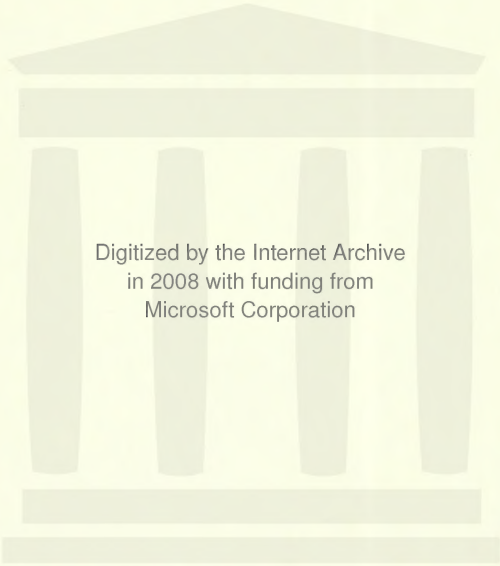

PIERS PLOWMAN

A COMPARISON WITH SOME EARLIER AND CONTEMPORARY FRENCH ALLEGORIES

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BY

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"Piers Plowman": A comparison with some earlier and contemporary French Allegories:—

"Li Romans de Carité," by Barthélemy, Renclus de Moiliens, c. 1180–1190.

"Le Songe d'Enfer," by Raoul de Houdenc, c. 1214.

"La Voie de Paradis," possibly by Raoul de Houdenc, c. 1216.

"Le Roman de la Rose." Part I by Guillaume de Lorris, c. 1230.
Part II by Jean de Meun, c. 1270.

"Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist," by Huon de Méri, c. 1234–1235.

"La Voie de Paradis," by Rutebeuf, c. 1270–1285.

"Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," by De Guileville.
1st recension, 1330–1331.
2nd recension, 1355.

"Salut d'Enfer"
"De Dame Guile" } Date and author unknown.

TO

THE ENGLISH SCHOOL

ROYAL HOLLOWAY COLLEGE

For if heuene be on this erthe, and ese to any soule
It is in cloistere or in scole, be many skilles I fynde;
For in cloistre cometh no man to chide ne to fiȝte,
But alle is buxumnesse there and bokes to rede and to lerne.
In scole there is scorne but if a clerke wil lerne,
And grete love and lykynge for eche of hem loveth other.

PREFACE

THIS study was finished in April 1909. Since then, several important articles on the "Piers Plowman" Authorship Controversy have been published (*v.* Bibliography). As my work was completed before it was possible to read these articles, I have let it stand as a record of independent investigation; though in some cases the writers have analysed the same parts of "Piers Plowman" as I have done. I have noticed in Chapters I and IV the result of the investigations in so far as they bear on my subject, but in revising my work I have not found that these conclusions invalidate any of my arguments.

I gladly take this opportunity of recording my gratitude to my College, Royal Holloway College, for the generous encouragement I have received in the publication of this study, and especially to Miss K. S. Block, who throughout my work has been ready to assist me with criticism and advice.

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PIERS PLOWMAN

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

M. JUSSERAND has said of the writer of "Piers Plowman": "He is familiar with French ballads and romances. . . . He has read Rutebeuf's 'Voie de Paradis,' the 'Pèlerinages' of De Guileville, the 'Roman de la Rose,' and more or less conscious reminiscences of those poems are afloat in his memory." M. Jusserand gives a short summary of Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis" "which," he says, "offers many points of comparison with Langland," without, however, specifying these points. In his account of De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," M. Jusserand notices that some of the personages introduced appear again in "Piers Plowman"; he thinks that "Langland" "possibly borrowed something from this poem," which "was very popular both in England and in France."

Jusserand, "Piers Plowman," Eng. Trans. 1894, p. 173.

Ibid., pp. 196–202.

In his "History of English Poetry," Warton pointed out the similarity between the two last passus of "Piers Plowman," and Huon de Méri's "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist." Dr. Skeat evidently believes in the possibility of "Langland's" indebtedness to the "Tournoiement," since he quotes the passage from Warton in his notes; he also compares the Feast at Conscience's Court to the Feast described in the Tournoiement and notices that Huon de Méri derived the idea from Raoul de

Ed. 1840, II, p. 60; ed. 1871, II, p. 263.

