cols. 48 and 77.

The second is interesting from the definite way in which the action of the bird is described:

If (the sick man) is destined to get better and be cured, the caladrius addresses itself intently to him, and approaching, puts its beak upon the man's mouth, and by its breathing draws out all the man's sickness into itself, and flying into the air towards the sun, burns up his sickness, and disperses it, and the sick man is cured.

Some of the illustrations show this, as in MS. Douce 132 (Bodl.) (plate IV, no. 2) and MS. Sloane 3544 (B.M.), where the bird's beak almost touches the man's face, thus affording a close correspondence with the sculpture at Alne. The symbolism in this version of Hugo presents no special feature beyond that an example is given of "a good thing," which may be typified by an unclean animal, viz. "a conscience to be cleansed and instructed."

There is a curious variation in the text of several manuscripts, for instance Douce 167 (Bodl.), where the words "interius femur" or "interior pars femoris" (the inside of its thigh, i.e. the marrow) replace "interior [387] fimus" (the dung of its inside) in the sentence "cujus interior fimus curat caliginem oculorum." This divergence must have occurred at an early date, as Hugo's two versions give the different readings. We also find the alternative reading in Philip de Thaun's metrical bestiary in Norman French of about 1121, of which there is a good twelfth-century manuscript (Nero A v) in the British Museum, and in the Picardy prose bestiary (MS. 3516) of the thirteenth century in the Arsenal Library, Paris. The latter puts it thus:

If a man should have his eyes running or rolling ⁹ the caladrius has such a nature that it can cure the eyes by the divine virtue which it possesses; it is in its thigh, if one applies it; such virtue has the thigh of the caladrius.

Both Hugo's and Thaun's version explain the symbolism, but quite differently. Hugo says:

And the inside of its thigh wipes away from the eyes the veil of blindness. By the thigh we understand the power of generation, and so the inside of the thigh is the Incarnation of the Saviour. Inside, indeed, and hidden was the Incarnation of the Saviour, for it was even hidden from the devil.

Philip de Thaun says:

The bird has a great bone in its thigh; if the man who is blind has the marrow of it, and will anoint his eyes, he will immediately recover (his sight).

The signification of the ointment is given thus:

What in Greek is *χριστός*, is in Latin "unctus," and in French "uinz"; in Jesus Christ kings are baptised and anointed, and (we) naked are anointed with chrism, and that signifies baptism in this life. The marrow of the bone of the bird which is

⁹ "Coraus ne raeillans," the latter presumably meaning a nervous movement of the eyes.

great, by which the Christian sees who before was blind, has this significance: keep it in remembrance.¹⁰

The illustrations in MS. Nero A v are not filled in.

Thaun's is perhaps the most important of the French versions. The heading is in Latin, and after reciting about the prophetic nature of the bird continues that, as a result of its cure of the sick man, the caladrius either becomes sick itself or often dies for him. The text begins as follows:

Caladrius is the name of a bird, which we find without any doubt to be entirely white: it is shaped as a seagull; in the book of Deuteronomy it is [388] said that it must not be eaten; that very dear is the bird.¹¹ And Physiologus says that the caladrius ought to be in the court of a king, and about one thing is learned.

Then follows the story of the sick man. The symbolism is on the same lines as in the Latin manuscripts, commencing "Kaladre signifie Jhesu le fiz Marie," and ending by teaching how the Christian, having been looked upon by Christ, obtained his surname from his name.

The Picardy prose bestiary of the thirteenth century in the Arsenal Library, Paris, presents an interesting and difficult variation in the bird's description.¹² It commences with the usual reference to the caladrius as one of the unclean birds, and then continues:

The Natural Philosopher says about this bird, that it is all white [and it has two straight horns like a goat], and that it has no blackness about it.

At present I am unable to give any explanation of this feature of the horns. The part between brackets is interlined in the manuscript, apparently in the same handwriting, and as it does not appear in any other, so far as I know, it looks as if it were an interpolation on the part of the scribe, and that the artist followed him (plate IV, no. 1).

The metrical bestiary of Guillaume, clerc de Normandie, of the thirteenth century, presents another fresh item.¹³

The caladrius

aucone fiz la troeve len
el pais de ierusalem.

¹⁰ Compare Thos. Wright's translation of this manuscript in his *Popular Treatises on Science*, London, 1841.

¹¹ "Ke mult est loisel cher": The logic of this last sentence is not very clear, unless it relates to the value of the caladrius for foretelling future events, Wright must be in error in rendering the word *mave* as *thrush* in his translation; he has apparently taken it as equivalent to *mauvis*, whereas it is an old form of *mauve* = *mouette*, a gull. The bird could hardly be a thrush in view of its consistent description as "all white" The question of its identity will be discussed further on.

¹² MS. no. 3516. Text in Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, ii, 129.

¹³ Text in Hippeau's *Le Bestiaire Divin*. pp. 89, 204; in Cahier et Martin, *Mélanges* (MS. 7534 Bibl. Nat. Paris) ii, 129; and in MS. Douce 132, all fairly corresponding.

Why it should especially frequent “the country of Jerusalem” is not apparent, and the passage does not occur in any other version so far as I am aware.

The Armenian version, of which a French translation from a thirteenth-century manuscript is given by Cahier,¹⁴ has no special feature, but the translator has added “espèce de hibou” to the title. The Syriac version, as given in J. P. N. Land’s *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv, 116, from [389] a twelfth-century manuscript at Leyden, follows the lines of the Latin bestiaries. In the Latin translation appended the caladrius is called *falco*, the title being “Narratio de falcone volucris mirabili,” and about the cure for blindness it says: “et sputo ejus inest medicina.” The symbolism is elaborated.¹⁵ The Aethiopic text is printed in F. Hommel’s *Die oethiopische Übersetzung des Physiologus*.¹⁶ In the description we get “er hielt ein geblendetes Auge:” the account of the cure agrees with the Syriac version that the bird and man should look at each other.

The caladrius affords a typical example of the method employed by the bestiary writers in making use of the appearance and habits of animals and birds for teaching religious or moral lessons. The symbolism founded on the main story explains itself. It is almost wholly religious, and is, as usual, more strongly developed in the French versions. In Guillaume’s metrical bestiary the metaphor is worked out in much detail:

Il segnefie sanz error
Jesu crist nostre salveor,
Que onques noire plume not
Ainz fu tot blancs si com li plot
En lui nen ot onques nerte.

and the wickedness of the Jews and Christ’s death on the cross are enlarged upon at some length.

Practically the texts of all the manuscripts agree as to the symbolism of the caladrius as one of the unclean birds, and they throw an interesting light upon the methods employed to overcome the difficulties of apparently contradictory passages in the Bible. In one of Hugo’s versions the author is very explicit:

Now if any person questions why unclean animals are used for typifying a good thing such as a conscience to be cleansed and instructed, for example the serpent, dragon, lion, and eagle, and such like creatures; let him know that at one time they signify the endurance and kingship of Christ, but at another the rapacity of the devil, and thus they are able to be applied in different ways.

¹⁴ *Nouveaux Mélanges d’Archéologie*, i, 120.

¹⁵ See also Latin translation from another manuscript in O. G. Tychsen’s *Physiologus Syrus*, Rostock, 1795, which recites that the caladrius looks at the sick man and the sick man at it, so that the gaze was mutual. As we shall see, this is an important factor. Land also gives the Arabic version.

¹⁶ Leipzig, 1877, p. 48, with German translation.

The caladrius may neither be eaten nor imitated. [390] The text of MS. 12 F xiii runs: “Caladrius in Levitico inter immundas aves numerator, que commedi et imitari prohibentur.” The words “et imitari” do not occur in Leviticus xi, but perhaps may be implied in the direction “et vitanda sent vobis” in verse 13. The explanation is, however, given in the same manuscript (12 F xiii) in the account of *Bubo*, one of the owls and a filthy feeder: we find “inter immundas aves reputatur, cujus carnibus vesci illicitum est, id est, acciones imitari.” Thus it is their actions that are not to be imitated, and in the case of *Bubo* the signification is thus given: “In Leviticus this bird denotes the contemplative man, or if you like, the man of faith, whose conversation ought to be in heaven, but who is saddened by the commission of sins on earth.” The signification of the caladrius is on the same lines, as already given, but for the reason that “it has a long neck, and seeks food out of the very bowels of the earth.” It is the rapacity and greed of these birds that provides the basis of the lesson.

