

**A STUDY OF THE SOURCES OF BUNYAN'S
ALLEGORIES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO
DEGUILEVILLE'S PILGRIMAGE OF MAN.
A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD
OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, 1904. PP.9-137**

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A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE
JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1904

BY

JAMES BLANTON WHAREY

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PREFACE.

The quotations from Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Man* cited in Chapter II are from a copy of MS. Ff. 6. 30 made by Mr. Alfred Rogers of the University Library, Cambridge. The pages refer to the pages of the original MS.

I take this opportunity to correct an error overlooked in the proof-reading: "the yere of our Lord MCCC and thyrtten" (p. 12) should read "the yere of our Lord MCCCC and thyrtten."

I.

GUILLAUME DE DEGUILEVILLE.

1. LIFE AND WORKS.

Of Guillaume de Deguileville little is known. He was the son of Thomas of Guileville, and was born in Paris about 1295. He became a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, and before his death probably its prior. In 1330-'1, at the age of thirty-six, he wrote his first *Pilgrimage*. He died at the abbey some time after 1358.¹

Deguileville was the author of: "*Le roman des trois pèlerinaiges; le premier est de l'homme durant qu'est en vie,*² le second de l'ame séparée du corps, et le troisième de N. S. Jhesus-Christ."³ These three *Pilgrimages*, forming a great trilogy of over 36,000 lines, have been recently edited for the Roxburghe Club by Professor J. J. Stürzinger.⁴

The first *Pilgrimage* was composed, according to Deguileville's own testimony, in 1330-'1. Until recently it has been always thought that the second *Pilgrimage* was written immediately after the first.⁵ Prof. Stürzinger gives the following excellent reasons

¹ *Biographie Universelle*, New Edition, xviii, 190; Abbé Goujet, *Bibliothèque française*, ix, 71-74; Wm. Aldis Wright, *The Pilgrimage of the Lay of the Manhode*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1869, Preface, p. iii; De Visch, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum S. ordinis Cisterciensis*, 1649, p. 122; *Manuscrits du Fonds Français*, i, 61, No. 602; J. E. Hultman, *Guillaume de Deguileville En Studie i Frank Litteraturhistoria*, Upsala, 1902; Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der Rom. Phil.*, ii, 749-754.

² The first *Pilgrimage* is sometimes entitled *Le Pèlerinage de l'Homme*, sometimes *Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*.

³ *Biographie Universelle*, xviii, 190. In *Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, Deguileville alludes to certain poems of his written in Latin. These are printed by Prof. Stürzinger in the Appendix to his edition of *Âme*.

⁴ *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine de Guillaume de Deguileville*, Nichols & Sons, London, 1893; *Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme*, 1895; *Le Pèlerinage Jhesucriat*, 1898.

⁵ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Brit. Mus.*, ii, 558-'9; Blades' *Caxton*, ii, 163; Gaston Paris, *La Litt. Franç. au Moyen Âge*, p. 228, § 156.

for supposing that the second *Pilgrimage* was written after 1355, the date of the second recension of the first *Pilgrimage*: "Lines 3007-'12¹ of the following text of *Ame* refer to a passage which occurs only in the second recension of the first *Pilgrimage*. Lines 9376-'7,² 1721-'2³ and 11070-'1⁴ speak of the poet's old age of over sixty years. The *Pilgrimage of the Soul* was therefore composed after the second recension of the first *Pilgrimage* and after 1355, this second recension being written in 1355 and the poet being born in 1294 or 1295. That it was completed before 1358 will be seen from the third *Pilgrimage*."⁵

2. FRENCH MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

The three *Pilgrimages* seem to have been composed respectively in 1330-'1, in 1355, and in 1358.⁶ That they became exceedingly popular is proved by the numerous manuscripts of the French texts and by the several translations into Spanish, Dutch, and English. Prof. Stürzinger has made a list of the various mss. of the French texts still extant in France, England, Belgium, Germany, Russia, and Italy.⁷ There are 53 (or 54)⁸ mss. copies of the first *Pilgrimage*,

¹ ll. 3007-'12: "Tu dis voir, dist il, mes tresbien
Me souvient que n'en fêls rien,
Quant la marciere on temps passe
T'eu(s)t le bon mironour monstre.
Tost ou pennier le regeetas,
Quant ta laidure regardas."