Skeat, II, p. 276.

Skeat, II, p. 102.

Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer." In a note on the directions for the journey to Truth, Dr. Skeat remarks that there are "several points of resemblance between the rest of this Passus (A. VI., B. V., C. VIII.) and a French poem by Rutebeuf" (Voie de Paradis), adding, "We may fairly infer, both from this and other passages, that William was acquainted with Rutebeuf's writings." Dr. Skeat also refers to the earlier "Voie de Paradis" possibly by Raoul de Houdenc.

The question of the influence of these French allegories on "Piers Plowman" has recently been rendered more interesting and also more complicated by Professor Manly's suggestion that "Piers Plowman" is the work not of one writer, but of five.

Professor Manly makes no allusion to the French poems in his earlier articles. He even ignores the connection between the account of the Attack of Antichrist upon Unity in "Piers Plowman" (B. XIX. and XX.) and the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist" (which has been noted by other commentators on "Piers Plowman" since Warton), and speaks of the "themes" of these passus as "derived" from the "Castle of Love," in which, however, the "theme" of a siege does not appear. However, in July 1909, writing in "Modern Philology" in reply to M. Jusserand's criticism of his theories, Professor Manly remarks: "'Piers Plowman' is full of evidences of influences from both French and Latin literature, most of which, to be sure, have been overlooked." To which M. Jusserand replies, "I persist in thinking that Langland was, as nearly as can be, uninfluenced and unbiased by foreign ideas, principles and sentiments. By which I do not mean that no reminiscences of French and Latin literature can be found in his work: I pointed out myself a number of such reminiscences in my 'Piers Plowman,' 1894."

"Cambridge History of Literature," II, p. 26.

"Modern Philology," Vol. VII, p. 85.

Ibid., VII, p. 297.

While the authorities agree as to the possible influence of some, at least, of these French allegories on the writer, or writers, of "Piers Plowman," no detailed comparison has as yet been attempted. It seemed possible, therefore, that such a comparison might be of interest, especially since it might prove a slight contribution to the present controversy as to the authorship of "Piers Plowman." For if it can be shown, first, that the allegorical *material* used in all texts of the poem bears so strong a resemblance to that of the French allegories as to suggest that it is, in part, at least, derived from them; and, secondly, that the *manner* in which the material is treated is similar in all texts and, at the same time, very different from that of the French writers, the result of the investigation will be at least a contributory argument in favour of the unity of authorship.

More important still, this comparison illustrates the extraordinary vigour and originality of the English writer in his treatment of the allegorical material which was almost common stock at the time when he wrote.

It is, however, impossible to determine the influence of these French allegories on "Piers Plowman" without an examination of common sources in the commentaries on the Bible, Patristic and other theological writings which were studied in the monasteries of the period. Such an examination is beyond the scope of the present thesis; all that is here attempted is a comparison of the poems, in which all the points of resemblance have been noted as accurately as possible.

It will be seen that the French poems selected are those suggested by M. Jusserand, Dr. Skeat and Warton. To these have been added the "Romans de Carité" since in many respects it bears a striking resemblance to "Piers Plowman" and the two short poems "De Dame Guile" and "Salut d'Enfer," which are introduced

to illustrate the common employment of certain allegorical devices.

The earliest of these French poems is " Li Romans de Carité," by Barthélemy, Renclus de Moiliens, which was probably composed between 1180 and 1190. M. Van Hamel has edited the two poems of the Renclus, the " Romans de Carité " and the " Miserere," and the best account of them is to be found in his introduction. He notes that the poems were imitated by Baudouin and Jehan de Condé and were highly praised by Gille le Muisit in the 14th century. Their popularity is attested by the large number of manuscripts which have come down to us.

" Le Songe d'Enfer " of Raoul de Houdenc was probably composed not long before 1215. That is the period to which it is assigned by Dr. Friedwagner, the latest editor of Raoul de Houdenc, in his introduction to the first volume of the " Werke," containing " Le Roman de Meraugis de Portlesguez." Very little is known of Raoul de Houdenc, and there has been considerable controversy as to which poems can be assigned to him with certainty. Most critics agree that he is the author of " Meraugis," " Le Roman des Ailes," and " Le Songe d'Enfer." Zenker (1889) and many other critics, including Gaston Paris and M. Langlois, also attribute to him " Le Songe ou La Voie de Paradis "; but Dr. Friedwagner considers that this " Voie de Paradis," which internal evidence proves to be later than 1215, was not written by Raoul de Houdenc, but, on the contrary, was intended to be a counteracting influence to " Le Songe d'Enfer," which it imitated. The influence of " Le Songe d'Enfer " may also be seen in " Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist " and " Le Roman de la Rose."