The symbolism connected with the unclean beasts and birds in the bestiaries follows the lines of that which we find in the writings of such commentators as Rabanus Maurus (? 786-856), archbishop of Mainz, who is quoted in some of the versions. In his *Expositiones in Leviticum* and *Enarratio super Deuteronomium*, he goes fully into the matter. In book iii of the *Expositiones* we find:¹⁷ “Ibis et porphyrio et quem Septuaginta nominant pelicanus, et cygnus, et herodius, et charadrius”¹⁸ are said to have long necks and to get their food from the lowest depths of the earth and of the waters.¹⁹ “These animals we are forbidden to imitate; and we ought not to tear our food up (*evellere cibum*) from the regions below, but to seek it from the heavens above. He indeed has leisure for contemplation who strives in his mind after higher things, and waits for food from God not only to feed his mind but his senses also.” And this is illustrated by the passage in Matt. vi, 25.

[391] And then he discusses the propriety of using the unclean animals in a good sense:

Why should David have compared himself to the pelican and the owl (Ps. cii, 6) and Moses picture God himself as an eagle (Exod. xix, 4)? For the prophets also call Christ a lion, but Peter on the other hand says that the devil is a lion. Christ, however, is not to be called a lion in the same way that the devil is called a lion. Let such impiety be far from us—far from us! But because it is at the same time a royal as well as a greedy and cruel animal, and since it has a praiseworthy and dignified

¹⁷ See Migne, *Patrol. Curses Completus*, Vol. 108.

¹⁸ On account of the difficulties of identification I have retained the Latin names.

¹⁹ Ambrose in his *Hexameron*, v, ch. 22, written c. 389, says that the swan has a long neck, because it is rather sluggish in the movement of its body and cannot easily plunge, so it stretches out its neck instead to drag up its prey from the depths. He does not mention the caladrius, nor does Eustathius in his Metaphrase of Basil's *Hexameron* (fifth century).

bearing, though it performs acts which are blameworthy, still because it has something about it praiseworthy it is likened to Christ in his kingship. But what is blameworthy in it, that is greed and savagery, that belongs to the kingdom of the devil.

And similarly with the eagle. Further on he gives us the individual significance of the unclean animals and birds which should not be eaten, including the charadrius, being the lessons which Moses taught by them and Rabanus adopted from the ninth chapter of the Epistle of Barnabas. Upon the habits of each is based a lesson against some evil course of conduct, such as rapacity, robbery, impurity, etc. In the case of the sparrow it is intemperance, of the swan stiff-necked pride; but when he comes to the charadrius, not finding it mentioned in the Epistle of Barnabas and apparently not knowing what kind of bird it was, he does not describe its habits, but adds instead “Genus aulam nimis diligens,” i.e. a kind (of bird) excessively partial to the halls (of the great), which, as we have seen, has its parallel in the Latin bestiaries as “in atriis regum invenitur”; and he gives the significance of it as “linguae intemperantia.” Thus he falls back on the current story about the bird for material for his lesson. A great deal of such symbolism is present in the bestiaries, as may be seen by reference to the text of the sow, the swan, and others. In two manuscripts, MS. 10074, Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, and MS. S F 632²⁵ in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the symbolic lessons are also illustrated. In the first Moses is introduced addressing a group of Jews (plate VI, no. 1), and a cross with a serpent entwined on it is drawn on the margin of the page below. This latter feature is not included in the plate, but the legend UBI MOYSES EXALTAVIT SERPENTEM IN DESERTO appears just behind him. Above is a figure of Christ with arms outstretched in the form of a cross [392] and the legend IPSE TULIT INIQUITATES NOSTRAS. In the second manuscript Moses, with horns of flame on his head, points the moral to the Jews and Gentiles, a party of the former on one side being thrust into the jaws of hell by a demon, while on the other the Gentiles as king, bishops and monks are gazing at a tau cross, on which hangs a figure of the Saviour; on the cross-bar is a winged dragon, the serpent of the wilderness.²⁰

The story of the caladrius found its way into other works, both religious and romantic. Perhaps the most important of these was the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius d'Autun (c. 1136) who makes use of it to symbolise the Ascension. Honorius uses vigorous language:

But if he (the sick man) is going to live, it turns and fixes its gaze intently upon him,

²⁰ For a consideration of the principles involved in Moses' teaching of the unclean beasts and birds, see Keil and Delitzsch's *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, ii, 357 (Clark's trans. Edinburgh, 1864).

With wide open mouth it drinks, as it were, his sickness out of him,
And flies up on high to the rays of the sun;
The sickness which has been drunk in sweats out of it,
The sick man exults in his recovery.

In the interpretation the metaphor is kept up:

But turning his face to us, he (Christ) recalled us from death,
And himself bore our infirmities, submitting to the Cross;
And the bloody sweat dripped from him,
Then clothed in our flesh he rose into the highest heavens to the Father,
And granted Salvation for ever to all the faithful.²¹

The medallion of the caladrius in the window at Lyons is balanced by another of the eagle and young, who, like it, are flying up into the rays of the sun. This also symbolised the Ascension. M. Mâle in his book, *L'Art religieux du xiii^e siècle en France* has pointed out the probability of these two subjects in the window having been directly inspired by Honorius, who in his sermon for the feast of the Ascension introduces the stories of the caladrius and the eagle, and of no other birds: "Hujus sacri diei festa sunt nobis etiam per aves expressa," he says. The large medallions in the upper part of the window contain scenes of the Ascension, which, with the two in the border, complete the illustration. On this [393] principle M. Mâle has endeavoured to show that the subjects chosen for sculpture on other churches, such as Strasbourg and Amiens cathedrals, were influenced by the *speculum* of Honorius rather than by the bestiaries direct, as most of those he has traced are used in it for particular feast days, but it is doubtful if such a system is present in the sculptures at Alne.

The caladrius is also mentioned in Alexander Neckam's poem *De laudibus divinae Sapientiae*. Neckam died in 1217, and no doubt used the bestiary as a source of information. He says:

The word (of God) when fashioning the world and ordering all
individual things,
Blessed the work with a wondrous law of goodness.
The goodness of the Creator declares itself in his very creatures,
And the work is illuminated by the brightness of the Creator.
With propitious gaze the caladrius looks at the sick man,
When Lachesis twists her thread with favouring hand.
With eyes averted it raises a warning cry of sorrow
As often as it perceives the day of death approaching.
Its flesh restores the bright keenness of vision which has grown dim.
The colour of its wings is said to be milk-white.

The only other form in which the story is used in connexion with the bestiary is in *Le Bestiaire d'Amour*, where it is entirely secular.

²¹ Text in Migne, *Patrol. Cursus Completus*, vol. 172.



Plate IV, No. 1. Caladrius foretelling death.

(MS. 3516, Arsenal Library, Paris)