² ll. 9376-'7: "Plus de soixante ans as vescu
En la region mundaine."

³ ll. 1721-'2: "Jeunesse plus ne t'excuse
Senecte odens intruse."

⁴ ll. 11070-'1: "Ou au moins, des que viellesee
Vi venir, et aterminé."

⁵ Introductory Notes to *Pèlerinage de l'Ame*, p. vii.

⁶ In the third *Pilgrimage*, as in the first, the author has told us the date. Cf. ll. 21-24:—

Mesement quar en une nuit
L'an mil ccclviii.
Songie m'estoie pelerin
Où avoie fait grant Chemin.

⁷ See Preface to *Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine*.

⁸ It is not known whether the first or second recension is represented by MS. C, Haigh, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Earl of Crawford, K. T.

first recension; 9 (or 10) of the first *Pilgrimage*, second recension; 43 of the second *Pilgrimage*; and 26 of the third.¹ Some of the MSS. include all three *Pilgrimages*, some only two, and still others only one. There are 73 separate and distinct MSS. in all. France, of course, possesses more of these than England. Those in England are as follows :

London, Brit. Mus., Additional 22937—V A J.²

London, Brit. Mus., Additional 25594—V A.

London, Brit. Mus., Harleian 4399—V.

London, Library of H. H. Gibbs, Esq.—V A J.

London, Library of A. H. Huth, Esq.—V A J.

Ashburnham Place, Library of Earl of Ashburnham,

Coll. Barrois 488—V A.

ibid. Barrois 74—V.

Cheltenham, Library of the late Sir Th. Phillipps, 3655—V.

Some time during the fifteenth century Jean Gallopes, who describes himself as a clerk of Angers, transposed the first and second of Deguileville's *Pilgrimages* into French prose.³ In one of the MSS. of Gallopes's prose version of the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* it is said that the work was begun in February, 1464, "pour obeir a la requeste de treshaulte et excoillante princeesse et ma tres redoubtee dame Jehanne de laual, par la grace de dieu Roynne de Jherusalem et de Sicille, &c."⁴ Wright identifies this patroness of Jean Gallopes with Jeanne de Laval, queen of René le Bon, duc d'Anjou and titular king of Naples. She was born November 10, 1433, became the wife of René in 1454, and died in 1498.⁴ Abbé Goujet, on the other hand, supposed her to be

¹ Two MSS., V and D, are not included in this classification, "because," says Prof. Stürzinger, "I have not had an opportunity of consulting them, the present owner of MS. V being unknown and access to MS. D having been refused."

² V = first *Pilgrimage*, first recension, A = second *Pilgrimage*, J = third *Pilgrimage*.

³ Gallopes did not transpose the third *Pilgrimage*. Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits Français*, Paris, 1842, v, 132, describes a MS. entitled *Vie de Jesus Christ, mis en prose par Jehan Gallopes dit Le Galoys*. This is not, as has been supposed, the third *Pilgrimage* of Deguileville, but the *Meditations of Saint Bonaventure upon the life of Christ*. cf. vii, 249.

⁴ Wright, Note to Preface.