M. Langlois thinks that Guillaume de Lorris'

"Roman de la Rose" should be dated *c.* 1225–30, and that Jean de Meun's Continuation was begun *c.* 1270. M. Langlois has done much to illustrate the Roman in his book on the "Origines et Sources" (1891), but his promised critical edition of the text has not yet been published. The most recent edition is that of Michel (1864); it is that to which reference is made in this book. Summaries of the Roman may be found in such books as Gaston Paris' "Littérature Française au Moyen-Age," Ch. V; in M. Langlois' article in Petit de Julleville's "Histoire de la Littérature Française," Vol. II., Ch. III., and in most of the larger Histories of English Literature. There is also a 14th-century English translation of part of it, possibly by Chaucer, which is easily accessible. For these reasons, no analysis of it has been offered in the Appendix.

"Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist" by Huon de Méri, is only a few years later than the first part of the "Roman de la Rose"; for it is dated *c.* 1234–35 by its reference to the campaign of King Louis in Brittany. Very little is known about Huon de Méri: if he wrote another poem, it has not come down to us with his signature. He was influenced by the romances of Chrestien de Troies and the allegory of Raoul de Hondenc, whom he acknowledges as his masters. The consequent mingling of allegory and romance gives an exceptional interest to the "Tournoiement." The best critical edition is that of Wimmer, 1888. Tarbé also edited it in the "Poètes de Champagne" Series, 1851, and his introduction gives a good account of the historical significance of the poem.

The date of Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis" cannot be determined with precision, as the only date in his life which is known is that of his second marriage in 1261. Most of the events referred to in Rutebeuf's poems

took place between 1260 and 1285, so that the approximate dates for his life, 1230–85, suggested by M. Jubinal, are probably correct. " La Voie de Paradis " seems to belong to the latter part of Rutebeuf's life : it is, therefore, probably later than the second part of the " Roman de la Rose," which was begun by Jean de Meun about 1270. Rutebeuf was a versatile and prolific writer, and the " Voie de Paradis " is one of the least characteristic of his poems; he only uses allegorical setting in it and in " Le Dit d'Ypocrisie." Rutebeuf has been selected as a typical trouvère by M. Léon Clédat in " Les Grands Ecrivains Français " Series; this " Rutebeuf " (1891) contains the fullest account of the poet which has been published. Rutebeuf's works have been edited by A. Jubinal (2nd edition, 1874) and by Herr Kressner (1885), whose edition is more critical and scholarly than Jubinal's.

De Guileville's " Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine " presents a curious analogy to " Piers Plowman," inasmuch as there are two distinct versions of the poem in existence. Of these, the first version was written in 1330–31, and, as we learn from the Prologue to the second recension, was stolen from De Guileville, copied and circulated, before it was completely finished. In consequence of this theft, De Guileville re-wrote the whole poem, finishing it in 1355; he hoped that the corrected version would reach every place to which the first had penetrated. Apparently the second recension was at once regarded as authoritative; it was that selected by Lydgate for translation in 1426, and it was printed with De Guileville's other works—" Pèlerinage de l'Ame " (1355–58) and " Pèlerinage Jhesucrist " (1358) in " Le Romant des trois pèlerinages " issued for B. and J. Petit in Paris about 1500; it was also printed separately for Anthoine Verard in 1511. It is therefore probable, though by no means certain, that if the writer of " Piers Plowman " knew

V. Verard, fol. (ii).

De Guileville's "Pèlerinage" at all, he knew it in the second recension.

The first recension, however, was edited for the Roxburghe Club by J. J. Stürzinger in 1893, and it is this edition which has been used for the present analysis, since it is more accessible than the second recension, which has not been reprinted since 1511. Moreover all the more important differences between the versions have been clearly pointed out by Miss K. B. Locock in Chapter III of her Introduction to Lydgate's "Pilgrimage of the Life of Man," which forms Part III of Dr. Furnivall's edition of Lydgate's poem for the Early English Text Society (extra series). Such passages as are important for purposes of comparison with "Piers Plowman" are quoted from this Introduction at the end of the analysis of the allegory in the Appendix. Part of Miss Locock's criticism of De Guileville's revision of his work may be quoted here; for it shows that if the C. Text writer of "Piers Plowman" was the original author he was not alone in his methods of revision.