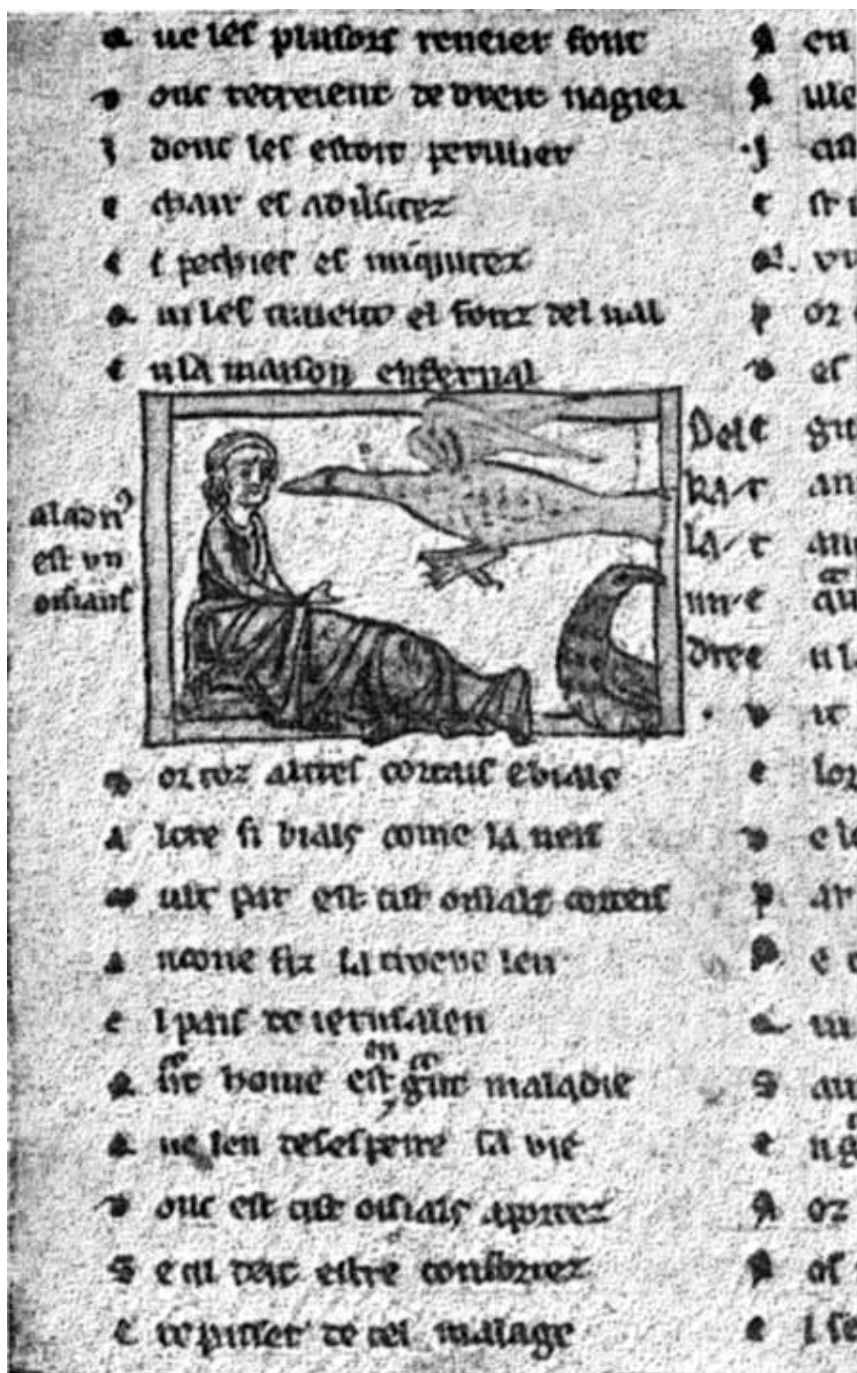


Plate IV, No. 2. Caladrius Foretelling recovery.

(MS. Douce 132, Bodl.)

This is a prose work of an unusual character, consisting of a lover's address to a lady, and her reply, in which the nature and habits of animals and birds are made use of for the purpose of expressing their mutual sentiments, the details being taken from the regular bestiaries. There are several manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, the text of one of which, no. 7019, dated 1285, has been printed²² with simple cuts of the illustrations. MS. Harl. 273 (B.M.) contains the man's address only, with sixty-two small pen-and-ink drawings, but the scribe has been very careless in copying the text.

In the part where the caladrius occurs the man is in a state of despair because the lady will show him no favours, and complains that she, like the caladrius, has turned away her face from him, and that he is very sick. He addresses her as "bele tres doce amee," and reproaches [394] her that she has no grace to look at him when ill, and that he may as well be taken for dead. "For by this have you put me into such discomfort as amounts to perfect despair, without any expectation of mercy. For just as in death there is no recovery, so there is no hope in me of the joy of love," etc. etc.

The lady in reply demurs to his advances on the ground of inexperience, and says that she should be on her guard "If I were as wise as the caladrius about which I have heard you tell, I should not have to beware of bringing forth that which is so sweet to conceive. Ha! True God! guard me from conceiving anything which would be dangerous to bring forth! For I have so much fear of it, that I never shall be well assured," and she ends by addressing him as "beaus sire et mestre."

Another instance of its symbolic use is to be found in an Italian book entitled *Flore de vertu e de costumi*, of which there is a good manuscript of the fourteenth century in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 3448). The caladrius is mentioned and illustrated in the introductory chapter: "De l'amore," where it is employed as a symbol of love: "Si che la more se po propria mente apropiare auno uxello che anome chalandrino." Then the story of the sick man is given, and finally the simile as follows "E cossi fa la vertu damore che ela non guarda may a dalcuno vitio eschiva sempre ognia ville cossa e si sa demora cuz le vertude."

The illustration is a small one and shows the sick man in bed in a chamber, propped up by pillows. Another man holds out a green bird to him, with blue and yellow wings and long sharp beak, but it turns away. The patient's eyes are open, and it rather looks as if the artist has made a mistake in view of the text. The bird is not white as in

²² See C. Hippeau, *Le Bestiaire d'Amour*, par Richard de Fournival, Paris, 1860.

the bestiaries; the symbolism did not require it. It is, however, to be noted as a factor in the consideration of the bird's identity.

Perhaps the most important of the mediaeval romances in which the *caladrius* occurs is the *History of Alexander the Great*, where it is included among the marvels that he finds in the course of his expeditions, and of which he writes to Aristotle. There are good illustrations in the French versions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries [395] in the British Museum, and they show here and there some divergence from the stereotyped pictures of the bestiaries. The texts of most of the manuscripts are on the same lines and contain one or two interesting items, including a description of the bird. The following is taken from MS. 19 D i of the fourteenth century:

De la sen alerent au palais qui fu le roi Xerces. Si trouva Alixandre en celui palais trop de merveilles et entre les autres choses trouva oisiaus de la grandeur de coulons qui sapelent salandres, qui prophetizoient de lomme malade. Sil devoit morir ou non ou vivre. Car nil avenoit chose quill regardast le malade ou visage it devoit vivre, et nil se tornoit dautre part il devoit morir. Cil oisel se dient aucuns sage philosophe ont receu ceste vertu de noire seigneur (que au regarder) que il font il recoivent en eulz lenfermete du malade. Et le portent en haut au feu qui est en lair, au quart element qui toutes maladies consomme.²³

In this manuscript there are two miniatures with appropriate headings in red. In the first Alexander crowned is seated in the doorway of his tent, and before him kneels a mailed knight who presents him with two or more of the birds. A remarkably badly drawn elephant stands behind. The birds are small like doves and of a golden colour. The other shows Alexander standing between two beds with a sick man in each. He points with his right forefinger. A bird is perched on each of the beds looking at the man. They are rather like doves, white, with yellow beaks, breasts and wings. In MS. Harl. 4979 of the early fourteenth century the miniature is divided into two parts. Each shows the interior of a palace, flanked with towers, in which a sick man is seen in bed. In one case the bird, which is of a light mauve tint, stands on the quilt and looks at the man, in the other it is flying away. Alexander stands at the foot of the bed in each case and points. In MS. 20 A v of the same date the illustration is single and generally accords with those in the bestiaries, only the bird is perched on a tree [396] at the foot of the bed.

²³ From there they went to the palace of king Xerxes. And Alexander found in this palace many marvels, and among other things he found birds of the size of doves which are called "salandres," which prophesy about a sick person, if he is going to die or not, or to live. For if it so happens that it looks at the sick man in the face, he must live, and if it turns the other way he will surely die. These birds, according to certain wise philosophers, have received this virtue from our Lord, that in looking as they do they receive into themselves the illness of the sick man. And they carry it on high to the fire which is in the air, to the fourth element which consumes all sicknesses.



Plate V, No. 1. Alexander and the marvelous birds (MS. 20 B xx, B.M.).



Plate V, No. 2. Caladrius foretelling death (MS. Harl. 3244, B.M.)

It is blue with reddish legs and beak and is not unlike a parrot. In MS. 15 E vi (dating from about the year 1445) there is a fine illustration which shows an elegant chamber with gilded ceiling, conventionally divided into three by an arcade. Alexander stands in the centre holding out his hand, with an attendant behind. On either side is a man in bed with a bird standing on the bedclothes, which looks towards him in one case and in the other away, the man's eyes being open and shut respectively. The birds have bright yellow beaks and legs, white breasts, and yellow-brown backs and wings touched with gold. The most beautiful miniature is in MS. 20 B xx of the fifteenth century, which is reproduced in plate V, no. 1. It shows the interior of a house or palace with coved ceiling. Alexander crowned is seated on a throne under a canopy. He is dressed in a tunic with robe of cloth of gold over, lined with ermine. Three officers of the court stand by him, and on the right is an attendant who holds his sceptre, and a table with vessels. In front on the ground are four birds of a light brown colour with whitish speckled breasts, in which Alexander takes much interest, leaning forward and pointing to them.

In all these manuscripts the text says that they are of the size of doves, but no colour is mentioned. In the Latin version in MS. Arundel 123 of the early fourteenth century they are said to be white and of the size of doves, and there is a reference to their prophetic powers, but nothing more. The texts of the French manuscripts, as given, say that according to certain wise philosophers the *caladrius* received its virtue from our Saviour . . . and "that it flies on high to the fire which is in the air, to the fourth element which consumes all sicknesses." These references, coupled with the illustrations, point strongly to the influence of the bestiaries, but what led to the introduction of the fourth element "fire" in place of the "sun" as the agent for burning up the disease I am unable to explain. In the early bestiary at Brussels the sun is illustrated as a circle with rays containing a nimbed figure holding a torch (plate VI, no. 1), and the text says that it is the sun, not fire. In MS. Augustus vi there is a miniature of the four elements at the head of a chapter [397] which treats of their properties, and "fire" is shown in the form of fiery waves rushing across the sky, altogether unlike the sun.

