THE three poems contained in Rylands French MS. 2 are the work of Guillaume de Deguileville, a Cistercian monk of the Royal Abbey of Chaalis, founded in the twelfth century near to the town of Senlis. According to the dates given in these poems Deguileville was born about 1295, and was still living in 1358.

The poems describe three pilgrimages: "Le Pelerinaige du Corps Humain," 1—man's journey through life (1330-1333); "Le Pelerinaige de l'Ame"—the journey of the soul when separated from the body (1355); and "Le Pelerinaige Jhesucrist"—the life of Christ, according to the four gospels (1358). In addition to these French poems Deguileville wrote many Latin hymns, three of which are incorporated in the first poem—"Credo ego catholicus," "Pater, creator omnium," and "Ave reclinatorium." 2 He would have preferred to write all his poems in Latin, but wrote the pilgrimages in French so that the laity might understand them, though this caused him "ennui, grevance et destourbance."

The first pilgrimage which is our chief concern, is to some extent autobiographical. The Pilgrim is the author himself, who, having fallen asleep after reading Le Roman de la Rose sees in his dream the Holy City, Jerusalem, and resolves to go

1 This first pilgrimage is described variously as "Le Pelerinage de Vie Humaine," "Le Pelerinage du Corps Humain," and "Le Pelerinage de l'homme."

2 These three poems are printed along with others attributed to Guileville by Dreves: Lateinische Hymnendichter des Mittelalters (Leipzig 1905), i, 321-409, from the MS. 1612, Bibliothèque de Troyes, and MS. 3897, Cod. Mazarin.

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there. As he is about to begin his journey, a lady of rare beauty, Grace of God, appears and takes him to her house where he hears the story of the creation and fall of man. Here he is baptised and confirmed. He then meets Moses whom Grace of God allows to change the bread and wine into flesh and blood. This change is contrary to the laws of Nature, who rebukes Grace of God, but who is finally confuted by Penitence and Charity who come to instruct the Pilgrim and to read to him the Testament of Jesus Christ.

After many discussions concerning the Eucharist, and a dialogue between Aristotle and Wisdom, Grace of God offers to the Pilgrim a scrip, a staff and knightly armour. The Pilgrim, however, is so burdened by this armour that he refuses it and takes only the scrip and staff and David's sling and five stones. Grace of God now leaves the Pilgrim and he sets out on his journey. His path bristles with difficulties. All the passions, each personified, beset him. He combats them all, but rarely with success, and it is left to Grace of God to extricate him from their toils and put him once more on the right path from which he again wanders as soon as he is left to journey alone.

His encounters are very varied. He meets Natural Understanding, a coarse fellow who frightens him very much. Reason comes to his aid, and then tells him at great length that she must separate his soul from his body so that he may clearly understand that body and soul are separate entities. When his soul has been replaced in his body he continues his journey and arrives at a forked path, guarded by Idleness and Toil. The Pilgrim naturally chooses the wrong path and falls among his enemies, Sloth, Pride, Flattery, Envy, Treachery, Anger, Detraction, Avarice and Venus. But he is always saved, sometimes by Grace of God and Reason, sometimes by his scrip or staff, and sometimes by the prayers which he repeats. After he has washed in the tub filled with the tears of Penitence, he meets Satan, Heresy, Youth and lastly Tribulation who reads to him the commissions of Adonai and Satan. Once more his enemies fall upon him, but Grace of God rescues him and leads him to the Ship of Religion, where he chooses as his dwelling the
monastery of the Cistercians. Here the ladies Sobriety, Discipline and Obedience welcome him, but to his horror he sees Old Age and Infirmity who are coming to prepare him for Death. Pity appears to comfort him but she cannot save him from Death, who strikes him with her scythe and separates his soul from his body. Happily the monastery bells ring for matins and the Pilgrim thankfully awakes:—

La Mort laissa sa faus courir  
Et fist m'ame du cors partir,  
Ce me sembla (si) com songoie.  
Mais ainssi comme je estoie  
En tel point et en tel tourment  
J'ouï l'orloge de convent  
Qui pour les matines sonnoit  
Si comme de costume estoit.  
Quant je l'ouï, je m'esveillai,  
Et tout tressuant me trouvai,  
Et pour mon songe fu pensis  
Mont grandement et esbahis.  
Tout evoies je me levai,  
Et au[s] matines je alai,  
Mais (si) afflit et las estoie  
Que rien faire (je) n'i pouoie.  
Mon cuer avoie tout fiche  
A ce que j'avoie songie:  
Avis m'estoit et encor est  
Que tel le pelerinage est  
D'homme mortel en cest pais.  
Et qu'est souvent en tex peris  
Et pour ce'en escript mis je l'ai  
En la guise que le songai,  
Non pas que g'i aie tout mis,  
Quar trop longe seroit li escris.

(ll. 13,491-13,516.)

1 Le Pèlerinage de Vie humaine, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London, 1893). Dr. Sturzinger (p.p.) uses the following signs:—

( ) enclosing letters or words in text “t” (Bibl. Nat. fonds français no. 1818) which should be omitted as inconsistent with the meaning, grammar or metre. e.g. ll. 15, 75.

[] enclosing letters or words in text “t” which for a like reason should be added from other MSS. or conjectural emendations, e.g. ll. 60, 100.

By italics when other words have been substituted from other MSS. or by conjecture from those in text “t”. If only part of the word is in italics, the italicized letters stand for an abbreviation in MS. “t.”
This poem was inspired by the reading of the *Roman de la Rose*:

> En veillant avoie lëu  
> Considere et bien vëu  
> Le biau roumans de la Rose.  
> Bien croy que ce fu la chose  
> Qui plus m'esmut a ce songier  
> Que ci apres vous vueil nuncier.

(II. 7-14, Stürzinger.)

In arrangement, and more particularly in the descriptions of some of the characters there are certain points of resemblance in the two poems. Guillaume de Lorris, describing Sloth says:

> E, por garder que ses mains blanches  
> Ne halassent, ot uns blans ganz.

(II. 562-563,)

whilst Deguileville describes her thus

> ... une main (des)souz s'aiisselle  
> Avoit et en l'autré un gant  
> Tenoit dont së aloit jouant.

(II. 6,524-6,526 St.)

In the *Roman de la Rose*, Reason appears as

> La dame de la haute angarde  
> Qui de sa tor aval esgarde;  
> Raison fu la dame apellee  
> Lors est de sa tor devalee  
> Si est tot droit vers moi venue.

(II. 2,973-2,977.)

and in the *Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*

> (Tan)tost vers eus une pucelle  
> *Descendit* d'une tournelle.  
> Raison apeler se faisait,  
> Si com Grace dit le m'avoit.

(II. 573-576 St.)

But this comparison must not be taken too far, for Deguileville's poem is nothing more than a series of rarely interesting conversations between such persons as Grace of God, Reason and

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Aristotle, with the Pilgrim as commentator, ever ready with his questions, "Why do you do this?" "Will you please explain that?" Moreover the Pilgrim does not hesitate to appear more stupid than he really is so as to make his guides explain themselves in greater detail.

Deguileville does not tell us any more of himself than his father's name, his own name and order, and the date when he began his poem. His name appears several times in the form of an acrostic GUILLERMUS DE DEGUILLEVILLA, from which is taken the French form Guillaume de Deguileville. He tells us very little of the events and men of his time, except in so far as they concern the Church. He is most deeply moved by the practices of certain priests whom he condemns in his description of Avarice. This Vice, who describes herself in great detail, has six hands—Rapine, Cutpurse, Usury, Knavery, Simony, Barat or Trickery. The last of these is the worst. She it is who inspires the priests to put oil, water and wine into the statues of saints, so that the people may believe that they sweat or bleed miraculously, and who encourages false cripples to declare themselves suddenly cured by the holy images:—

Je m'en vois aus coquins parler
Et leur fais faire simuler
Que boisteus soient ou contrais,
Sours ou mues ou contrefais.
Et en tel point venir les fais
Devant l'image et crier: "las,
Saint image, garissiez moi!
Apres Dieu ai en vous grant foi!"
(Et) adonc de ma main les lieve
Et tous sains en heure brieve
(Les) moustre. Merveille n'est mie,
Quar n'avoi ent (ne) maladie.

(ll. 9,957-9,968 St.)

The matter of this poem is neither interesting nor remarkable, and the style does not compensate in any way for this

1 A similar acrostic is found in one of his Latin poems, "Ad Sanctum Benedictum," Dreves, op. cit., p. 347.
2 There are in certain MSS. variants such as Guillaume Deguileville or Digulleville.
mediocrity. Many of the incidents described are absurd. The Pilgrim begins his journey at birth and takes part immediately in a long discussion of theological doctrines. The changing of the bread and wine into flesh and blood is explained by the fact that Moses was hungry, and Grace of God’s justification of this change involves the appearance of Aristotle.

Deguileville does little but parade his knowledge. He brings together in the most extraordinary way, discussions on the vices of the world, astrology, etymology, the doctrines of the Church, the works of Ovid and Saint Augustine. It is not easy to understand why this display of erudition is necessary in an account of man’s pilgrimage through life, nor why the author should show himself as a talkative pilgrim who is the dupe of all his enemies. They indeed, show him great courtesy in describing all their evil characteristics and in pointing out to him precisely all that they intend to do. None the less he is always unprepared, and it is not surprising that Grace of God in spite of all her indulgence reproaches him as a fool and a coward:

Certes, a elle respondu,
Or pert il bien que retenu
Rien n’as de quanque je t’ai dit
Ou il t’en souvient mont petit ;
Ou (tu) cuidez par aventure
Qu’en moi ait si grant laudure
Que ma parole soit fable
Ou qu’elle soit decevable ?