Miss Locock says: "It is a matter for doubt whether De Guileville always improved his poem by his rearrangements and additions." Some improvements are noted, but Miss Locock adds: "On the whole . . . the additions and alterations tend towards tediousness and confusion. . . . Possibly the inserted discussions on original sin, free-will, the senses, influence of the stars, etc., appealed to the public for which De Guileville wrote; and even to the reader of the present day, parts of them are by no means uninteresting. But these discussions are woefully long and seriously interfere with the unity of the narrative. . . . Speaking generally we may say that De Guileville's first recension reads more closely and forms a better artistic whole than the second version, but that some of the later additions

Introd., p. xxx.

distinctly add to the interest of the poem, though not invariably to its excellence as an allegory."

Nothing is known of De Guileville except that he was a monk of Chalis. His "Pèlerinages" were very popular in England and France in the 15th century, as is shown by the number of extant manuscripts, by the French prose version of the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" (1464), and by the English translations in prose and verse of the first two "Pèlerinages."

The two short poems "Le Salut d'Enfer" and "De Dame Guile," are anonymous and undated. They were published by A. Jubinal in his "Jongleurs et Trouvères . . . des XIII^{e} and XIV^{e} Siècles" (1835), and Jubinal says that the greater part of the pieces published are from MSS. 7218 and 7595 of the Bibliothèque Royale, which probably belong to the reign of Louis IX. If these two poems are derived from these manuscripts, they would therefore be of about the same date as Rutebeuf's Poems.

I have been unable to find external evidence to show that any of these allegories, with the exception of the "Roman de la Rose," were known in England at the time when "Piers Plowman" was composed. That at least three translators are thought to have written the English "Romaunt of the Rose" which has come down to us, may be taken as an indication of its popularity in England. If, as Dr. Skeat thinks, Chaucer wrote the first 1,705 lines of the translation, his work was probably done before 1369, *i. e.* at a date not very far removed from that of the A. Text of "Piers Plowman."

Cf. Lydgate Translator's Prologue, ll. 151–156.

But the only other translation of one of these allegories is Lydgate's verse rendering of the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" which was not made until 1426, about thirty years after the C. Text of "Piers Plowman." Chaucer translated the A. B. C. Prayer to the Virgin from this

"Pèlerinage," probably within the years 1369–74, but as Chaucer was at least twice in France, in 1359 and 1369, this is not a conclusive proof that De Guileville's work was known in England, though it is probable that it was.

Unfortunately an examination of the catalogues of several monastic libraries yields no evidence that any of these French allegories were to be found in English monasteries. French romances are recorded in the catalogues of S. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (end of 15th century); of S. Martin's, Dover; and of Leicester Abbey (*c.* 1492). Many moral and devotional treatises in French are to be found in the Catalogue of the Peterborough Library, including several on the *septem mortalia peccata* and a "Manuale qui nos addiscit viam ad coelum" (X., xiv.). This "Manuale" may possibly be the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" or one of the "Voies de Paradis." In a catalogue (1327) of Exeter Library the following tantalising entry is made: "Multi alii libri vetustate consumpti, Gallice, Anglice et Latine scripti qui non appreciantur, que nullius valoris reputantur." No French books are named in this catalogue, none are to be found in the Durham Monastic Catalogues of 1391 and 1395, nor are there any among the manuscripts still preserved in the Cathedral Library of Worcester. These manuscripts include copies of almost all the Latin authors quoted in "Piers Plowman," and several English works, among others an English Gospel of Nicodemus, probably dating from the 15th century. The Worcester MSS. have a special interest for the student of "Piers Plowman," for if, as has been supposed, the writer of at least part of "Piers Plowman" was educated at Malvern Priory, he probably knew the Worcester books, since the monasteries at Malvern and Worcester were connected and would almost certainly lend each other manuscripts. Though no French books are found at Worcester, we know

Cf. Bibliography *sub* Library Catalogues.