Another good instance of the employment of the *caladrius* is afforded by the *Roman d'Aeneas*, of which the British Museum possesses a fine manuscript of the fourteenth century (MS. Add. 14100). It is in French, but written in Italy. This poem is generally ascribed to Benôit de Sainte-More, the author of the *Roman de Troie*: according to A. Joly it was probably written before the *Troie*, which



Plate VI, No. 1. Caladrius foretelling recovery (MS. 10074, Bibl. Roy. Brussels).



Plate VI, No. 2. Caladrius foretelling death (MS. 10074, Bibl. Roy. Brussels).

he places at about 1184.²⁴ The story follows the fortunes of Aeneas and his companions, as related by Virgil, and the allusion to the caladrius comes in the eleventh book, where Camilla and her maidens have engaged in the fight and Camilla is at last slain. Turnus laments her and arranges her funeral. Her body is carefully tended, and is laid upon a richly apparelled bier, the furniture being described. It is wrapped in beautiful and costly linen; and

She had a cushion of light t'bala (?)
At her head, raising it up,
And above it a pillow.
The linen of it was of very costly cloth,
And was sewn with fringes.
The feathers of it were of a bird,
Which is found in these lands.
Kings have them in their palaces;
And this bird has the name caladrius.
It has such a nature that a sick man
Can make a trial by means of it
If he is going to die or to recover,
etc. etc.

The feathers of this bird were evidently chosen because the caladrius was deemed to be a royal bird as it dwelt in kings' palaces, and the author wished to do royal honours to Camilla; their colour is not mentioned.

Having dealt with the symbolism, we must now consider the items of information given in the bestiaries about the caladrius itself, and the sources whence they came. [398] They are (1) its name and description, (2) its home in the courts of kings, (3) its prophetic powers, and (4) the cure for blindness obtained from it.

The natural history of the caladrius in the bestiaries presents considerable difficulties, principally owing to its being described as "all white." The authority of "Physiologus"²⁵ is given for this. It is clear that it was adopted from the list of unclean birds in the Bible and that the author accepted the Greek word *χαρδριός* as the equivalent of the Hebrew word *anaphah*, as translated by the Septuagint. It is also clear that he obtained the story of the caladrius curing the sick

²⁴ See A. Joly, *Roman de Troie*, première partie, 1870, pp. 89-99, and Alex. Pëy, in *Essai sur les roman d'Enéas*, Paris, 1856.

²⁵ That is, the original Greek version. Investigators are agreed that the earliest form of the bestiary was Greek, and it was probably written at Alexandria, but at what time is unknown. It must have been prior to the end of the fifth century, as there is a definite allusion to it then. No early manuscript appears to exist, but it may be taken for granted that some of the unclean beasts and birds were among the first to be treated of. References to later writers, such as Isidore (seventh century), of an etymological character and otherwise are frequent in the twelfth and thirteenth-century manuscripts. For the early history of the Physiologus, see J. B. Pitta, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, iii, 1852-5; J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, 1862-75; E. Legrand, *Le Physiologus*, 1869; F. Hommel, *Die oethiopische Übersetzung des Physiologus*, 1877.

man and being found in the courts of kings from classical sources, as will appear; but whether he described the bird as “all white” on the strength of the context of Leviticus, or upon the descriptions of the caladrius given by classical writers, is uncertain; there is also another alternative, that he made the bird, whatever it was, to be whiter than in nature, to suit his own purposes. There is nothing in Leviticus or Deuteronomy to intimate that anaphah is a white bird beyond that it is associated with other white birds, as the ibis, pelican and stork, but it might be a waterbird like the heron, quite possibly the white heron. That the name is generic appears from the words “after his kind” which follow. In the authorised and revised versions it is rendered “heron.” In Keil and Delitzsch’s commentary on the Pentateuch the identity of the bird is discussed and the conclusion is come to that there is no means of deciding it, “as there is nothing to be gathered from either the ancient versions or the etymology, but it may be understood as denoting the plover (?) or heron, as there are several species of both.”²⁶ If the author of [399] the bestiary account relied upon this source, he might have been guided by some commentary which described the bird as white, but there is this to be noted, that *ardea* (heron) is treated of independently in the later Latin versions.²⁷

The alternative that its description of “all white” came from classical sources depends on the frank acceptance of *χαραδριός* as the translation of *anaphah*, but here again the evidence as to colour is

²⁶ Vol. ii, p. 365 (trans. Clark, Edin. 1864). The charadrius is not in the list of birds treated of in Isidore’s *Etymology*, and no derivation of the name is given in the bestiaries.

²⁷ Pliny refers to a white heron in book xi, 52 (37), as follows. “Among birds also it is said that a species of heron, which is known as the *leucus* (white) is wanting of one eye; a bird of most excellent augury when it flies towards the south or north, for it is said that it portends thereby that there will be an end of perils and alarms.” Tychsen in his *Physiologus Syrus* has made the bold suggestion that it is the white crested parrot. He admits that its identity is not known, and that among all the birds classed as charadrius by Linnaeus, Hasselquist, Forskalp, and Buffon, not one has been found which is all white and which can be reconciled with the charadrius of the bestiary. “Besides” (he says) “nothing has been found in this migratory bird to show why it should be thought especially worthy to consort with princes. Hence it may be doubted whether the charadrius of the ancients is the same bird, and should be called by the same name as the bird which our naturalists have described as the charadrius; or whether it should not rather be called by the name of the ‘white heron,’ or better still, preference be given to the white crested parrot, of which it can certainly be affirmed that it is found in kings’ palaces, and is among the first of birds to have given opportunities for taking omens from it.” His opinion is largely based upon the etymology of the Hebrew *anaphah*, the root of which, he argues, denotes “spirare, irasci, ira proflari,” “and the parrot of all birds is not only by nature especially apt to fall into a rage, but, when an unknown man chances to come near it, it either through anger, or fright, or fear, at once is wont to fly into a passion.” He adds that parrots were well known, because they were carried about and brought to various countries from India and Ethiopia, and were also known in Egypt in the time of Moses. Cahier refuses to take this suggestion seriously, but I think it is quite possible that some of the commentators had an idea that it was a white parrot. It is a curious circumstance that Rabanus, while classing the charadrius with waterbirds in Leviticus, gives the significance of it as “linguae intemperancia,” coupled with its being excessively fond of the halls of the great. Gesner too quotes Rodolphus on Leviticus as saying that it is a garrulous bird, all of which rather points to a parrot. The illustration in the Arsenal MS. seems to indicate that the artist had a parrot in mind.

indefinite; but we have other descriptive particulars, and these tend to show that it was regarded as a water-bird, but not a heron. There is also direct evidence bearing on the story of its curative powers, and of its frequenting royal courts.

The name caladrius is a debased form of the Greek *χαλαδριός*, which all commentators agree is derived etymologically from *χαράδρα*, a mountain stream or torrent, which when swollen cuts its way through the mountain side, forming a cleft or ravine, hence the cleft itself; and from it *χαλαδριός*, a bird dwelling in such clefts or ravines. The most important descriptions are those given by Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) in his *History of* [400] *Animals*, book viii, 3, 14, and book ix, 11, 2, in the first of which it is distinctly associated with sea-birds, and in the second its colour is referred to. The reference in book viii runs: "The white gull also, and the petrel, the aethyia, and the charadrius." And in book ix: "And some (birds) make their dwellings round mountain torrents, and some in cliffs and holes in the rocks, for example the charadrius (i.e. the mountain torrent bird). Now the charadrius is inconspicuous²⁸ both in colour and note; it comes out in the night and hides itself by day."

There are other references in classical writers. In *The Birds* of Aristophanes (c. 411-380 B.C.) it is twice mentioned, first after the hoopoe goes to summon the chorus (1. 266), and secondly about building cuckoo-town (1. 1141). The first passage runs:

Peisthetaerus: Do you see any bird?

Euelpides: By Apollo, not I; and yet I gape with open mouth, looking up to heaven.

Pei: To no purpose then, as it appears, did the hoopoe go into the thicket and utter its cry, in imitation of the charadrius.²⁹

This gives no description, but in the other reference it is clearly classed with the water-birds:

First Messenger: And other ten thousand storks were making bricks; and the charadrii and other river-fowl bore water from below into the air.

In the *Gorgias* of Plato (428-387 B.C.) the charadrius is employed to illustrate the life of a glutton, and was in consequence held to be a greedy and ravenous bird. Socrates and Callicles are engaged in a dialogue about the advantages of a life of self-control or self-indulgence, in which the sound and leaky jars are introduced as illustration:

Soc: Well, but if the amount of the influx be great, must not that of what runs away be great too? And must not the holes of these discharges be of large size?

Cal: No doubt.

²⁸ *θαῦλος*, lit. mean. An ornithological friend tells me that "inconspicuous" is the obvious modern equivalent.