Tes armeures as mises jus
Et sans coup ferir es vaincus.
Un baing te faut pour toi baignier
Et un mol lit pour toi couchier,
Un mire pour reconforter
Les ners froissiez et consouder.

(II. 4,573-4,580, 4,837-4,842 St.)

Grace of God’s scorn is often well deserved. When Treachery and Detraction attack the Pilgrim, Detraction suggests that he should be made to dismount from his horse. “What?” says the Pilgrim to Treachery, “have I a horse? Detraction, why has she said this? If you know pray tell me.” Treachery
obligingly describes to him his horse "Good Renown," which has four legs, for if it had only three or two or one, it would most certainly limp.

It is surprising to learn that this poem enjoyed great success in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In addition to the many manuscript copies which were made, a prose version was written in 1464 for Jeanne de Laval, Queen of Jerusalem and Sicily. We learn also from the Chantilly MS. 1617 that the poem was dramatised in the latter half of the fifteenth century by Sœur Katharine Bourlet, and was played at the Convent of St. Michel at Huy, Liège.

It is still more surprising to learn that the author, far from being exhausted after having written a poem of 13,500 lines, was courageous enough to re-write it and to add to it. He mentions the date of writing it early in the poem in the description of Grace of God's house:—

Celle avoit elle fondee
(Si) com disoit et maconnee
. XIIIe. et . XXX. ans avoit
Si comme bien l'en souvenoit.

(ll. 397-400 St.)

This date is given in all the manuscripts containing Deguileville's poem, but in some manuscripts we find another date which indicates that the poem was re-written twenty-five years later. The author had intended to correct his work after further reflection, but unfortunately his manuscript was stolen:—

Pour tant le di que une foiz
Lan mil. CCC. x. par troys foiz
Un songe ui aventureus
Lequel aussy com sommeilleus
Escrips a mon esueilement
En li arestant grossement
Afin que ne loubliasse
Et que apres le corrigasse
Quant plus esueille seroie
Et panse plus y aroie
Et le cuydoy ie bien faire
. Se neusse eu contraire
Sans mon sceu et volente
Tout mon escript me fut oste
Par tout diuulgue et scet dieu
Que ie ne le tien pas a gieu
Quar a mettre et a oster
A congier et ordener
Y avoit mout si com perceu
Apres quant bien esuile fu

Si que celui qui le mosta
A mon proufit petit pensa
Mieux amender ie le pouaie
Quant tout seul ie le tenoie
Que ne feroie maintenant
Dautre part le temps est si grant
Que le songe me fu oste
Que iay ausy com oublie
Tout ce qui apartenoit
A oster et mettre par droit.

(Fonds francais, MS. 377, folio 1 recto,
   cols. 1, 2 ; verso, col. 1.)

Deguileville began then to re-write his poem and this time to avoid all misfortune, wrote an envoy which was to be hung round the poem's neck:

Si que songe tu ten iras
Par tous les lieus ou este as
A tous tes prouuains tenuoie
Pour ce que y sces lauoie
De par moy les ua tous taillier
Et mettre a point et adrecier
Quant sans congie tu y alas
Par congie aler y deuras
Ne tautoie pas apele
Pieca pelerin et nomme
Afin qua cheual ne a pie
Alasses lors sans mon congie
Mes pour ce que te menasse
Auec moy quant ie alasse
En ierusalem la cite
Ou daler estoie exite
Cest ou ie tent ce est la fin
Ou doit tendre tout pelerin
Or ua donc ou ie tenuoie
Mieux y sces de moy la uoie
Et soies loial message
De tout mon pelerinage
Disant a tous comment mauint
Passe a des ans . xxv.
En labbaie de chaalis
Fondee du roy louys.

(MS. 377, f. 1, v. 1.)

The new poem of 1355 follows the same plan as the earlier one, but is much longer. The author introduces new characters, adds new incidents and sometimes changes the order of events.

A large number of manuscripts of the first recension, and of manuscripts and prints of the second recension exists; they can be classed accordingly.

The 1330 Recension.

List of manuscripts (in part from Dr. Stürzinger's edition of this recension).

   Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3170, 5071.
   Bibliothèque de S. Geneviève, 1130.
Arras. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 532.
Cambrai. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 212 (207).
Lyon. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 768 (686).
Tours. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 950.
Aix. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 110.
Chartres. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 408 (423).
Pont à Mousson. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 6.
Reims. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 1276 (J. 750).
   Library of Mr. H. H. Gibbs, MS. G.
   Library of Mr. A. H. Huth, MS. H.
Cheltenham. Library of Sir T. Phillipps, 3655.
Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale 11069, 10176, 10197, 18066, 18292.
Metz. Stadtbibl. 315.
"LE PELERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE"


The Prose Version.

Bibliothèque Nationale. MSS. 1137 (Vellum, 1464), 1646 (fifteenth cent., paper).
Bibliothèque S. Geneviève. MS. 294.
Library of Lord Aldenham. MS. which originally belonged to René Laval, cousin of Jeanne de Laval.

Printed copies of this prose version were published at Lyon in 1485 by Maître Husz, and followed by second and third editions in 1486 and 1489. In 1489 Pierre Virgin printed a remodelled version of the prose which was reprinted in 1504 by Claude Nourry. There is a copy of this reprint in the Bodleian Library (Douce P339), "Le pelerin de vie humaine tres utile et prouffitable pour congnoistre soymesmes." About 1499 Vérand printed an edition of this prose version, one copy of which, decorated with a Tudor portcullis and rose, was sold to Henry VII. This book now belongs to the Earl of Ellesmere and a facsimile has been printed for the Roxburghe Club. The prologue is not without interest:—

Cy commence le prologue Du translateur de ce pensent liure Intitule le pelerinaige De Vie humayne.

Le prologue

En lonneur et gloire De Dieu tout puissant. Et pour obeyr a la requeste De treshaulte et excellante princesse. Et ma tresredoubtee Dame / Dame Jehanne De laual par la grace De Dieu royne de hierusalem et De secile / Duchesse Daniou et De bar / contesse De prouuence. Je treshurnble clerc serviteur et subgect Dicelle Dame Demourant a angiers indigne de moy nömer pour euader vaine gloire reputant ladicte requeste pour especial mandement / me suis mys a convertir De ryme en prose francoyse le liure Du pelerinaige De vie humayne / soubz la noble correction et benigne interpretation De ladicte Dame et De tous aultres qui rnieulx le scauront si leur plaisoit Disposer et amender / en le poursuyuant a mon pouoir principalement la sentence De lentendement De lacteur Dycelluy liure qui fut notable clerc et religieux nomme frere guillaume De guilleville en labbaye De chalis pres la cite De senlis.
According to Visch the modest man responsible for this prose version was Jean Gallopes. He kept closely to Deguileville's poem, but divided his work into chapters and gave a summary of the contents at the beginning of each chapter. The name of the printer is given at the end of the book, but without date.

Ce present liure appelle le pelerinaigne De homme humain a este imprime a paris par Anthoyne Verard / libraire Demourant sur le pont nostre Dame a lymaige sainct jehan leuangeliste / ou au palais au premier pillier Deuant la chappelle ou len chante la messe De messeigneurs les presidens.

Gallopes’ prose version enjoyed so wide a public that the printers never considered printing the original poem.

The Second Recension—1355.

Deguileville tells us that he was anxious to revise and perfect his poem before giving it finally to the public, but that his manuscript was stolen. By this he apparently means that copies of his poem were circulated without his consent; so many passages of the second version are identical with those of the first that Deguileville must have had a copy of his first poem for reference.

In the prologue to the new version Deguileville complains that he is unable to remember all that he intended to add to the original. None the less, he adds some 4,000 lines in French and 1,100 lines in Latin; "comme si" says M. Paulin Paris, "13,500 vers n'eussent pas suffi pour apaiser sa fureur poetique." Perhaps Deguileville had decided that his poem was not too long to be written in full as he had feared when writing in 1330.

Whatever the reason, Deguileville began to re-write his poem and lengthen it. This new version was very popular, and many editions were printed, although the number of manuscript copies is small.

List of manuscripts and prints of the 1355 recension.


Cherbourg. Bibliothèque de la Ville, 42.

Leningrad, Bibli. Imp. F. XIV. No. 11.

1 Bibli. Scriptorum Sacri Ord. Cistercien., Douai, 1649.
Prints.—

1. Le rommant des trois Pelerinaiges . . . fait et compose par frere guillaume de deguileuille en son vivant moyne de chaaliz de lordre de cisteres

[Poem text]

Ont ensemble a commun profit
Fait imprinter elegamment
Maistre Barthole et Jehan Petit (1500?)


2. Le pelerinage de lhomme. Nouvellement imprime a paris le quatriesme iour dauril mil cinq cens et vnze deuant pasques pour Antoine verard.