Cf. W. H. Hulme, Middle English "Harrowing of Hell," pp. xlviii, *seq.*

that they were read and carefully preserved in England; they are mentioned in 14th-century wills. Thus in 1315, Guy de Beauchamp bequeathed many French works, including romances, to Bordesley Abbey, and in 1399 Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, bequeathed various French manuscripts to her son Humphrey and her daughter Anne.

Edwards' "Memoirs of Libraries," I, pp. 375, 376.

Ibid., pp. 385, 386.

Though there appears to be no record extant to prove that the French allegories under discussion were known in England at the time, the mention of many other French books proves that it is not improbable that the writer, or writers, of "Piers Plowman" had read them.

There certainly seems no reason to assume with Professor Courthope that "Langland probably knew no modern language but his own"—an assumption which is contradicted later by Professor Courthope himself when he says that Langland "had studied the literary style of poems like the 'Romance of the Rose,' Grosseteste's 'Chastel d'Amour' and De Guilleville's 'Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine.'"

"History of English Poetry," I, p. 160.

Ibid., p. 288.

French was the language of the Law-Courts until 1362, and was therefore probably understood by the writer of the A. Text, whose contempt for lawyers seems to have been derived from personal experience of the methods of the Courts. A passage in the B. Text shows that the writer of that text also knew French. He condemns the "newe clerkes" because "nou3t on amonge an hundreth" can "rede a lettre in any langage but in Latyn or in Englissh." This line is omitted in the C. Text, possibly because French was then going out of fashion.

B. XV. 369.

French phrases are to be found in all parts of the poem, as the following references prove: A. Prol. 103 (*cf.* B. Prol. 224, C. I. 225); A. VII. 299 (*cf.* B. VI. 313, C. IX. 335); A. VIII. 148 (*cf.* B. VII. 162, C. X. 311); B. X. 439; B. XI. 376–7 (Rawlinson MS. only) (*cf.* C. XIV. 205–7); B. XIV. 122 (*cf.* C. XVI. 303); B. XV. 113 (*cf.* C.

XVII. 269); C. XVIII. 163–4; C. XX. 166; B. XVIII. 229 (*cf.* C. XXI. 241).

There is therefore no intrinsic improbability in assuming that these French allegories were known to the writer of "Piers Plowman."

In order to work out the comparison which is the subject of this thesis, a more detailed analysis of the allegorical form of "Piers Plowman" than has hitherto been made is necessary. Dr. Skeat has given a synopsis of the C. Text of "Piers Plowman," and Professor Manly of the A. and B. Texts; it would therefore be superfluous to attempt another. Such a summary, giving a connected analysis of the thought of the poem, would not serve the purpose of the present comparison. It has seemed better to group together the allegorical motives of "Piers Plowman." Such an arrangement reveals a greater unity in certain parts of the poem than has perhaps been clearly recognised hitherto; it is also interesting from the point of view of the relation of the texts as, in some cases, the same allegorical actions and devices are found in all parts of the poem. The problem of authorship is treated as an open question. In every case, important differences between the texts are noted and reference is given to the exact text quoted with an indication of the parallel lines in the other texts.

Skeat, II, pp. lxxxvi–xci. "Cambridge History of Literature," Vol. II, Chap. I.

Short summaries of most of the French poems under consideration have been given by various writers in French and English, as the Bibliography shows. But these summaries are not easily accessible, and they are not sufficiently detailed to be of value for the present comparison. It therefore seemed advisable, for purposes of reference, to give in an appendix analyses of these allegories, in which the most noticeable features should be indicated. It seemed unnecessary to include an analysis of the "Roman de la Rose," because, as has already been pointed out, it is easily accessible.

CHAPTER II

A COMPARISON OF THE PURPOSE OF "PIERS PLOWMAN" AND THE FRENCH ALLEGORIES

THE French allegories differ considerably from each other and from "Piers Plowman" in their purpose and in their expression of that purpose. The poet's treatment of allegory is, naturally, modified by the intention of his poem; it is therefore necessary to consider the general character of the various poems before comparing the treatment of allegory in them.

Cf. Appendix.