Jeanne, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, Duchess of Anjou and Bar, and Countess of Provence, who died 22d May, 1382.¹

If Gallopes changed Deguileville's first *Pilgrimage* from verse to prose as late as 1464, he must have done so after having already transposed the second *Pilgrimage*, for it was in obedience to the command of John, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France, whose Chaplain Gallopes was, that the prose rendering of the second *Pilgrimage* was made.² It has been asserted that Gallopes's prose version of Deguileville's second *Pilgrimage* was the text used by the translator of *The Pygremage of the Soule* which was printed by Caxton in 1483.³ This is clearly wrong, for in the colophon of Caxton's text it is distinctly stated that the translation was begun in 1413: "Here endeth the dreame of pylgremage of the soule, translaticid out of Frenshe in to Englyshe, with somewhat of addicions. The yere of our Lord MCCC^{and} thyrten, and endeth in the Vigyle of Seynt Bartholomew."⁴ The English prose version printed by Caxton does not differ sufficiently from the original of Deguileville to justify the supposition that the translator had any other text before him than the original French verse.⁵

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the French texts were frequently printed. In 1485 or '86 Mathieu Huss published *Le pelerin de vie humaine*,—Jean Gallopes's prose rendering of the first *Pilgrimage*; in 1499, the same work revised by Pierre Virgin. Antoine Verard published in 1499 *Le Pelerinage de lame*, and in 1511 *Le Pelerinage de l'homme*. About 1500 Barthole et Petit brought out an edition of *Le romant des trois Pelerinaiges* which had been previously revised by the "Monk of Clairvaux."⁶

¹ *Bibl. Franc.*, ix, 91.

² John, Duke of Bedford, became Regent of France in 1422 and died in 1435.—*Dic. Nat. Biog.*, xxxix, 429. See also Wright, *Leaf of the Manhode*, p. ix.

³ *Blades' Caxton*, 1863, ii, 129; *Dic. Nat. Biog.*, xxxiv, 315.

⁴ K. I. Cost, *Partial Reprint of Caxton*, London, 1859, p. 81.

⁵ Cf. *A Catalogue of the MSS. Preserved in the Library of the Univ. of Cambridge*, 1858, iii, 565, MS. KK. I, 7.

⁶ It is not known who was the "Monk of Clairvaux." Abbé Goujet—*Bibl. Franc.*, ix, 74—identifies him with the Pierre Virgin who revised the edition published by Mathieu Huss in 1499. But, as Wright (pp. vii-viii) observes, this conjecture must certainly be wrong, since the "Monk of Clairvaux" speaks disparagingly of this very edition.

In 1506 Michel Le Noir published *Le Pelerin de vie humaine*.¹ To these early editions should be added the edition of the three *Pilgrimages* by Prof. Stürzinger mentioned above.

3. ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

a. *The First Pilgrimage.*

The first English translation, apparently, of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine* was made by John Lydgate in 1426 at the request of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. Two mss. of Lydgate's poem are in the British Museum—Vitellius, C. XIII, and Tiberius, A. VII. Both mss. are imperfect, the latter being a mere fragment of some 4000 lines.² Fortunately the missing parts are contained in one of the John Stowe mss., no. 952, in the library of Lord Ashburnham. These three mss. furnish the text of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* recently edited for the E. E. T. S. by Dr. Furnivall.³ Lydgate's verse translation represents the second recension of Deguileville's first *Pilgrimage*.

About the year 1430, just a century after the composition of the original work, an English prose rendering of the first *Pilgrimage*, first recension, was made. Nothing whatever is known of the translator except that he must have lived after the time of Chaucer, since Chaucer's *A B C, or Prayer to the Virgin*, is inserted in the translation.⁴ This prose version is a slavish translation of the French original. It was edited in 1869 for the Roxburghe Club by William Aldis Wright from ms. Ff. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Several mss., which, though they have never been collated, are supposed to represent this version or a modernised form of it, are extant:

¹ A Spanish translation of the first *Pilgrimage* was published at Toulouse by Vincentio Masnello in 1480, and again in 1499. Hill (p. 14) mentions two editions of a Dutch version of the first *Pilgrimage*.

² Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, II, 571, 578.

³ Copious extracts from Vitellius, C. XIII are printed in the Appendix of Hill's book. See also "A Modern Prose Translation of . . . *The Pilgrimage of Man*," London, 1859—an abstract of Hill's book by its editor, Katharine Imbella Cust.

⁴ In Vitellius, C. XIII, a blank space is left for its insertion.