Only the first of these two prints, of which but a few copies exist, contains the three poems. Before printing, the poems were read and corrected by a monk of Clairvaux, Pierre Virgin, who precedes the poem with a prologue of his own. This corrected text was used by Vérard, but he printed only the first poem. He includes Virgin’s prologue:—

[Cy sensuit le noble romant]
[Du pelerin bon et vtile]
[Compose bien elegamment]
[Par guillaume de guile ville]
[De chaliz de pontigny fille]
[Moyne de lordre des cisteres]
[Distingue par voye tres subtile]
[En trois liures especiaulx]

[Le premier du pelerinaige]
[De lhomme durant quest en vie]
[Lautre de lame de la caige]
[De son corps desia departie]
[Le tiers declare et annuncie]
[Le pelerinaige de crist]
[Depuis quil fust ney de marie]
[Jusqua lenuoy du saint esperit]
Jadis fut fait a lequite
En bonne rime et mesuree
Mais par treslongue antiquite
A este beaucop deprauee
Puis de present bien reparee
A moult grans peines et traauaulx
Et a forme deue redigee
Par lung des moynes de cleruaulx

Qui plus voulentiers ce labeur
A pris et la vexation
Car lui et du liure lacteur
Sont de mesme profession
Aussi pour la deuotion
De ceulx qui sont entalente
Faire peregrination
En iherusalem la cite

Pieca quelque vng ne scay pourquoi
Le translata de rime en prose
En quoy mal fist comme ie croy
Car mal a droit vient ceste chose
Comme se le methamorphose
Len mettait en langue rural
Ou toute poesie est enclose
Exponible a bon sens moral

Tout ainsi nostre pelerin
Ja soit que vray soit et tout sainct
Toutesfois ainsi quen latin
Ouide plusieurs fables fainct
Semblablement de pres actainct
Poesie nostre guile ville
Pourquoy ne deuoit estre enfrainct
Aucunement son plaisant stile

Car quiconque a entendement
De sens acquis ou de clergie
En lisant ce translatement
De ceste prose mal ordie
Congnoistra que nulle energie
En elle ny a ne prouffit
Mais nest que droicte mocquerie
Nen desplaise a cil qui la fit
The reference to a "première édition" in the eighth verse of the Prologue has presented some difficulty to the Abbé Goujet—one of the first to give a critical account of Deguileville's poems (Bibliothèque Française, Tome ix, pp. 71-92, Paris, 1745). He quotes this verse and adds, "Je ne sçai quelle est cette première édition dont parle l'Anonyme; Guillaume ne dit pas ce qu'il lui fait dire dans le prologue des deux manuscrits que j'ai eu lieu de consulter." To judge from the quotations given by the Abbé Goujet in his notice he must have used the printed edition of the second recension, in which the Prologue written by Deguileville himself and referring to the loss of the manuscript of the first recension is mentioned. It would seem then that the two manuscripts consulted were those containing the 1330 poem.

The book printed by Barthole and Petit mentions Barthole's name in the last verse of the Prologue, and contains in addition two verses which urge the reader to understand the book "moralement et non pas litteralement." Barthole prints Deguileville's own prayer, "Merci dis je douce creature," where Vérard gives a Latin prayer by Saint Bernard. The other differences are editorial; Vérard gives a table of contents for each chapter, and Barthole an alphabetical index.
It would seem then that the success of the printed edition of Callopes' prose version encouraged Barthole and Vérard to print Deguileville's poem rather than a new edition of the prose version of which they had no high opinion. They chose as the better of the two recensions that of 1355. The admiration which Virgin felt for the poet's agreeable style forbade any change in the content of the poem, though he modernised the language to some extent.

Deguileville's fame was not confined to his own country. In 1426 Lydgate translated the second recension into English and included Chaucer's earlier translation of Deguileville's A.B.C. prayer. So great was the popularity of Lydgate's translation in England, that it has been maintained by many that Bunyan must have read the translation and drawn from it his plan for the Pilgrim's Progress.  

Brunet mentions in his Manuel du Libraire another translation of the poem:

El peregrinage de la vida humana, compuesto por fray Guillermo de Guilleville, traduzido en vulgar Castellano, por frey Vincentio Mazuello. En Tolosa, por Henrique (Meyer) Aleman, 1490, in-folio gothique.

The Douce collection includes Dat boeck vanden pelgrym, by heynrick Eckert van Homberch, 4to, Delf, 1498.

The additions which Deguileville made in 1355 to his first version are numerous. In the following list of these additions the numbers of lines added are also given:

1. A discussion on dreams; the account of the loss of the manuscript; the envoy to the poem. 91
2. The sufferings of the martyrs who are worthy of entry into Jerusalem. 32
3. Of the white dove. 5
4. A discussion on baptism and original sin. 228
5. The story of the prelate who cursed a cherry tree. 40
6. Of the sons of Zebedee. 8
7. Of the delegation of power. 71
8. A quotation from St. Paul concerning charity. 6

1 See A Study of the sources of Bunyan's Allegories, with special reference to Deguileville's Pilgrimage of Man, J. B. Wharey (Baltimore, 1904).
Le Pelerinage de l'homme compared with the Pilgrim's Progress, Nathaniel Hill (London, 1858).

2 T. ii (Paris, 1861), col. 1824.
10. Of the scrip and staff; the Pilgrim's eyes are transferred to his ears.
11. Three Latin poems:
    Credo ego catholicus
    Pater creator omnium
    Ave reclinatorium.
12. Of the girdle of Perseverance.
13. The Pilgrim complains that he has no armour for his legs.
15. Of Moral Virtue.
16. Conversation between a Pilgrim and Mortification of the Body.
17. The Wheel of Sensuality.
18. Conversation with Venus; of the Roman de la Rose.
20. Necromancy's messenger; of the Duke of Frisia who preferred Hell with his friends to Heaven without them.
21. Of the Hermit who killed his father.
22. The Wheel of Fortune.
23. The meeting with Astrology, Geomancy, Idolatry, Sorcery, and Conspiracy.
24. Ovid and the Pilgrim.
25. The acrostic on the author's name in French and Latin verse.
26. The Pilgrim visits the monasteries.
28. The part played by Grace of God's white dove.

Certain passages in the 1330 version were amplified in the new one. The following list gives the number of lines in corresponding passages of the two versions:—

1. The description of Jerusalem. 24-36
2. The description of Spring. 12-18
3. The marriage of the two Pilgrims. 18-40
4. The Pilgrim's complaint to Grace of God. 8-20
5. Of the drops of blood on the scrip. 12-40
6. To Sloth's three ropes, two more are added.

The longest of these amplifications shows what care Deguileville expended on his new version.
Ceste escherpe est de vert couleur,
Quar tout aussi com la verdeur
Ceste escharpe est de verd couleur
Car tout ainsi que la verdeur
Conforte l'ueil et la veue
Et lesioyst moul et lague
Aussi (te) di que foi ague
Et aussi fait foy bon pelerin
Fait vëue d'entendement,
Reconforte lueil et la veue
Ne ja l'ame parfaitement
Se bien regarde sa verdeur
Ne verra, se ceste veure
Quen luy nait plus forte vigueur
Ne li preste force et viguer ;
Et pour ce'elle t'ara mestier
Et pour ce'elle t'ara mestier
Pour toi en ta voie adrecier,
Ne ja I'ame parfaitement
A ce que de loing tu voies
Ne ja I'ame parfaitement
Se bien regarde sa verdeur
Le pais ou tu t'avoies—(ll. 3485-3496 St.)

Mesmement car elle est semee
De sang tres vermeil et goutee
Et ny a goute si petite
Qui trop mieulx dune marguerite
Ne vaille et qui plus precieuse
Ne soit et trop plus vertueuse
Tres grant vigueur verdeur luy donne
Le sang esmeut et achoisonne
De prendre cueur et fare ainsi
Que les glorieulx martirs qui
Trop mieulx ament a respendre
Leur sang pour leur foy fort deffendre
Quaucunement leur feust ostee
Pour sa vertu quauoient goustee
Cest pour te donner exemplaire
Que se tu trouves qui soustraire
La te vueille point ne oster
Auant occire et decouper
Te laisses plus tost que ten voyes
Descharpey car trop y perdroies
Bien scay que pieca les saignees
Sen sont en ales et passese
Car cherubin comme tu vis
A son glaiue ou fourreau remis
Nul ne se veult plus opposer
Aux tirans pour la foy garder
Bien dient les aucuns quilz yront
Quant leur ventre remply bien ont
Et iurent et se font croiser
Mais quant ce vient a lexploicter
Nest rien si froit tout est perdu
Plus ne deuroit telz estre creu

(f. 23 v. 1 and 2. Vérard.)
Deguileville also omitted several passages of the 1330 poem in the 1355 version. They consist of the following lines:

1. Nature’s complaint to Grace of God.  
   lines 1829-1980 (St.)
2. The martyrdom of St. Stephen.  
   3571-3672
3. The Pilgrim’s complaint that his staff is not tipped with iron.  
   3753-3812
4. Of the scabbard and sword-belt.  
   4319-4348
5. The Pilgrim’s complaints about his armour.  
   4431-4442
6. Of the disciples who had neither scrip nor staff.  
   5445-5470
7. The Pilgrim’s complaint that he cannot carry his armour.  
   5667-5812
8. The Pilgrim insults Toil.  
   6541-6546
   6557-6566
9. Conversation with Toil.  
   6615-6632
10. Of Pride’s spurs.  
    7877-7886
11. Of the Pharisee and the Publican.  
    8067-8080
12. Further details about Detraction.  
    8534-8569
13. Memory reminds the Pilgrim to make use of his armour.  
    8968-9007
    9009-9054
15. The prayer to Christ.  
    9105-9116
    9349-9482
17. Of the woodcutters and the zodiac.  
    9677-9722
18. The Pilgrim receives his staff from Grace of God.  
    10751-10888
19. Infirmity speaks to the Pilgrim.  
    13155-13168

There are also the following changes in the order of the poem:

1. The discussion about the Body and Soul is placed after the encounter with Natural Understanding in the 1330 poem; in the 1355 poem it precedes it.
2. In the 1330 poem, the Pilgrim meets Youth before he enters the Ship of Religion, and it is the Body which persuades him to take the wrong path; in the 1355 version the Pilgrim meets Youth much earlier and it is she who entices him into the wrong path.
3. In the first recension the account of the tub of tears, the meeting with Satan, Heresy and Tribulation, the reading of the commissions of Adonai and Satan are placed before the entry into the Ship of Religion; in the second recension the reading of the commissions and the arrival of Tribulation occur before the description of Avarice, and the meeting with Satan and Heresy after; the Pilgrim washes in the tears of Penitence after having seen the Ship.
The new version of the poem was considered too long to be read aloud and the remarks addressed to the audience in the 1330 version are omitted.