Allegory may be used (1) to delineate contemporary life from the point of view of the reformer or of the pure satirist, as in "Gulliver's Travels"; (2) to provide instruction in sacred or in secular learning as in the Morality Plays; (3) to state abstract ethical truths as in "The Faerie Queene"; (4) to embody the personal experience of the writer, (*a*) having a universal application as in the case of "The Pilgrim's Progress" or (*b*) being merely phases and incidents, moral and material, of his career as in the account of Spenser's wooing in the "Faerie Queene," Book VI.

Almost all these varied uses of allegory are to be found in the "Vision of Piers the Plowman."

The first two Visions may be regarded as a picture of contemporary life drawn by a reformer who satirises the abuses he detects and, at the same time, suggests remedies; the keynote of these visions is sounded in the Prologue. The poet might have pictured in his "fair field full of folk" the universal activities of man. But he has deliberately narrowed his outlook that he may depict representatives of the various classes

of society to be found in the England of his day. The Vision of Lady Meed represents the principle of bribery and corruption not as it may appear in all stages of the world's history, but as it was manifesting itself in England in the days of Edward III. The abuses revealed are those which were occupying the attention of the House of Commons. The poet suggests a remedy; all will be well if the king will rule by the advice of Reason and Conscience.

In the next Vision, there are signs of a transition from the representation of the evils and problems which beset the nation to that of the more spiritual difficulties with which each man has to deal. But, on the whole, this Vision also may be regarded as a picture of contemporary life. Conscience's Sermon is addressed to the Englishmen of 1362; the Seven Deadly Sins are sinners of the A. V period. The national significance of the Vision is still more apparent in the account of the Pilgrimage to Truth. Piers Plowman advises knights and their ladies, and he himself is the representative of all true labourers. The economic and social problems consequent on the pestilence and famine are discussed; the coming of Hunger and his battle with "Wastor" is an allegorical picture of that famine; all classes of society are named in Truth's Bull of Indulgence.

But the poet has never been content with merely observing and depicting the life around him. His poem is a vision; he looks below the surface and sees there great mysterious forces at work, of which all external life is but a manifestation. The vivid picture of contemporary life in his poem is viewed in the perspective in which the poet's peculiar standpoint reveals it to him. This is at once apparent from the Prologue; the "fair field full of folk" lies between the Tower of Truth and the Castle of Care. It is not, therefore, surprising that in the "Pilgrimage to Truth" Vision the poet should deal with the spiritual

difficulties of man at all times, as well as with the national problems of his own day. Piers Plowman's directions for the journey to Truth are certainly of universal application. In this way, as M. Jusserand has suggested, the poet seems to be leading up to the Vision of Dowel, first recorded in A. IX.–XII. and continued in B. and C., and to the Visions of Dobet and Dobest of the B. and C. Texts. These are not primarily concerned with contemporary politics, though discussions on problems of the day are frequently introduced. Owing to the long rambling speeches and the disconnected episodes, it is not easy to discover the central thought of these Visions. The Vision of Dowel may, however, be summarised as the quest of humanity for righteousness typified in the experience of one man, the poet; there seems little doubt that in this Vision we have a record of personal development; what is, to some extent, a spiritual autobiography.

"Chicago Modern Philology," VI, Jan. 1909, p. 277.

Herr Mensendieck indeed reads the whole poem as an account of actual events in the poet's life as well as of his moral experience. If his theory is true of any part of the poem, it is true of the A. Text Vision of Dowel. The poet seeks Dowel by means of his reflective powers and study, then through theological learning and a knowledge of Scripture; these prove insufficient and he is turning for direction to his natural understanding, when he is overtaken by disease, the forerunner of death, and the poem is thus brought to a conclusion. Such is, at least, a possible interpretation of the meeting with Thought, Wit and his wife Dame Study, the journey to Clergy and Dame Scripture and the encounter with Hunger and Fever on the way to Kind Wit. The writer of the B. Text, wishing to continue the Vision of Dowel, naturally omitted this encounter. He substituted for it an account of the dreamer's beguiling by Fortune and her followers and added Scripture's Sermon, the vision of the world shown to

"Charakterent-wickelung und ethisch-theologische Anschauungen des Verfassers von Piers Plowman," and "The Authorship of Piers Plowman," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, Vol. IX, No. 3, 1910.

the dreamer by Nature, the meeting with Imaginative, the allegorical feast at Conscience's Court at which submission and resignation are the chief food, and the interview with Activa Vita.