²⁹ Most writers translate *χαλαδριός* here as "lapwing," and Rogers in his *Birds* (1906) points out that the reference is to the plover's call to divert attention from its young.

Soc: Then it is the life of the charadrius that you are describing this time, and not that of a corpse or a stone. And now tell me, do you mean [401] (by a life of pleasure) something of this kind, as for instance, to be constantly eating when you are hungry?

Cal: Yes, I do.

Soc: And to be thirsty, and always drinking when you are thirsty?³⁰

The evidence from classical sources then points to the charadrius being regarded as a water-bird. As to the illustrations in the bestiaries, the artists had very little to go by in the text and often pictured a white bird of a nondescript character with a prominent eye, but there are indications that some of them had ideas of their own as to its nature. In Philip de Thaun's version its shape is actually described as like that of a sea-gull: "cum mave est furore." None of the manuscripts shows it with webbed feet, except perhaps MS. Sloane 278, but very few birds other than the swan, goose, duck, and kingfisher (*altion*) are so drawn. The caladrius in MS. Harl. 4731 (plate III, no. 2) is like a sea-bird, the gannet for instance, which when adult is entirely white. In MS. Harl. 3244, MS. 12 C xix, MS. Douce 132, and in the two illustrations in MS. 10074 at Brussels, it is not unlike a sea-gull. The illustrations in the Brussels manuscript are of an interesting character, and different to any that we have in the manuscripts in the British Museum. A special feature of one is that it shows a man in the act of catching a caladrius with what may be fitly described as a landing net (plate VI, no. 2). The bird does not seem to raise any objection. It stands upon a wall under a building which is intended for a palace, as explained by the legend above: UBI CALADRIUS COMPREHENDITUR IN DOMIBUS REGUM. This incident I have not found elsewhere. In MS. Add. 11283 and Sloane 278 it has a hooked beak like a sea-bird; in MS. Sloane 3544 it is different, and may perhaps be said to resemble a bittern. Guillaume's bestiary describes it as

" un oiseaux
Sor toz autres corteis et beaus,
Autresi blans comme le neis;
Moult par est cist oiseaus corteis.³¹

[402] It is difficult to gauge exactly what is meant by *corteis* (*courtois*) as applied to a bird, but it may refer to its good nature in foretelling the recovery of sick persons or the reverse, and not to its

³⁰ Transl. E. M. Cope, Cambridge, 1864. The scholiast adds the following: "The charadrius, a bird which picks and chooses when it eats," i.e. a greedy bird. The charadrius is also mentioned by Babrius (first century B.C.) in his version of Aesop's fable of the lark and the farmer, but no description is given:

"There was a lark, who brought out its young ones among the green corn. The lark who sings at dawn in answer to the charadrius." See eleventh-century manuscript of Babrius in Brit. Mus. no. 22087, from the library of Mount Athos.

³¹ Hippeau's version. In MS. Douce 132, the scribe has repeated *biais* in the third line in error, spoiling the sense.

appearance. The illustration, in the Arsenal manuscript, where it has horns, has already been referred to; the artist followed the text, and from the character of his illustration, may have thought it was a white parrot or owl.³²

That the nature of the charadrius was a matter of speculation is evident from a heading that we have to the account in the second version of Hugo, as given by Migne. This runs as follows:

About the charadrius or charadrus, a maritime bird. It may be clearly so named, because Theodorus Gaza calls it charadrius. Suidas (calls it) charadrus, who tells us that it is a maritime bird great and greedy, and possessed of such power that if those afflicted with jaundice gaze at it, they are freed (from their complaint), as Pliny has asserted about the bird (called) "icterus," perhaps the same and so called from the cures which it effects. But let us hear the author.

Now Hugo de Saint-Victor's bestiary dates from the twelfth century, whereas Theodorus Gaza lived from 1398-1478, so that if Migne's transcription is from an early manuscript, the heading must be an interpolation. It is hardly likely that the manuscript would be so late as the middle or end of the fifteenth century. The critic had good reason for saying that the charadrius was perhaps the same bird as the *icterus*, because Pliny does not mention it or its curative powers, whereas he does those of the *icterus*. In book XXX, 28 (11) he says:

There is a bird known as the icterus, from its peculiar colour; if the patient looks at it, he will be cured of jaundice, they say, and the bird will die. In my opinion this is the same bird that is known in Latin by the name of *galgulus*.

[403] His silence as to the charadrius is remarkable, for he is not likely to have been ignorant of the references to it in Aristotle and other Greek writers or of its curative powers, for his *Natural History* is full of such things.

Theodorus Gaza was a great translator of Aristotle, and his views as to the nature of the charadrius were obtained from the latter's *History of Animals*. He renders the passage in book viii, 3, 14, as "Tum etiam gavia alba et fulica, mergus et rupex (charadrius)

³² There was some confusion between the caladrius and the crested lark owing to their French names being spelt alike. The etymology of *calandre*, lark, is given by Littré as probably from *caliendrum*, a head-dress, relating to its crest. Among his quotations is one from a thirteenth-century manuscript commencing "Kalendre est uns oiziaus tous blans," which cannot refer to the lark. In the *Roman d'Aubery le Bourgoing* the chalandre is mentioned together with the lark under its usual name of *alouette*. Aubery leans against a willow, deep in thought, and

"Voit le poisson noer ens it ruissel,
Voit l'aloete, le melle et l'estornel,
Et la chalandre chanter en l'abreissel;
Et vit la flor par desor le prael."

Unless *chalandre* here indicates the crested lark as opposed to the ordinary lark it must be the caladrius; it does not appear to be a water-bird. See *Le Roman d'Aubery le Bourgoing*, ed. P. Tarbé, Rheims, 1849.

victitant apud mare,”³³ so that he clearly regarded the charadrius as a sea-bird.

The evidence of identity in classical writers then only so far coincides with Leviticus and Deuteronomy that the charadrius is a water-bird, and the information as to its colour is very scanty. We must now see what light can be thrown upon it from other quarters, namely, where its curative powers are mentioned. There is plenty of evidence that jaundice was the complaint in question, and that for a successful cure “sympathetic” conditions must be present. Now these conditions were present in the case of the *icterus*, because it was of a yellow or golden colour, to match that of a jaundiced person, as mentioned by Pliny.³⁴ But they were not confined to one kind of bird, or even exclusively to birds. Thus we find in the *Physico-Medicus* of Kiranus Kiranides, pseudo-king of Persia,³⁵ an account of the *merops*, or bee-eater, which Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* ix, 14) and Pliny (x, 51, 33) also describe, the former saying that it is green beneath the wings. Kiranus improves on this, saying that it is “omnino viridis,” and that some persons call it “Gangraena.” It is a very cunning bird, good for many things. The heart is good for an excess of love, and when eaten it benefits people troubled with heart disease, and jaundice, and a bad stomach. And it is called *merops* for this reason, because it quickly reconciles a man to love. And its gall with honey, or juice of rue, cures a running in the eyes. [404] He also gives particulars of the green parrot, the eating of which “helps all people with jaundice and cures consumption.”³⁶

In both these cases the bird had to be eaten. Kiranus also describes the charadrius, but says nothing about its colour. He gives the story of its prophetic powers, and adds that if its heart and head are carried on the person, they preserve the bearer safe and sound from all sickness as long as he lives. This is the only allusion I have found as to its employment as an amulet.

It will be useful here to compare the evidence afforded by the *History of Alexander*. In the mediaeval versions we have seen that the caladrius is described as being as large as a dove, and, with the

³³ Ed. Paris, 1524.

³⁴ The name of the *icterus* coincides with the Greek name for jaundice, the colour of both being yellow. Zedler in his *Universal Lexicon* (ed. 1735), under “Gelbesucht” derives “*icterus*,” jaundice, from *ἰκτίς*, a yellow-breasted marten or weasel, because its eyes appear yellow, or alternately from *ἰκτερος*, the yellow bird, following Pliny. *ἰκτιῖνος*, kite, is another from the same root; it has yellow eyes and exceedingly keen vision.

³⁵ Originally written in Persian or Arabic, translated by an unknown hand into Greek, and thence into Latin by Gerhard of Cremona and others.