It is obvious that Deguileville took great pains with this new version of his pilgrimage, and indeed some of the additions to the original poem deserve their place, as for example, the description of Avarice's influence on the priests:—

Aucunesfois faiz baptisez
Daucuns petit enfans mors nez
Dessus lautier ie les faiz mectre
Qui ressemble tout massis estre
Mais il est tout creux par dedens
Et par certains soubzterremens
Des charbons ardans ie soubzmectz
Et laultier eschaufer ie faiz
Qui a lenfant donne chaleur
Et puis ie monstre que vigueur
Il y a, et dy quil est vivant
Ia soit ce quil soit tout puant
Et tel puant ie le baptize
Et par ainsi a moy iatise
Or et argent a ma prebende
Qui chose est horrible et horrende
De baptizer une charoigne
Pitie est quautrement nen soigne
Le prelat en quel euesche
Est fait si horrible peche

(f. 71, r. 1, V.)

Deguileville's reference to the Roman de la Rose in this second version is interesting. The Pilgrim meets Venus (Luxure) who charitably confesses to him all her faults, and tells him that her chief enemy is Virginity whom she has caused to be maligned in the Roman de la Rose:—

Je mesdy de luy bien souuant
Et faiz mesdire par ma gent
Ainsi comme il appert sans glose
En mon beau rommant de la rose
Ou faulx semblant le faiz nommer
Par mon vicaire et appeller
Et la cause est, car approcher
Ne me laisse na luy toucher
Le pelerin
Pourquoy dis ie reputes tien
Le rommant quas dit que scay bien
Qui le fist et comment ot nom
Luxure
Au dire dist elle ay raison
Car ie le feiz et il est myen
Et ce puis ie prouuer tresbien
Car du premier iusques au bout
Sans discontinuer par tout
Il n y a que de moy parle
Fors tant seulement excepte
Ce que mon escriuain embla
Et en autruy champ le seya
De quoy maintes gens ont cuyde
Que de sa terre leust seye
Mais voir non fist, ains partie grant
Il desroba en autruy champ
Dont il aduint que quant seoit
Et quen ung sac le tout boutoit
Pource que le vouloit celer
Et droit nauoit de lemporter
Dun normant hault escrie fu
Qui de loing lauoit apperceu
Ha ha dist il nest pas raison
De faire faix dautruy moisson
Celluy tantost sen affouy
Mais ne fut pas tant esbahy
Que le larrecin nemportast
Et en mon rommant ne lentast
Ce que grandement me despleut
Car ie voulsisse bien quil neust
Fors seulement de moy escript
Ainsi que ie luy auoie dit
Ou au moins que ny eust mis rien
Dautruy, mais seulement du sien
Or aduint pour ce quesscriey
Fut de ce quil auoit embley
Oncques puis normant il nayma
Ainsi quau rommant bien monstra
En disant que de normandie
Estoit malebouche partie

(f. 51, r. 2, v. 1, V.)
We cannot identify the Norman writer of the polemic referred to, but Deguileville evidently shared his opinion:

Toy luy dis ie et ton escriuain  
Estes de grant mauuaistie plain  
Car quiconques dautruy mesdit  
Bonne bouche na pas se cuit  
Ie ne puis dire male bouche  
En mesdisant que ie ne touche  
Estre la myenne male aussi  
Pour quoy veritamentely dy  
Male bouche est ton escripuain  
En male bouche son prochain  
Appellant, pour ce quescriey  
Lauoit en disant veritey  
Et tu male bouche as aussi  
Quant contre chastete mesdy  
Tu as, et ton clerf fait mentir  
Pour faire bonnes gens hayr

(f. 51, v. 1, V.)

Yet in the Prologue to the first recension Deguileville speaks of the “biau Roman de la Rose,” which he had read apparently with pleasure before falling asleep. In the 1355 version his dream is not attributed to the reading of the Roman de la Rose, which he condemns as the work of a plagiarist inspired by Venus. This complete change of opinion may perhaps be explained by the fact that in 1355 the poet was about sixty years old and possibly regretted his youthful admiration for a definitely profane poem.

In her preface to an edition of Lydgate’s translation of this poem, Miss Locock suggests that the writer to whom Deguileville refers, and who must have been Jean de Meun, had perhaps influenced Deguileville’s work, and that the two writers may have been sufficiently intimate to have discussed the theological points which were treated in their work. One hardly expects to hear of a friendship between two men of whom one could write of the other as Deguileville did. In this connection M. Gaston Paris says, “Ces œuvres vertueux (i.e. the three

Pilgrimages) furent écrits, du moins le premier, pour réagir contre le Roman de la Rose; l'auteur a cru habile d'emprunter le système des personnifications au poème en vogue qu'il voulait supplanter. It may be that Deguileville approved of Guillaume de Lorris' poem, but did not, monk that he was, see any reason to admire the work of the free-thinker Jean de Meun.

Apart from the additions to the 1330 poem already mentioned, there seems to be little justification for the rewriting of the poem. The new episodes serve only to weary the reader so that it is pleasant to find that some of the original poem is omitted, and to learn that on several occasions the author has decided to relate his adventures "briefly." One can well understand that even Grace of God sometimes lost patience with the Pilgrim whom she thought "rioteux et ennuyeux," although there does not seem to be any reason for the author's making so damning an admission about himself.

The Rylands Manuscript.

This manuscript which formerly belonged to the Earl of Crawford, and was catalogued in his collection as French MS. 4, was acquired by Mrs. Rylands in 1901. It is a codex on vellum, containing 249 leaves and 3 fly-leaves (323 × 250 mm.). The sixteenth-century binding is of brown leather on wood, and the covers, which are identical, have stamped decorations, brass corner tips and centrepieces. The top cover shows the remains of two leather clasps with three nails. The back strip is modern and has the title printed in gilt letters: GUILLEVILLE / PELERINAGE / DE LA VIE / MS / SAEC. XIV. On a sheet of vellum attached to the top cover is written "Fr. MSS. No. 4. Guileville," and below is the Earl of Crawford's bookplate with the number K I. The name "Crawford" is written on the first fly-leaf. On a sheet of vellum glued to the back cover are the letters "rm / er / -" probably indicating the price.

paid for the manuscript. The collation is as follows: a³—i³, k³—u³, x³, y³, z³, Z³, g³, A³—E³, F³, G³. Some of the signatures have been written twice. All the catchwords are correct. The contents may be briefly indicated:—

I. f. 1 recto, col. 1.

Cy commence le Rommant du peleri / naige du corps humain

A Ceulx de ceste Region
Qui point ny ont de mansion
Ains y sont tout com dit S' pol
Riche pour saige et fol

f. 45 verso, col. 1.

Une autre fois vous reuendrez
Se plus ouir vous en voulez
Et tandiz je mauiseray
Dapoint compter si com je scay

Cy fenist le premier liure du peleri / naige du corps humain
Et cy apres commence le ij⁰ liure dudit / pelerinaige
Apres ce que jay dit deuant
De ce que je vy en dormant
Autre merueilles je vy puis

f. 91 r., 1.

Car celle tost sen reuola
Et onc puis a moy ne parla

Cy fenist le ij⁰ liure du pelerinaige / du corps humain

Cy apres commence le tiers liure / dudit pelerinaige

Avant alay oultre le bos
Ou une vieille qui fagos
Portoit a son col vi venir
Et atravers champs acourir

f. 101 r., 1.