It seems probable that there is here no attempt at recording a definite sequence of events in the writer's life; the search for Dowel in the B. and C. Texts represents by means of allegory the various problems of the moral life. This representation is continued in the Vision of Dobet where the thought is centred in Christ with the suggestion that the problems of humanity find their solution in His Victory over Sin and Death. His Life is related two or three times from varying points of view; occasionally the poet represents himself as actually witnessing the events which he describes.

These Visions are a record of thought rather than of personal experience in actual life; they show the search and struggle for truth and righteousness, not their attainment. There is no clear-cut definite rule of life to be found in them, they do not present a "pilgrim's progress" clearly marked out that others may follow it. In all this they form a striking contrast to the early "Voie de Paradis" and De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," while resembling them in the use of allegory for the representation of spiritual truths.

The Vision of Dobest shows the assault of Antichrist upon the Church, men fortified by the Grace won for them through Christ's Victory.

This last Vision rounds off the poem by returning to the representation of contemporary life with which it began. For the poet depicts that part of Antichrist's attack upon the Church which he himself witnessed, the dangers to which the Church was subject in his own days; for instance, the plasters of Shrift and Friar Flatterer represent the rival claims of parish priests and friars to

hear confessions. Political problems are, naturally, not introduced into this Vision. But this was not because the B. Text writer was indifferent to them, as is proved by many passages in the Visions of Dowel and Dobet and by the insertions in the A. Text of which the "Rat Parliament" is the most conspicuous example.

The C. Text reviser has a definitely didactic aim; passages are made clearer, the writer is more cautious in his presentation of difficult questions, and the wish to edify the reader is more apparent. This difference of purpose is not necessarily evidence for difference of authorship, for, as M. Jusserand points out, these are all characteristics which are the usual accompaniments of old age.

"Chicago Modern Philology," VI, pp. 317-319. Jan. 1909.

Thus we find that in the "Vision of Piers Plowman" allegory is used to bring out clearly the forces at work in contemporary life; to emphasise the chief events in the Life of Christ; to state abstract ethical truths; and to embody the personal experience of the writer, regarded as typical of that of humanity. In addition this examination of the purpose of the poem would seem to suggest that it may be the creation of one mind.

The French allegories under consideration also provide examples of the various purposes for which allegory may be employed.

It is used to depict certain features of contemporary life by the Renclus de Moiliens in "Li Romans de Carité," by Huon de Méri in "Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist," by Raoul de Houdenc in "Le Songe d'Enfer," and by Rutebeuf in "La Voie de Paradis."

In the "Romans de Carité" allegory is used for precisely the same purpose as in the first two visions of "Piers Plowman"—the representation of contemporary life from the point of view of the reformer, with the consequent use of satire.

The Renclus represents himself as seeking Charity in

vain in the countries of Europe and in the various classes of society in France. The personification of Charity, and the search for her gives a unity to the poem which is lacking in the "Etats du Monde"—satiric and didactic poems on the evils of the day—which were somewhat numerous at the time at which the "Romans de Carité" was written and which probably influenced it. As the analysis of the "Romans" shows, the poet does not carry out his purpose nor express his thought consistently; for instance, he becomes purely didactic in his advice to the orders of the realm. In "Piers Plowman" also there is a tendency to substitute direct instruction for allegory. An illustration of this may be found in the account of Haukyn's coat. To complete the allegory, Sloth should be represented as a stain upon the coat; instead of this representation there is an enumeration of "the braunches that bryngeth a man to Sleuth."

Cf. "Petit de Julleville," Vol. II, Chap. IV, p. 201.

Cf. Appendix.

B. XIII. 410 *seq.*

The purpose of Huon de Méri's "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist" is identical with that of the Vision of Dobest in "Piers Plowman." In both, allegory is used to depict the spiritual forces of which the poet saw the outward manifestation in the events of his own time; in both, the conflict described is regarded as merely one phase of the incessant warfare between good and evil. Huon de Méri's poem probably owes its origin to the Crusade against the Albigensian heretics in which he says that he took part. These heretics were regarded as servants of Antichrist, and men doubtless saw in the Crusade against them a battle between the forces of God and the Devil. It is this battle which is described in the "Tournoiement".