³⁶ Pliny, book xxxvii, 61 (10) mentions several kinds of the *Icterias Gemma*, a precious stone, the colour of which resembled livid skin, and which was consequently thought to be an excellent remedy for jaundice; also the plant *chrysolachanum* with a golden flower and leaf like a cabbage; “if it is worn as an amulet by a patient suffering from jaundice, provided it be always kept in sight, it is a cure for that disease, it is said.”

exception of the Latin version in MS. Ar. 123, there is nothing about its being white. On the contrary, in the illustrations in the French manuscripts there is a large amount of yellow. If we go farther back we get more definite information. The romance was based on a Greek work, the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, probably written at Alexandria about A.D. 200, of which a translation into Latin was made by Valerius before A.D. 340. A summary of what is known about it is to be found in the work of Julius Zacher, *The Early History of the "Pseudo-Callisthenes,"* published at Halle 1867, in which he discusses the various texts and recensions. The portion of the text concerning the caladrius which he translates (p. 171) gives us definite news of the bird's colour. It comes in Alexander's letter to his mother Olympias:

AV-LB-C: Wir kamen nun zu der Königsburg des Cyrus and Xerxes, und fanden dort viele Häuser voll Schätze, and ein goldenes Haus, in welchem der König Audienz zugeben pflegte. In diesem hieng von der Decke ein goldener Käfig herab (LB: ὀρνυγοτροθεῖον ὁμοιον τῇ πρώτῃ. Auch in A), and darin war ein gold-farbiger tauben-ähnlicher Vogel, der angeblich derv Könige weissagte. (Statt dessen V: Im Tempel hieng von der Decke herab ein tropheum aureum (cod. Mediol: stropeum aureum); an diesem tropheum hieng eine Kugel ad modum vertiginis caelitis, und auf der Kugel sass das Bild eincr Taube, welches dem Könige weissagte. Als ich dies tropheum fortnehmen wollte, um es euch zu schicken, widerriethen es die Anwesenden, weil es ein Heiligtum sei.)

[405] Translation: We came then to the royal castle of Cyrus and Xerxes, and found there many houses full of treasures, and a golden house in which the king was accustomed to give audience. In this there hung down from the roof a golden cage (LB: a quail-coop like the first. Also in A.), and therein was a gold-coloured bird like a dove, which was alleged to prophesy to the king. (Instead of this in V: In the temple there hung down from the roof a golden cage; in this cage there hung a sphere "like a revolving heavenly body," and on the sphere sat the figure of a dove, which prophesied to the king. When I wanted to take this cage away in order to send it to you, those who were by persuaded me not to, because it might be a holy thing.)

It will be seen that almost everything mentioned here is golden, even the cage like a quail-coop. The second version is somewhat puzzling. A figure of the bird is said to rest upon a "sphere resembling a revolving heavenly body" suspended in the cage, and it seems to be doubtful from this whether the bird was a live one, or only an artificial one gilded. In the latter case it would swing round with the sphere and might thus fulfil its duties as a prophet. The name of the bird is not given in Zacher's text, but it is clear that the mediaeval writers of the romance accepted it, whatever it was, as the caladrius, and treated it as alive, but what is more important for our immediate purpose is its distinctly golden colour, according with that of a jaundiced person; and thus differing altogether from the definition of the bird of the bestiaries. Zacher makes no critical remarks as to its identity, and we are thus left in doubt, but the reference is valuable as perhaps pointing to an eastern origin of the story and confirming Pliny's description of the icterus.

The mode of operations being the same, it is quite natural that the icterus and the charadrius should have been confused. One of the most able of the later commentators was Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) who, in a long chapter on the charadrius in his great work *De Avibus*,³⁷ goes fully into the question. He follows Pliny in identifying the icterus with the *galgulus* or *galbula*, and conjectures that it is the same as the *chlorion* of Aristotle, probably the golden oriole. He is quite satisfied that it is a different bird from the charadrius, “because those conferring together have quite easily made out the history [406] of each,” and he fortifies his opinion with lengthy arguments and many references to ancient authorities. As to the identity of the latter he comments upon the translation of *anaphah* by the Septuagint and Jerome as charadrius, and thinks that it is not the bird indicated, as “according to his kind” is added, “for (he says) we do not read of several kinds of charadrius being noted.” He rejects suggestions that it may be a kind of owl, or the guillemot, or even one of the birds of Diomedes, which are white,³⁸ nor will he entertain the idea of its being a heron, or one of those kinds of birds.

He then indulges in a lengthy disquisition as to whether the charadrius answers to any bird of his own time and gives a description and illustration of one with which he is acquainted and which he believes to be the same. It is of the size of a small hen or dove, and somewhat resembles a hawk, but without hooked beak or feet; it has reddish wings, spots on the neck, head, breast and belly, and reddish spots on the back, otherwise is dark; but it is tinged with yellow in parts. What is more important is that its legs are yellow, and its eyes, which are large, have a gold-yellow circle surrounding the pupils. He regards it as clearly allied to water-birds, as it lives in water-meadows and about marshes, and adds that it is dull and stupid, can be taken by hand in hard frost, and catches mice in houses at night. It is called “Triel” in German. He considers that the rainbow-disease or jaundice has much in common with it, as the whole of its legs, its beak, and the iris of its eyes are seen to be of a yellow or golden colour. This bird he thinks would be the charadrius of Aristotle.

It will be seen that Gesner harks back to the yellow colour as an essential element in the claim of the bird to effect the cure. Some of

³⁷ Ed. Frankfurt, 1585, iii, 256.

³⁸ There is something to be said for the birds of Diomedes. According to the fable the companions of Diomedes were changed into these birds, and they had the power of distinguishing if visitors to their island were Greeks or strangers; if the former they treated them kindly as fellow countrymen, if the latter they attacked them savagely. Pliny says that they resemble the coot, and quotes Juba that they were white. The “Diomedea” is illustrated in MS. Douce 88, and in the Westminster bestiary, and the story given; but in the latter manuscript the scribe has omitted some words, which has the result of reversing the sense of the bird’s treatment of visitors. Isidore in his *Etymology* says the Greeks call it *herodius*, so that they apparently regarded it as of the heron family.

the details he gives correspond to the stone-curlew, to which the name of charadrius [407] has been applied by ornithologists. In Liddell and Scott the translation of *χαραδριός* is given as a yellowish bird dwelling in clefts, according to Sundevall the “stone-curlew or thick-kneed bustard, the *Oedicronemus crepitans*.” Whether the charadrius of the ancients was a bird of this kind, or of the plover tribe generally, is difficult to decide.³⁹ The modern adaptation of the name to the stone-curlew is rather to be traced to its very large eye, which is practically the only thing that reveals it when squatting. It is a night feeder; it has a lemon-coloured eye and yellow legs, and to this extent it might fit in with the requirements of a cure where “sympathetic” conditions depend on colour.⁴⁰

Gesner’s argument, being based on the colour, is altogether foreign to the principle of the bestiary that the bird should be “all white.” It was necessary that it should be white, otherwise the symbolism could not be founded upon it, and it seems very probable that the author made it out to be whiter than in nature for this purpose. Such a misdescription in the bestiary would be quite in order. Accepting his statement then that the bird was white, we must now consider its prophetic powers, and incidentally why it frequents royal courts.

The illustrations in the bestiaries are confined to this phase, and there is a general agreement in their composition, the differences being almost entirely in details. MS. Harl. 4751 shows a man in bed, in a green shirt, with a blue coverlet over him (plate III, no. 2). He has a green chequered pillow, and supports himself on his right arm. He is crowned and his eyes are open. The bird is perched on the bed-rail and looks at him; he is therefore destined to recover. In MS. Bodl. 764 the man is crowned and his face bears an expression of pain. The bird stands upon the coverlet, which is dark blue, and looks at him. In MS. 12C xix he is bearded and has his head bound up (plate III, no. 1). His chest and arms are bare, and he gazes [408] at the bird which stands above the bed with its head turned towards him. The bed is blue, with yellow coverlet and pink bedclothes. There are blue curtains at head and foot, and the folds of the drapery throughout are drawn with great care. In MS. Ashmole 1511 (Bodl.) the man is crowned and his eyes are open. The caladrius stands on the bed looking at him. In MS. Sloane 3544 he is naked and is covered with a green coverlet; his head is bare and his eyes are open.

³⁹ Rogers, in his introduction (p.lxiii) to *The Birds*, identifies it with the golden plover (*charadrius pluvialis*) and considers that Pliny is certainly speaking of the charadrius under the name of *icterus* in bk. xxx; he also thinks the origin of the legend is to be found in the resemblance of the bird’s colour to a jaundiced person.

⁴⁰ See account of the stone-curlew by E. L. Turner in *Country Life*, March 5th, 1910 and of the African stone plover by V. G. L. van Someren in the same, May 18th, 1912, both with photographs.