Et la remuneration
De la joye de paradis
Que doint dieu aux mors et aux viis
Amen
Cy fenist le pelerinaige du corps / humain
II. f. 101 r., 1.
Cy commence le liure du pelerinaige / de lame

Apres que je fu esueillez
Et quaseree me fu merueillez
De mon songe et que rien nen vy

f. 173 v., 1.
Se trouuee y est menconge
Reputee doit estre a songe
Ainsi a ceulx qui le liront
Le pry et a ceulx qui lorront

Cy fenist Le liure du pelerinaige / de lame

III. f. 175 r., 1.
Cy commence le liure du pelerinaige / Jhesucrist

Entre plusieurs paraboles
Que ot Jhesus en ses escoles
A ses disciples enseignoit
Et a qui oir les vouloit

f. 247 v., 1.
Esueillez fu et me trouuay
Ou jardin dont deuant dit ay
Acoute dessoubz le pommier
Ou le pie mestoit orillier
Soubz le quel les oyseaux chantoient
Entre eulx et se resio~ssoient
Et ainsi mon songe a tous dy
Et que prient pour moy leur pry

Cy fenist le liure du pelerinaige / de Jhesucrist

IV. f. 247 v., 2.
Loroison de cellui qui fist le dit pele / rinaige touchant la matiere
dicellui

Doubz Jhesus filz de dieu le pere
Bien est raison que or mapaire

f. 249 r., 1.
Ce est en la gloire celestre
Ou nous puissions avoir nostre estre
Amen.
The manuscript is written throughout in one hand in double columns of 38 or 39 lines, but on f. 249 another hand has added a note giving the conditions of a bequest of the manuscript:—

Dame marguerite chenbellain vesue de feu notable personne estienne bourcier a donne sestui liure du pelerin a seur marguerite gandrem sa niepce et filleule et au couent dauxonne ou quel la dite seur marguerite a estee resseeue et la donne sur telle condicion que lon ne lè puisse james transpourtier hors du couent se non que la dite seur marguerite gandrem fut transpourttee en ung autre couent comment lon transpourtue aucune fois lez religieuzes es connuens de leur ordres mes elle veut que apres le trepas de la dite seur marguerite gandrem se dit liure soit rapourter ou couent de madame sainte clere situe en la ville dauxonne et de seste donnaison est tesmoign leur beau pere confesseur nonne frere jegain gautier et jegain chaine notaire apostolique lequel demeure en la dite ville dauxonne et dame marie varnyere niepce de la dite dame marguerite fille de sa propre seur germaine nommee jeganne chenbellain a la requeste de laquelle marie ella donne se liure a sa fille seur marguerite gandrem et au dit couent de madame sainte clere situe en la ville dauxonne.

Nothing definite is known of the ladies mentioned in this bequest apart from the relationship indicated. MM. Plancher and Frantin mention a "Guillaume Chambellan, conseiller du Duc de Bourgogne," who in 1415 was appointed along with many others, to hasten the payment of loans from various towns to the Duke. ¹ Anselme, dealing with the Chanceliers de France, refers to "Guy de Rochefort. Femme, Marie Chambellan, gouvernante de Claude de France, fille ainée du roi Louis XII, mort en 1509 après deux ans de viduité âgée de 39 ans & fut enterrée auprès de son mari en l'église de Cîteaux, elle étoit fille d'Henry Chambellan, receveur général des finances de Bourgogne, vicomte majeur de Dijon et d'Alix de Berbizy, dite Bercy surnommée la Belle." ²

No mention is made of the Bourcier, Varnyere or Gandrem families, so that we do not know whether there was any relationship between the owner of the manuscript and the Rochefort family.

The librarian of the Municipal Library of Auxonne who has

¹ Histoire de Bourgogne (Dijon, 1739-1781), iii, 436.
very kindly examined all the papers belonging to the convent of
Les Clarisses, founded at Auxonne in 1412 by Sainte Claire,
has not been able to discover anything relating either to
Marguerite Gandrem or to the manuscript which she once
possessed.

We have therefore no knowledge of what befell the manu-
script from the time when Marguerite Gandrem or the convent
authorities disposed of it, until it was bought by Lord Crawford.

The Decoration of the Manuscript.

The manuscript is fully illustrated. The initial letter is
coloured in blue, red and gold, and the capital letters are alter-
nately blue with red flourishes and gold with black flourishes;
on. f. 74 r the capital letter L has been omitted. The headings
are written in red. The manuscript contains 176 miniatures
whose colours are still fresh. It is possible that they are the
work of two artists, for they fall quite definitely into two groups
distinguishable by the differing treatment of the chief figure,
Grace of God, and of the backgrounds. From f. 1 to f. 30 v
for instance, the miniatures show Grace of God wearing a golden
crown, and the stars in the background are all yellow. But
from f. 34 v to f. 40 v the crown is not golden and the stars are
red and green. From f. 41 v to f. 88 v we have a return to the
first type, and from f. 90 v to 246 r to the second. Among the
last group of miniatures are to be noted some variants of the
second type, in which we find a red sky with yellow stars, instead
of a blue sky with red and green stars. The miniatures of the
first type are much superior to those of the second; the figures
are drawn with greater care and stand out more clearly against
the background.

Certain pages are also decorated in the margin. The text
of f. 1 is enclosed by a gilt line and the margin is filled with
flowers and leaves. The first miniature shows us the pilgrim
in his bed and at the top of the page is painted a castle which no
doubt represents Jerusalem, the goal of the author’s pilgrimage.
F. 101, where the first poem ends, is decorated in the left-hand
margin in the same way as f. 1, and the initial letter of the
second poem, though not so big as that of the first poem, is
similarly embellished. The same decoration is found on f. 175 where the third poem begins. Both miniatures and marginal decoration show the influence of the Burgundian school.

List of Miniatures.

f. 1 r., col. 1. The Author's dream.
   2. The Pilgrim on his way to Jerusalem.
   v., 1. The road to Jerusalem by martyrdom.
   2. The road to Jerusalem by the order of St. Augustine.
2 r., 1. The road to Jerusalem by the order of St. Benedict.
   2. The road to Jerusalem by the order of St. Francis.
   v., 1. The poor in spirit enter Jerusalem.
   2. Grace of God instructs the Pilgrim.
4 r., 1. Grace of God takes the Pilgrim with her.
   v. 2. The Pilgrim is baptised.
5 r., 1. The Pilgrim is confirmed.
   2. Moses gives three kinds of ointment to a bishop.
   v. 1. Reason speaks to Moses and to the Bishop.
7 r., 1. The marriage of two pilgrims.
   2. Moses ordains the priests.
8 r., 1. Moses gives candles and a gold cup to the monks.
   v., 1. Moses gives Grace of God to the monks.
9 r., 1. Reason preaches to the ministers of the Church.
10 v., 2. Reason gives a sword and keys to the Pilgrim.
11 r., 1. Reason reproves the Pilgrim.
12 r., 2. Moses with the help of Grace of God celebrates Holy Communion.
   v., 1. Reason and the Pilgrim.
   2. Penitence and Charity.
19 v., 1. The Pilgrim asks Reason to instruct him.
25 r., 1. Grace of God gives the scrip and staff to the Pilgrim.
26 v., 1. She gives him a scroll containing the Latin hymn "Credo ego catholicus."
30 v., 1. The Pilgrim receives a second scroll containing the hymns "Pater Creator omnium," "Ave reclinatorium."
34 v., 2. Grace of God gives the staff to the Pilgrim.
35 r., 2. She shows him the armour.
   v., 1. The Pilgrim receives the gambeson.
36 r., 1. He puts it on.
   v., 2. He receives the habergeon.
37 r., 2. He takes the gorget.
38 r., 2. He receives the sword, scabbard and sword-belt.
40 v., 2. The Pilgrim finds his armour too heavy.
41 v., 1. Grace of God leaves the Pilgrim.
42 v., 2. She sends Memory, an old woman with eyes in the back of her head to carry the Pilgrim's armour.
43 r., 2. Memory carries the armour.
    The Pilgrim asks Moses for bread.
45 r., 1. The Pilgrim thanks Grace of God.
    2. The Pilgrim and Memory on their way.
46 r., 2. Reason speaks to Natural Understanding.
    v., 2. A clerk reads a letter from Grace of God to Reason.
47 r., 1. Natural Understanding argues with Reason.
49 v., 1. Reason speaks to the Pilgrim.
50 r., 1. He asks why he cannot carry his armour.
53 v., 1. Reason gives back the scrip to the Pilgrim.
54 r., 1. He complains to her.
55 v., 2. The Pilgrim meets Youth.
56 v., 1. He meets Toil at the forked path.
58 v., 1. He meets Idleness.
59 v., 1. He meets Moral Virtue.
60 r., 2. The spirit of a crucified man speaks to the Pilgrim.
61 r., 1. Grace of God rescues the Pilgrim.
63 v., 1. Youth flies over the hedge with the Pilgrim on her back.
    2. The Pilgrim meets Gluttony.
65 r., 2. He meets Venus.
67 r., 1. Venus and Gluttony attack the Pilgrim.
    v., 1. They attack a rich lord.
    2. The Pilgrim meets Idleness.
68 v., 1. Reason appears to the Pilgrim.
69 r., 1. The Pilgrim is caught by Sloth.
70 r., 2. Sloth strikes the Pilgrim with her axe.
    v., 2. She puts a rope round the Pilgrim's neck.
71 r., 1. She drives him far from the hedge.
    2. He meets Pride and Flattery.
76 r., 1. Envy and her daughters, Treachery and Detraction.
79 r., 2. They attack the Pilgrim.
    v., 1. Anger comes to help them.
80 v., 1. Memory reminds the Pilgrim of his armour.
    2. The Pilgrim takes the sword and buckler.
81 r., 1. Tribulation attacks the Pilgrim.
82 v., 2. The Pilgrim attacked by all his enemies.
84 r., 2. He meets Avarice.
88 v., 2. The Pilgrim and the Messenger who carries a naked sword.
90 v., 2. The Pilgrim flees from Necromancy.
91 r., 1. Heresy comes towards the Pilgrim backwards.
   v., 1. Satan spreads a net for the Pilgrim.
93 v., 2. The Ship of Religion.
94 r., 2. The tub filled with the tears of Penitence.
   v., 2. The Pilgrim washes in this tub.
95 v., 1. The Porter of the Ship of Religion.
96 r., 1. The Pilgrim enters the Ship.
   2. Obedience binds the Pilgrim’s hands.
   v., 1. The Pilgrim attacked by Scylla’s dogs.
      Ovid and the Pilgrim.
97 r., 2. A messenger enters the monastery.
   v., 2. Old Age and Infirmity come to prepare the Pilgrim for Death.
99 r., 1. They attack the Pilgrim.
   2. Pity comes to comfort the Pilgrim.
100 r., 2. The Pilgrim on his death-bed.
101 r., 2. The Soul is separated from the Body.
102 v., 2. The Soul is taken to be judged.
104 v., 2. Satan accuses the Soul before St. Michael.
108 r., 1. Justice comes to judge the Soul.
109 r., 1. Sinderesis accuses the Soul.
117 v., 1. The Soul is weighed.
118 r., 2. The Souls with their guardian angels pass from Purgatory to
      Heaven.
119 r., 1. An angel choir.
120 r., 1. The Souls taken captive by demons.
121 r., 1. The Soul sees those who burn in Purgatory.
123 r., 2. The angels bring the boxes containing Grace of God’s oint-
      ment and the prayers said for the dead.
   v., 1. The souls are anointed.
124 v., 2. The Soul sees the fires of Purgatory.
126 v., 1. The souls who are tormented by extreme cold.
127 r., 1. The Soul meets one who is penitent.
   2. The wicked executor.
   v., 2. The Soul and its angel go down into the earth.
130 r., 1. Hell-mouth; still-born children.
   2. Lucifer and his daughter Pride.
   v., 2. The demons attack Pride.
131 r., 1. Lucifer sitting on Pride.
   2. The punishment of the hypocrites.
   v., 1. The punishment of the envious.
132 r., 2. The punishment of traitors.
133 v., 1. The punishment of evil tax-gatherers.
135 v., 1. The punishment of thieves.
The punishment of usurers.
The punishment of the indolent.
The punishment of gluttons.
The punishment of the lustful.
The chasm of Hell.
The green tree and the barren tree.
The asses' tombs.
Doctrine licks a shapeless and ugly soul.
The statue seen by Nebuchadnezzar.
The birds who sing the name Jesus.
The symbol of the Holy City.
The glory of the saints.
Adam and Eve and their descendants at the Tree of Life.
The Author awakes.
The Author falls asleep in a garden.
Adam falling from an apple tree.
The birds and beasts.
The Pilgrim's vision.
The Annunciation.
Joseph and Mary.
The Nativity.
Poverty brings clothing for the Child.
The Annunciation to the shepherds.
The Adoration of the Wise Men.
The Virgin presents the Child to God.
Ignorance and the Holy Family.
The Child Jesus in the Temple.
The marriage at Cana.
The Holy Family fall among thieves.
They steal the cradle and attack St. Joseph.
Christ, St. John and the Old Law.
Christ is baptised by St. John.
The Temptation.
The calling of Peter.
The Transfiguration.
Lazarus raised from the dead.
The Last Supper.
Christ washes the disciples' feet.
The Garden of Gethsemane.
The Betrayal.
Christ is mocked by His enemies.
The Scourging.
Simon helps Christ to carry His Cross.
232 v., 2. The Crucifixion.
235 v., 2. Christ receives the vinegar.
237 r., 2. The Malefactors' bones are broken.
238 r., 1. The woman and the angel at the Sepulchre.
 v., 2. The walk to Emmaeus.
239 v., 1. Christ and His Mother.
240 v., 1. Christ appears to his disciples.
241 v., 2. The Ascension.
245 r., 2. The descent of the Holy Ghost.
246 r. 2. The crowning of the Virgin.

The three poems were written by an unknown copyist who did his work with remarkable care. In the first poem there are only three uncompleted couplets, and one couplet in which the second line has been written first, but this has been corrected by a marginal note. The writing is exceptionally clear and legible. The copyist shows a pronounced liking for double letters; he writes appeller, appostres, rellief, and in one case transcribes “sa pel” as “sappel.” In f. 18 v, col. 1, he has forgotten to leave a space for the miniaturist. The author referring to the carpenter's square says:—

Et est raison que la façon
Congneue soit a ung patron
Et a ung vray examplaire
Que ceans ay fait pourtraire,

but there is no illustration.

In copying the Latin poems the scribe was not so accurate. The poems, as printed by Dreves, are divided into 12-line stanzas; the first words of the stanzas taken consecutively give the Pater Noster, the Credo and the Ave Maria. There is no such division in the Rylands manuscript and lines are frequently omitted. The line printed by Dreves as “Factor Sion Amor- rhaeus” and by Vérand as “Factus seon amorreus,” appears in the Rylands manuscript as “Factus sum amoriens,” and “infernale crocodillum” as “infernalem cocodrillum,” also found in Vérand. The manuscript also includes twelve lines of the poem “Credo ego catholicus,” printed by Vérand (f. 25 v, col. 1) but not by Dreves.

At the end of the Pelerinage Jhesucrist the scribe has written “loraison de cellui qui fist ledit pelerinaige touchant la matiere
"LE PÉLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE" 201
dicellui," found also in other manuscripts containing these poems, but he adds neither commentary nor date.


In the list of manuscripts given by Dr. Stürzinger in his study of this poem, the Rylands manuscript is catalogued thus:

"C² Haigh, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Earl of Crawford, K.T., V, (V²) A.J."¹

Although the manuscript was lent to Dr. Stürzinger when he was editing these poems he does not seem to have used it with reference to the first Pilgrimage. It is only in the editions of the other poems, from l. 2811 of the second onwards, that he gives the variant readings of the MS. C². In the preface to *Le Pêlerinage de l’Ame* (London, 1895), he says, "When the impression was as far advanced as this line (i.e. 2811) Mr. Gibbs, the Vice-President of the Roxburghe Club, was informed of the existence of this MS. by its present owner, Lord Crawford, who then most graciously allowed the manuscript to be transmitted to Paris and inspected by me at the English Embassy. I am indebted to Mr. Gibbs for the collation of the proofs with this MS."

As he says nothing of the text of the first poem we may conclude from the fact that he classes it as V (V²), that he did not wish to commit himself to any decision as to which recension of the poem had been copied.²

From the textual point of view, the chief interest of the Rylands manuscript is that it contains a poem which is neither a copy of the first recension nor of the second, but of both. Apart from some slight variations, the beginning and end of the poem in the Rylands manuscript are the same as those of the 1330 version.

1 V = *Le Pêlerinage de Vie humaine*, 1st recension, 1330.
V² = *Le Pêlerinage de Vie humaine*, 2nd recension, 1355.
A = *Le Pêlerinage de l’Ame*.
J = *Le Pêlerinage Jhesucrist*.

2 Miss Locock definitely classes the Crawford MS. as V². "As above noted, the second recension of Deguilleville’s poem, which is the version afterwards put into English by Lydgate, exists in England in MS. in Lord Crawford’s library" (p. lxv. op. cit.).
A ceuz de ceste region
Qui point n’i ont de mansion
Ains y sont tous com dit Saint Pol
Riche, povre, sage et fol,
Soient roys, soient roynes
Pelerins et pelerines
Une vision veul nuncier
Qui en dormant m’avint l’autrier

St., ll. 1-8.

This similarity of text continues as far as l. 1059 St., and f. 9 r., 1 R., where the following divergence occurs :—

Quant fuy ainsi reconforte
De Grace qui m’out avise
Tantost au prone vi aler
Dame Raison pour sermonner,
“Seigneurs, dist elle, entendez moy
Vostre profit y gist, ce croy
Regardez bien le grant bien fait
Et le grant bien que vous a fait
Grace (de) Dieu qui est venue
Huy pour vous et descendue.
Considerez quieix dons par ly
Vous a Moyses departy
Quar le glaive vous a baillie
Que Dieu pour li avoit forgie
Pour garder que n’entrast pecheur
Ou pais dont il est seigneur

Or entendez quel glaive c’est
Comment aus folz perilleus est
Combien cil qui en veut user
Le doit cremir et redoubter

Le glaive de . 111. choses sert
Quar quant aucun paine dessert
Il fiert de pointe ou de taillant
Ou fiert de plat en espargnant

ll. 1059-1082 St.

Rylands MS.
Puis que ainsi fu avise
De grace et bien reconforte
Au proseyn tantost aler
Dame raison pour sermonner
Seigneurs dist elle entendez moy
Vostre profity gist ce croy

Ung glaive vous est hui baillie
Qui anciennement forgie

Fu pour garder que nul nentrast
En paradis ne napprouchast
Fors par cellui qui le tenoit
Cherubin qui portier estoit
Or entendez quel glaive cest
Comment aus folz perilleux est

Qui aidier ne sen sauroient
Ou qui trop mal en useroient
Le glaive de trois choses sert
Car quant aucun paine dessert
Il fiert de pointe et de taillant
Ou fiert de plat en espargnant
From this point in the poem there are many differences between the 1330 text and that of the MS. R.

**Additions to the 1330 poem found in MS. R.**

1. The story of the prelate who cursed a cherry tree.
2. Of the delegation of power.
3. A quotation from the writings of St. Paul concerning charity.
5. Of the script and the staff; the Pilgrim's eyes are placed in his ears.
6. The three Latin hymns.
7. Of the girdle of Perseverance.
8. The Pilgrim's complaint that he has no armour for his legs.
9. Conversation with Toil.
12. Of the Wheel of Sensuality.
13. Conversation with Venus; of the Roman de la Rose.
15. The meeting with Ovid.