The bird stands upon his body with its beak touching his forehead. In the Westminster bestiary, the coverlet is purple-brown, and the man has a green shirt; the bird flies over him, with its beak close to his face. Over the foot of the bed is another white bird flying away, but its head is turned towards him. In MS. Bodl. 602 the man is naked and partly covered with a blue coverlet; the pillow is green and bedclothes blue, red and brown. The bird flies to him, its beak almost touching his beard. At the foot of the bed a woman is seated with clasped hands looking on. In the first bestiary in MS. Douce 88 the man's head is bare; he looks at the bird, which stands on the coverlet and returns his look. In MS. Douce 132 the sick man is sitting up in a purple shirt, is bare-headed and holds out his right hand (plate IV, no. 2). Facing him is a large white bird hovering over the bed, its beak almost touching his face. At the foot is a half-figure of a green bird with its head turned away. In MS. Douce 151 the man is crowned and his head rests on a pentagonal cushion with tassels. His eyes are open. The bird stands on his legs and looks at him. In MS. Douce 167 the *caladrius* is a large bird with curved beak like a sea-bird, and stands on a square green support at the foot of the couch, which is of an unusual form. The man stretches out his left hand to it, his eyes are open, and he has no crown. The feathers of this bird are tinted red and green, as shading; the artist has used these colours throughout the manuscript. The second illustration in MS. 10074 at Brussels (plate VI, no. 1) shows the most elaborate picture of all. The sick man lies upon an ornamental bedstead, with his eyes shut and arms crossed. A man stands close by with his right hand resting on his head, while a third holds out the bird, its beak being directed to the sick man's face. In [409] the upper part of the picture another bird is flying away towards the sun, as a circle with rays containing a nimbed figure holding a torch. Over the bed is the legend: UBI CALADRIUS ASPICIT EGRUM ET SANATUR—ET PORTANS INFIRMITATEM SUAM ARADIO SOLIS. Near the head of the bed are three or four persons, one of whom holds up his hands in astonishment. The duplication of the birds at Lyons accords with illustrations such as this.

In all these cases the bird looks at the man, and he is therefore going to recover. The introduction of the second bird with averted head in MS. Douce 132 may be due to the artist desiring to indicate both phases; it is noteworthy that it is coloured green.

A few manuscripts show the bird foretelling the sick man's death. In MS. Add. 11283 his eyes are open, but the bird at the foot of the bed turns away. In MS. Harl. 3244 he has a yellow cap and green shirt (plate V, no. 2); the coverlet is yellow and brown. His eyes are closed and the bird, perched on his legs, looks away. The title above runs: DE CALANDRIO AVE ALBA QUE SE A MORITURO AVERTIT. In the

second bestiary in Douce 88 the bird is slightly mauve and looks away. The man's head rests upon a red pillow, the coverlet being green and bedclothes yellow. In MS. 3516 at Paris (plate IV, no. 1) his eyes are shut, and a woman stands at the bedside with clasped hands looking at him. The bird flies away with head averted. The first of the two illustrations in the Brussels manuscript (plate VI, no. 2) shows the same scene elaborated. The sick man lies on the bed with eyes shut and hands resting on his knees. At his head is a man leaning over holding his hands to his face. At the foot is another who holds out the bird (which has a yellow beak), but its head is turned away. The legend runs: UBI CALIDRIUS EVERTIT OCULOS SUOS AB INFIRMO.

Both phases are also separately illustrated in MS. 7215 (Bibl. Nat. Paris). In each case a woman stands at the bedside. In MS. S F 632²⁵ in the same library both are shown within one frame, as also in MS. Sloane 278 at the British Museum. In nearly all cases the colouring is rich, and there seems to be a preponderance of green and yellow.

The preference given by the artists to the favourable omen is probably due to the symbolism connected with [410] it being more attractive, and appealing in a more direct way to the reader. The crown on the sick man's head in some of the manuscripts is, of course, due to the information in the text that the bird is found in the courts of kings, and the rich furniture of the bed is due to the same cause.

We must now see what evidence there is of the story, which presents some interesting features. There are references to it in classical writers, which show that it was well known. Aelian (third century A. D.) mentions the caladrius twice, and gives an account of the cure in book xvii, ch. 13 of his work *De natura animalium*. He says:

Now this is the natural power of the charadrius, which by Zeus it is not right to despise. If a man has his body full of jaundice and then looks keenly at the bird, and the bird looks back at him very inflexibly, as though being made angry with him in return, then this mutual gaze cures the man of the aforesaid complaint.

It will be seen how closely this corresponds with the wording of the manuscripts, such as: "(avis) intendit in faciem illius," "intendit caput super faciem ejus," "infirmi faciem diligenter consideret," "visum in eum fortiter infigit," etc, but the bestiaries but rarely speak of the man looking back at the bird. It was not essential to the symbolism.

Jaundice was known to the ancients under various names, viz. *icterus*, *regius* or *arquatus morbus*, and *aurugo*, and its name of "the royal disease," as used by classical writers, led the bestiaries to say that the caladrius was found in the courts of kings. It will be remembered that Alexander finds it in the palace of Xerxes. Suidas

(twelfth century), quoting from earlier writers in his *Lexicon*, says that jaundice is a disease arising from bile:

Those who are coloured by jaundice as if by gilding. They say that this is a disease producing paleness, which arises from anger, so that it makes the eyes of those who are overpowered by it pale and sometimes black, like (the eyes) of kites, from which also it takes its name (*ἰκτινός* a kite). They say too “that those who suffer from jaundice are easily cured by looking at a bird, the charadrius.”

In his notes he adds:

The charadrius is a bird of such nature that if those who are suffering from jaundice look at it, as report goes, they more easily get rid of that disease. For which reason also the sellers (of the bird) hide it, lest those [411] who are suffering from jaundice should be cured for nothing. “Why, he is hiding it: like a man with a charadrius to sell,” as Hipponax says; whence has arisen the proverb: “Imitating the charadrius,” said of those who hide anything.⁴¹

He also quotes Euphronius to the same effect:

Since the gaze of the charadrius alleviates the jaundice, the sellers of it conceal the bird, lest any man, before buying one, may look at it as he passes and get cured, and he adds, “Others, however, say that it is not those who look at the charadrius who are cured of the jaundice, but those who eat it.”⁴²

The reference in Hipponax (546-520 B.C.) is the earliest that I can find. He was a writer of iambics, but the remains of his works are scanty. Some commentators have preferred to see the origin of the proverb in *The Birds* of Aristophanes, in the passage where the hoopoe goes into the thicket, “imitating the charadrius.” Gesner expresses his opinion thus: “It seems more fitting that ‘imitating the charadrius’ should be taken for ‘lying hid or hiding himself’ like the charadrius, not for hiding (anything). For the charadrius is wont to lie hid in holes by day and to come out at night; and when they are sold they lie hid, and are concealed by the vendors.”

If then the “sympathetic” power of the bird did not lie in its colour, but in its gaze, how was that understood by the ancients, and what was its nature? Upon this question we have some valuable evidence in Plutarch (c. A.D. 80). In his *Symposiakon*, book v, prob. 7, he discusses in a long chapter the mysteries of fascination, and alludes

⁴¹ See Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica*, E. Miller, Leipzig, 1897, for the quotation: *καὶ μὲν καλῶνται μὲν χαραδρίον περναῖς*; Look! he is hiding it! Have you got a charadrius for sale?

⁴² Gesner refers to the passage in Aelian, and also quotes Philes as to a story about the *rubeta*, a venomous toad living in bramble bushes, which is also mentioned by both Pliny and Aelian, saying that if anyone looks at it, of however high a colour he may be, he is affected by paleness, but is cured again by looking at the charadrius. Philes obtained this from Aelian, who, in book xvii, ch. 12, describes the *rubeta*, and says its gaze is most pernicious: “For its look has this evil quality that if anyone opposite to it gazes at it keenly, and it looks back at him with its wicked gaze, as it puffs out at him its breath suitable for itself but disagreeing with the human body, he is infected with pallor, so that anyone who is ignorant of the cause, or just coming up, conjectures that the man must be ill by his colour; this, however, does not last many days, but wears off.” Now this comes immediately before the account of the charadrius in Aelian, so that Philes evidently joined them up, and gave the sufferer the benefit of the cure by the bird.

to the charadrius. It is headed “De his qui fascinare dicuntur,” and the following is a general translation of the more relevant parts:

[412] . . . And so I take it, anyone would wonder above all others at those people, who feel that they are hurt by looking at a fellow creature, yet deny that they are affected so, and themselves hurt others in the same way. For the mutual gaze of persons who are comely, and that which emanates from their eyes, whether we call it light or something else flowing from them, overwhelms lovers, and slays them as it were with a mingling of pleasure and pain, which they call in Greek *glycipikron*, that is, a “bitter sweet.” For neither are those who touch, nor those who hear each other, so smitten with love or affected as those who look and are looked at intently. For there is so great a penetration into the inward parts by a look, and so much warmth is aroused, that they must be quite ignorant of love who wonder at Median naphtha catching fire at a distance. For indeed the sight of comely persons, from however far off it glides into the eyes, ignites an inward fire in the heart of those who love. So, too, we know how often those who suffer from jaundice are healed by looking at the bird charadrius (or, maybe, rux). This small animal seems to be endowed with such a nature and character, that it violently attracts to itself the disease, which slips out of the body of the sick man into its own, and draws off from his eyes as it were a stream of moisture. And this is the reason why the charadrius cannot endure to look at jaundiced persons nor help them at all, but turns itself away with closed eyes; not because it grudges the use of the remedy which is sought from it, as some consider, but because it might be wounded as by a blow.