These 15 incidents are included in the 1355 recension, but the poem in the MS. R. does not completely resemble the 1355 version which contains twenty-eight passages not found in the 1330 poem. Two of the six amplifications of the 1330 version found in that of 1355 occur in the Rylands poem:—

1. Of the drops of blood on the scrip.
2. To Sloth's three ropes two more are added.

But the Rylands poem omits certain passages of the first recension:

1. Nature's complaint to Grace of God.
2. The martyrdom of St. Stephen.
3. Of Pride's bellows.
4. Of the Pharisee and the Publican.
5. The description of Flattery's mirror.
6. Several details in the character of Anger.
7. Conclusion to Book II.
8. Judas' character.
10. Of the woodcutters and the zodiac.
11. The Pilgrim's complaint.
12. He receives the staff from Grace of God.

1 The numbers indicate the lines added.
In the 1355 version, passages 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and 9 are also omitted, but 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 11 are included as are the sixteen verses of the prayer.

We have indicated three considerable changes in the order of events in the 1355 recension as compared with that of the 1330 poem.

In the Rylands version the discussion on the Body and Soul is placed after the encounter with Natural Understanding, as in the 1330 recension, but the appearance of Youth, the episode of the tub of tears, the meeting with Satan, Heresy and Tribulation, the commissions of Adonai and Satan occur as in the 1355 recension. In the Rylands version, the A.B.C. prayer comes after Tribulation’s attack, whilst it is placed after Gluttony’s assault in both the 1330 and 1355 versions.

There are two possible explanations of this third version. The Rylands manuscript offers either a composite poem made by some scribe—perhaps the scribe of the Rylands manuscript himself—or a copy of a new version of the first Pèlerinage written by Deguileville himself. If we suppose that we have here a composite poem, various problems arise. There seems to be no reason why the scribe should give himself the trouble of writing out a mixed version of the two poems before him—for it is obvious from the textual similarity of the Rylands poem with the two versions that he must have had both recensions at hand. If from f. 9 r., 1, the Rylands poem closely resembled the 1355 version, we might suppose that when the copyist had reached this point in the 1330 poem, he had decided to copy henceforward the 1355 poem since it was, in the author’s opinion at least, a distinct improvement on the earlier one. But this is not so; the mixture of the two versions is not nearly so simple. Nor is it obvious what plan has been followed in this new version. If the scribe thought, as well he might, that the poem needed some improvement, it is difficult to understand why, having altered a ridiculous passage (the Rylands poem describes Envy’s lances as being in her hands and not in her eyes as in the 1330 and 1355 versions), and having left out some wearisome episodes

1 P. 187.
of the 1330 poem, such as Nature’s complaint, he should retain from the 1355 poem equally tiring descriptions as that of the Wheel of Fortune or an absurd incident such as the placing of the Pilgrim’s eyes in his ears.

This theory of a composite version is, however, only conjectural, for the scribe tells us nothing of himself, nor does he offer any account of the copying of the poem, nor of the person for whom it was copied.

The second theory, that the Rylands manuscript contains a third version of Deguileville’s poem written by the author himself, seems at first almost incredible. One hesitates to think that Deguileville wrote this one poem three times, yet such a performance would not have been impossible for a man of his character. It is harder to believe that he could remain silent for almost twenty-five years when the poem in its original form so greatly displeased him. There seems to be no reason for this silence when we consider the poet’s extraordinary output between 1355 and 1358. In those three years he completed the second recension of Le Pêlerinage de Vie humaine, wrote Le Pêlerinage de l’Ame, several Latin hymns, summaries of Le Pêlerinage de Vie humaine (2nd recension), and Le Pêlerinage de l’Ame, and began his third poem, Le Pêlerinage Jhesucrist. How then are we to account for so long a period of inactivity during his prime?

The version of the first poem as given in the Rylands manuscript makes no mention of the theft of the poet’s manuscript. This would seem to justify our placing this version between those of 1330 and 1355, and our assuming that soon after the completion of the first recension, Deguileville began to re-write his poem with a view to perfecting it. He added new incidents, introduced new characters, amplified certain episodes, changed the order of events in the poem and omitted certain passages in the 1330 version:

1. The description of Pride’s bellows. 7736-7778 St.
2. Of Flattery’s mirror. 8155-8186 St.
3. Judas’ character. 9409-9426 St.
4. Further details of Avarice’s hands, Cutpurse and Simony.
5. Sixteen verses of the A.B.C. prayer.
The place of the A.B.C. prayer and the omission of these passages which all find a place in the 1355 version are perhaps the only hindrance to our definitely placing this version between those of 1330 and 1355. It may be that Deguileville decided to omit certain passages and to put the prayer after Tribulation's attack, and then changed his mind in 1355, and inserted these passages again, with the prayer in its original position.

This new version is not divided into four books as is the first recension, but into three, and after the beginning of the second book there are no remarks addressed to an audience. Perhaps the author was already beginning to realise that the poem was becoming too long to be read aloud as he had originally intended.

It would seem then almost certain that we have in the Rylands manuscript a third version of the *Pèlerinage de Vie humaine*. If this is so, we can better understand Deguileville's story of the theft of his manuscript. It is hard to believe that he could let twenty-five years pass without any reference to his loss, and since he does not mention it in the Prologue to the intermediate version it is likely that he refers in the 1355 poem to the theft of the manuscript of this version which in his opinion was still imperfect. So he describes once more and in still greater detail in 1355 his marvellous dream of 1330.

I have not been able to determine the history and provenance of this manuscript. There is nothing outside the text which might help to establish its place in relation to the others. Any consideration of the poem from the linguistic point of view is made more difficult by the fact that this text, like that of most manuscripts has been corrected. Deguileville wrote his French poems in rhyming octosyllabic couplets. His verse is, however, peculiar in that the feminine lines have the same number of syllables as the masculine lines so that in the former the accent falls on the seventh syllable, and in the latter on the eighth. This system of versification was not invented by Deguileville, for we find it used in the "Breviari d'Amor" of Matfré Ermengaud de Beziers, a Provençal poem of the thirteenth century, and in many of the troubadour songs. None the less this irregularity so scandalised the copyists that they all tried to correct Deguileville's verse. Generally they added a mono-
syllabic word to the feminine lines, but sometimes they changed a whole couplet in order to regularise it.¹

The few manuscripts which I have been able to examine in Paris contain either the 1330 poem or that of 1355. For the others I have largely depended on the incipit and explicit given in various catalogue descriptions. Since the first and last lines of the poem in the Rylands manuscript are identical with those of the 1330 poem it is possible that other manuscripts exist containing this new version.

¹ In his book, *A One-Text Print of Chaucer’s Minor Poems* (London, 1868-1880), Dr. Furnivall quotes the 25 verses of Deguileville’s A.B.C. prayer, which are edited by Paul Meyer from MS. 1645 (Bibl. Nat. Fonds français) and here referred to as A, and collated with the MSS. 1649—B, 376—C, and 377—D in the same collection. Two verses are quoted hereː—

A toy du monde le refui,
Vierge glorieuse, m’enfui
Tout confus, ne puis miex faire ;  
A toy me tien, a toy m’apuy.
Relieve moy, abatu suy ;  
Vaincu m’a mon avernaire
Puis qu’en toy ont tous repairé
Bien me dys vers toy retraire
Avant que j’aie plus d’annuy
N’est pas luite necessaire
A moy, se tu, debonnyre,
Ne me sequeurs comme a autrui

Bien voy que par toy confortés
Sera mes cuers desconfortés
Quar tu es de salu porte.
Se je me suis mal tresportez
Par. vii. larrons, pechiés mortez,
Et erre par voie torte,
Esperance me conforté
Qui à toy hui me raporte
A ce que soie deportez.
Ma povre arme je t’aporte
Sauve la : ne vaut que morte :
En li sont tous bien avortez.

Summaries of the Three Versions of the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

1330, from Stürzinger's Rylands Manuscript. 1355, from Vérard's print.

Prologue to the poem. The author tells of the vision which he has had. (34 lines.)

Prologue to the poem. Of the theft of the manuscript. The envoy to the poem. (91 lines.)

Description of Jerusalem and of the martyrs who enter. (50 ll.)

Of Jerusalem and the martyrs. (82 ll.)

Of the different ways of entering Jerusalem by the Saints Augustine, Benedict and Francis. (72 ll.)

Description of the wicket gate. (38 ll.)

The wicket gate. (22 ll.)

The Pilgrim sets out on his journey and meets Grace of God who offers to guide him.

Grace of God describes herself. (85 ll.)

Grace of God describes herself. (85 ll.)

Grace of God takes the Pilgrim into her house and he is baptised.

Grace of God’s speech concerning baptism. (228 ll.)

Grace of God speaks to the Pilgrim of the scrip and staff. He sees an official who gives three kinds of ointment to the ministers of the Church. Reason comes down from her tower and speaks to them.

The marriage of two pilgrims, one of whom comes from the east and the other from the west. (11 ll.)

The marriage of the two pilgrims. (36 ll.)

The story of the prelate who cursed a cherry tree. (40 ll.)

The Pilgrim asks for the sword and the keys.

The story of the sons of Zebedee. (8 ll.)

Of the delegation of power. (71 ll.)

Moses gives to the Pilgrim a sheathed sword and tied keys. Moses changes the bread and wine into flesh and blood. Reason returns to her tower and Nature complains to Grace of God.

Nature complains again to Grace of God. (146 ll.)

Nature asks pardon of Grace of God who sends for Charity and Penitence who are to instruct the Pilgrim.

A quotation from the writings of St. Paul. (8 ll.)

Charity reads the Testament of Jesus Christ.
Reason speaks again. The pilgrims and the ministers of the Church take the jewel of peace and are struck by Penitence. They receive the bread from Moses. Grace of God explains why so little bread is enough for all. Conversation between Aristotle and Wisdom.

Grace of God give the scrip and staff to the Pilgrim. (14 ll.)

She describes the scrip and staff, puts the Pilgrim’s eyes in his ears and then gives him the scrip and staff. (174 ll.)

Description of the scrip with its twelve bells, and of the staff.

Grace of God explains why the scrip is green. (12 ll.)

Grace of God explains why the scrip is green. (40 ll.)

She explains the significance of the twelve bells.

She explains of the blood on the scrip and the martyrdom of St. Stephen. (84 ll.)

The Latin poem “Credo ego Catholicus.”

Grace of God gives the staff to the Pilgrim.

Two Latin Poems “Pater Creator omnium” and “Ave reclinatorium.”

She tells him that he must arm himself.

The Pilgrim complains because his sword is not tipped with iron. Grace of God’s explanation.

She shows him all the armour.

She speaks to him of his enemies (14 ll.)

She gives him the doublet “Patience,” the habergeon “Strength,” the gorget “Sobriety,” the helmet “Temperance,” the sword “Justice.”

She also gives him the gloves of “Continence.”

The Pilgrim asks for a sheath and is given the sheath “Humility.”
The sheath is made of dead skin.

The Pilgrim asks for greaves. He is told that he will be able to run more quickly from his enemies without them.

Grace of God gives him David’s sling and five stones.

She sends for Memory, whose eyes are in her neck, to carry the Pilgrim’s armour.

She reproves the Pilgrim.

She tells him that he is now ready to journey to Jerusalem.

Grace of God explains the dangers of the journey. She despises him because he cannot carry his armour.

She reproves him again and he decides to argue no more with her.

He begs Grace of God not to leave him.

A discussion on the body and the soul. (705 ff.)

The Pilgrim’s soul is separated from his body.

Reason shows him an ant on a sand heap.

Further details of the body and soul. (60 ff.)
The Pilgrim asks Reason to accompany him. She says that she is always with him though hidden by the clouds. The Pilgrim continues his journey.

He meets Youth who promises to go with him.

He comes to a forked path and sees a hedge. On the left, Idleness, on the right Toil. The Pilgrim asks which way he must go. Toil says that her way is the better.

The Pilgrim argues with Toil about her work.

She explains that she is working so that she may not be lazy.

The Pilgrim sees Youth and his Body in friendly conversation.

The Body begins to flatter the Pilgrim and tells him to talk to Idleness. He asks her his way and she tells him that his body has given him good advice.

She is Idleness the daughter of Sloth.

The Pilgrim goes on his way and sees a wall with three gateways. A beautiful lady speaks to him and tells him that she is Moral Virtue.

Further details about Moral Virtue. (46 ff.)

She tells him that there is only one good path.

The Pilgrim sees a body hanging on a cross. Conversation between the body and Mortification of the flesh. Grace of God comes and shows to the Pilgrim the Wheel of Sensuality. (306 ff.)

She then leaves him and Youth appears. She offers to carry the Pilgrim and then flies with him on her back over the hedge of Penitence.

Gluttony arrives and describes herself to the Pilgrim. Venus in the guise of a hog, speaks to him of her enemy Virginity and the Roman de la Rose. Gluttony seizes the Pilgrim and fastens him to the hog. The Pilgrim is saved because Venus and Gluttony see a rich pilgrim and attack him.

Idleness comes to the Pilgrim and he follows her path. He hears Grace of God speaking to him. She tells him that Penitence planted the hedge in order to have rods. The Pilgrim tries to find a hole in the hedge. Reason comes. The Pilgrim blames her for having left him.

The Pilgrim tries to find a hole in the hedge. He is caught by some ropes held by an old woman Sloth. She describes all her evil deeds.

She makes the captain of a ship fall asleep during a storm. She causes thistles and weeds to grow in gardens.

She makes the captain of a ship fall asleep during a storm. She causes thistles and weeds to grow in gardens.
Sloth tells the Pilgrim of her ropes Negligence, Cowardice.

Of two other ropes Faintheart and Fearful.

Of Judas’ rope Despair.

Sloth strikes the Pilgrim and drags him far from the hedge. The white dove saves him. Sloth attacks him again.

She takes her axe and strikes the Pilgrim but he remembers his scrip and staff. Sloth drives him far from the hedge.

The Pilgrim sees two old women coming towards him. He regrets having come to a land ruled by women.

Grace of God tells him that he is going to suffer, and that the old women will tell him their names.

They describe themselves. First Pride. She tells him of her cloak, her staff, her horn, her spurs and the horn in her head.

Of Pride’s bellows.

Flattery speaks in her turn. She describes her mirror.

An old woman appears, carrying two others on her back. She is called Envy. One of the others, Treachery, wants to attack the Pilgrim, but her sister, Detraction, stops her because she wishes to describe herself.

Both wish to attack the Pilgrim; Detraction wishes to make him fall from his horse. The Pilgrim does not know that he is on horseback. Detraction describes the horse, Good Renown. Detraction, Treachery and Envy attack the Pilgrim. He holds his staff firmly.

Memory reminds him of his arms; he takes his sword and buckler. The dove comes to help him.

Another old woman comes to attack the Pilgrim and threatens to kill him.

Memory reminds him of his arms but Idleness prevents his taking them.

He takes his sword from Memory and the dove comes to his aid.

Tribulation arrives; she reads to the Pilgrim the commissions of Adonai and Satan; she uses the latter’s. Anger goes away. Tribulation rushes on the Pilgrim. He remembers a prayer.
The Pilgrim goes on his way and sees a fearful valley.

End of Book II.

Beginning of Book III.

The Pilgrim sees coming towards him an old woman with six hands, who is carrying on her head an idol, Mahomet. She is Avarice; she describes her six hands.

Two of the hands, Cut-purse and Simony are described in greater detail.

Of Avarice's tongue, Perjury.

She explains her hunch-back.

Of the idol on her head.

Gluttony threatens the Pilgrim. Venus arrives.

She explains her hunch-back.

Youth arrives. Avarice threatens to attack the Pilgrim if he does not go with Youth. He hears someone speaking a language he does not know. It is Necromancy's messenger who says that the Pilgrim must visit his mistress. When the Pilgrim refuses he is told that he is like the Duke of Frisia who prefers Hell with his friends to Heaven without them. Necromancy approaches, carrying a sword, and a book called *Hic incipit mors animae*. The dove arrives and Necromancy goes away.

End of Book II.

Beginning of Book III.

The Pilgrim meets Heresy who wishes to cut his scrip. She shows him her father, Satan, who spreads snares to catch souls. He shows the Pilgrim the sea of the world where souls are caught.

The story of the hermit who unwittingly killed his father.

The Pilgrim escapes from Satan by making the sign of the Cross.

The Pilgrim sees the Wheel of Fortune.
The Pilgrim, threatened by Gluttony, laments. Grace of God gives him his staff and tells him to pray. She gives him a scroll containing the A.B.C. prayer. She shows him the tub filled with the tears of Penitence. The Pilgrim bathes in it and Grace of God leaves him. The Pilgrim laments.

End of Book III.

Beginning of Book IV.

The Pilgrim meets Satan who is catching souls in his snares. Heresy comes to help him. She wishes to cut the Pilgrim’s scrip. Grace of God saves him. She explains to him the sea of the world. Youth comes and flies over the sea with the Pilgrim on her back. Tribulation arrives and threatens the Pilgrim. She reads her commission and attacks the Pilgrim who is saved by Grace of God.

The Pilgrim comes to a hillock and meets Astrology, Geomancy, Idolatry, Sorcery, and Conspiracy, who, with their dogs, attack him. They go away and he then meets the Siren who throws him into the sea; but he escapes.

He crosses the sea and arrives at an island where he rests.

The Pilgrim sees the Ship of Religion. Grace of God is there and the Pilgrim joins her.

She shows him the tub filled with the tears of Penitence. He bathes in it.

He rests on an island.
Grace of God invites him to choose his dwelling on the Ship.

He chooses the Cistercian monastery.

He meets the porter, Fear of God, who strikes him before letting him enter.

He meets Poverty, Prayer, etc.

Obedience binds the Pilgrim's hands and feet and closes his mouth.

Envy and Treachery, with their dogs, attack the Pilgrim.

Conversation between Envy and Treachery.

The Pilgrim struggles with his enemies and breaks his arms and a leg. Ovid comes to console him.

Acrostic, in French and Latin verse, on GUILLER-MUS DE DEGUILE-VILLA.

The king returns to the castle and orders the porter to guard the gate better.

The Pilgrim, accompanied by Grace of God, visit other monasteries where he meets Sterility, Apostacy, etc.

Infirmity and Old Age come to prepare the Pilgrim for Death. Pity consoles him.

The porter brings Alms and Prayer to accompany the Pilgrim. The story of King Jehosaphat who reigned for a year. Eulogy of Saint Louis.

Death comes. She separates the Pilgrim's soul from his body and strikes him with her scythe. The bell rings for matins and the poet awakes.