This exposition of the power of fascination finds a counterpart in the *Ethiopica* of Heliodorus (c. A.D. 390) in the conversation between Calasiris, the priest of Isis, and Chariclea, who has asked the former to explain the languid state into which his daughter Chariclea has fallen. Calasiris gives a definition of fascination, pointing out that, as the air which we breathe “brings with it all the qualities with which it is impregnated and penetrates all our pores, so the fascination of look, if it is envious, fills the surrounding atmosphere with a pernicious quality and conveys envenomed exhalations to whatever is nearest, and frequently causes inflammation of the eyes.”⁴³ Love, too, by such means finds a passage to the soul. If you wish for an example from natural history, here is one taken out of our sacred books.” He then gives the story of the charadrius curing jaundice, and also of the pernicious breath and gaze of the basilisk. Chariclea hopes the fascination from which Chariclea is suffering is that of love, but doubts if it may not be that of the evil eye, and appeals to Calasiris to cure it.

[413] It has been thought from this reference to the sacred books that the story of the charadrius may have been current in Egypt in early times. It probably was in some form or other, but it is likely that the allusion in Heliodorus is no more than appropriate words put into the mouth of an Egyptian priest.

⁴³ Pliny mentions the power of fascination possessed by human beings and used for evil purposes, in book vii, ch. 26.

That details varied as to the nature of the operation is to be expected. In Hugo's bestiary it seems to be a matter of breathing: "afflatu suo abstrahit omnem infirmitatem hominis intra se," and in the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius, of drinking: "hianti ore aegritudinem ab eo bibit," but the latter is more or less poetical. In any case the caladrius flies up towards the sun to burn up or distil the disease out of itself.

Many writers mention that jaundice was commonly called the "royal" or "rainbow" disease. Varro (d. 26 B.C.) is quoted by Pliny as saying that it gained the name because its cure was effected with honied wine.⁴⁴ Now honied wine was an aristocratic drink and much in vogue as a remedy. Pliny discourses on its virtues in book xxii, 53 (24), and in his different chapters on remedies for jaundice honey and wine play an important part.⁴⁵ Some of the remedies are truly wonderful, but only one appears to call for our notice, namely, wine in which a hen's feet have been washed; the hen must be one with yellow feet! It is in this chapter that he mentions the *icterus*, the yellow bird, as curing jaundice by its gaze.

The reference in Varro seems to be in the nature of a particularised item in a general cure, for Celsus the physician (A.D. 37) gives fuller particulars. He says:⁴⁶ "The remedy against it is for the patient to have an elegant chamber, company, change of scene, games, frivolity, and everything else that tends to keep up the spirits; which things are the daily pleasures of kings." Zedler in his *Universal Lexicon* gives a somewhat distorted view of it: "This illness is said to be called the 'royal' disease, because as a rule it is particularly prevalent in the courts of great [414] men," apparently on the principle that high feeding was conducive to it; but he also quotes the hexameters of Serenus Salmonicus, a physician who flourished about A.D. 216 : "Regius est veto signatus nomine morbus, Molliter hic quoniam celsa curandus in aula."⁴⁷ He explains that it is called the rainbow-disease, on account of its colour, being supposed to resemble that of a rainbow. Scribonius Largus, a physician who lived about A.D. 52, in prescribing remedies for jaundice, says that some call it the "royal," some the "rainbow" disease, and elsewhere he calls it "aurugo," explaining in a note that it is because the patient's body becomes the colour of gold.⁴⁸ Nonius Marcellus, a grammarian of the

⁴⁴ Book xxii, 52 (24): "Varro regium cognominatum arquatorum morbum tradit, quoniam mulso curetur." Forcellinus in his *Latin Lexicon* under *regius* adds "qui cibus delicatus est." The original passage in Varro does not appear to be extant.

⁴⁵ Books xxvi, 76 (r2), xxviii, 64 (16), xxx, 28 (11).

⁴⁶ *De re medica*, book iii, ch. 24.

⁴⁷ "The royal disease is signified by this name.

Because it must be cured luxuriously in the halls of the great."

⁴⁸ *Compositioes medicae*, ch. xxv and xxxi.

third, fourth or fifth century A.D. says⁴⁹ that it was named the “rainbow” disease from its green colour, and that jaundiced persons are called *arquati*; and Isidore, at a still later date, probably repeating a classical author, says that it was thought to have been called the royal disease, because it is more easily cured by good wine and the food of kings.⁵⁰

The cure of the sick man and his crown in the bestiaries can in this way be accounted for. The question of the white colour of the bird is a difficult one. Despite the bestiary being so explicit, it seems to me that such so-called cures of jaundice were dependent on the bird having some yellow or green about it, and that its total whiteness was a manipulation. There is no mention of jaundice either in Alexander’s romance or in the bestiaries. In the latter case that was no doubt intentional; for the purpose of the symbolism the bird could not be other than white, and consequently no particular disease dependent on colour was admissible. Aelian does not mention the colour of the charadrius, but his mode of operation generally accords with that of Pliny about the icterus, in which the connexion is clearly one of colour; and unless there is some bond of this kind it is difficult to see why the charadrius should have a greater claim to effect the cure of jaundice than any other bird. Gesner evidently felt the same difficulty, as he was anxious to connect the bird that he was [415] acquainted with by means of its yellow eyes and legs. There does not appear to be any way of settling this discrepancy.

The only other item in the bestiaries remaining to be dealt with is the cure for blindness by the ointment made of the bird’s marrow or dung. The variation in the reading was probably due to a copyist. *Fimus* occurs more frequently than *femur*. Gesner says: “Some little-known person, quoting Aristotle falsely, adds that this bird has a thick bone in its leg; and the marrow of it promotes clearness of vision if anyone, the sight of whose eyes is getting dull, smears it over them,” and he gives the names of others who mention it. The remedy sounds very like one of Pliny’s, but although he mentions the fat or marrow and dung of various animals and birds such as the hawk, pigeon, turtle-dove and fowls as a liniment or ointment for the eyes, and the gall and blood of various others for the same purpose,⁵¹ he does not name the charadrius. The source must therefore remain obscure, but it is possible that the author of the bestiary took upon himself to endow the charadrius with virtues that properly belonged to others.

⁴⁹ *De proprietate sermorum*, 35, 10. 4.

⁵⁰ *Orig.* 4, 8, 13.

⁵¹ Books xxviii, 47 (11), and xxix, 38 (6).

Whether the caladrius was ever actually used in heraldry I cannot say, but if so, it would be the bird alone. It is included in book iii of the *Libellus de Officio Militari* of Nicholas Upton (died 1457) which treats “De animalibus et de avibus in armis portatis.” Under the heading “De caladrio” he gives an illustration of a bird upon a shield and what is practically a repetition of the text of the bestiary; but he adds a paragraph at the end which implies that the caladrius is mentioned in the legend of St. Brendan:

Concerning these birds then and others like them, which the blessed Brendan found in a certain lofty and beautiful tree, one of which replied to him that they were spirits working out their penance there in the form of birds, whether it is true or an impossibility we leave to the present reader to decide.⁵²

This story is related in the *Golden Legend* as an incident in the voyage of St. Brendan and his companions. The [416] birds are stated to be “as white as any snow.” One of them tells the saint what will be the course of events in the future for him, and this circumstance combined with its whiteness may have suggested to some person that it was the caladrius.

From the archaeological point of view the caladrius is a satisfactory subject, because the chain of evidence can be carried back from the sculpture at Alne through the bestiaries to classical sources without break. It would be better still if it could be traced to its original source, which is perhaps in the East. The reference to Hipponax is of respectable antiquity, the sixth century B.C. but it must be noted that he only mentions the sale of the bird, not the cure. The scholiast and other commentators, however, interpreted this as meaning that it was sold for curing jaundice, and probably they are right.

I have already remarked on the scarcity of examples in ecclesiastical architecture. It is possible that the subject may exist in a modified form, as so much detail was left out in carved work. Bestiary subjects are frequent on misericords as well as in twelfth-century sculpture, and it is principally to them that attention should be directed.

My acknowledgments are due to my friend Mr. Charles D. Olive for much care in supervising the numerous transcriptions.

⁵² MS. Harl. 3504 (B.M.).