Huon de Méri uses a romantic setting for his allegory, and romantic motives are prominent throughout. Such are the representation of the conflict as a tournament, the importance attached to the blazon on the shields of the combatants, the account of the love-potion given to

v. Appendix.

the poet by Cupid, and the pleading of the eyes and heart before the judge. The influence of Chrestien de Troies is to be seen in the introduction of these romantic motives; there is nothing which resembles this in "Piers Plowman". Huon de Méri also differs from the writer of "Piers Plowman" in seeming to attach greater importance to the fanciful and romantic part of his allegory than to the imaginative truth which it sets forth.

The influence of the Albigensian Crusade is also to be seen in Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer." This is only a representation of contemporary life in so far as the satire with which it is mainly concerned is directed against the people and the practices of the poet's own time. There seems no doubt that the first readers of the allegory were chiefly interested in the introduction of personages and places by name in the account given by the Pilgrim to the Vices of the prosperity of their followers upon earth. Though satire is most important, the allegory is not forgotten; the Pilgrimage to Hell gives a good imaginative picture of a man's downward course, as he passes from one vice to another. Allegory is not used for spiteful personal satire in "Piers Plowman." A possible exception may be found in the names of persons introduced as witnesses to the feoffment of Meed,[1] and in the Tavern Scene[2]; but these are probably fictitious. The satire of "Piers Plowman" is the satire of the reformer, moral in its purpose.

[1] A. II. 76–80; B. II. 108–111; C. III. 110–113.

[2] A. V. 158–167; B. V. 315–324; C. VII. 362–373.

The chief interest of Rutebeuf in his "Voie de Paradis" seems to be the delineation of personifications of Vices and Virtues, for which the pilgrimage serves as a setting. The intention of this poem is again satiric rather than didactic. The Vices are described with greater fulness than the Virtues; they are represented as more powerful and more popular. The text of the allegory seems to be the degeneracy of the times. But the purpose is not clearly carried out and the poem is rough and unfinished.

It is not of great importance as a picture of contemporary life; in this it differs from Rutebeuf's other allegory, "Le Dit d'Ypocrisie" which, as an allegorical account of the election of Pope Gregory X, presents a closer parallel to the first two visions of "Piers Plowman."

"Le Songe d'Enfer" and Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis" have a satiric rather than a didactic purpose. But the way to Heaven or Hell, to good or evil, is, speaking generally, the same for all men at all times, and these allegories may also be regarded as stating abstract ethical truths. In this respect their purpose resembles that of the visions of Dowel and Dobet in "Piers Plowman" which embody the personal experience of the writer, regarded as having a universal application.

Allegory is employed to provide definite religious and ecclesiastical instruction in the early "Voie de Paradis" and in De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

The "Voie de Paradis" is definitely didactic in purpose. It sets forth allegorically the duty of each Christian; he must reach Heaven by means of love, contrition, penitence and the Christian virtues. The allegory is followed by a sermon that there may be no doubt as to the writer's intention.

The "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" also uses allegory for the purpose of enforcing the doctrine of the Church. The three "Pèlerinages" written by De Guileville should really be regarded as one poem, though only one of them has been examined in detail here. They were printed together by Barthole and Jehan Petit (*c.* 1500), under the following title "Le Romant des trois Pelerinaiges. Le premier pelerinaige est de l'homme durant quest en vie. Le second de l'ame séparée du corps. Le tiers est de nostre seigneur Jesus en forme de monotesseron," etc. This edition contains a good alphabetical index, treating the three Pilgrimages together, so it is evident that they were

cc Bibliography.

regarded as a trilogy by their first editors. The subject they treat is the life of man in this world and the next, and the Life of Christ as a Pilgrim upon earth. In his choice of a subject which includes the whole of life, De Guileville resembles the writer of the later texts of "Piers Plowman"; it is especially interesting that each poet should have supplemented his account of human life by relating the Life of our Lord, as seen by him in a vision, though De Guileville only claims for his work that it is a harmony of the Gospels.

The "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" shows the progress of a Christian from birth to death. Every opportunity is taken of emphasising the teaching of the Church; the Pilgrim is baptised and confirmed and receives the sacramental Bread and Wine; he witnesses the administration of the other sacraments in Grace-Dieu's house; the necessity for penitence and penance is insisted upon; and a short way to Heaven is assured to the Pilgrim by his entering the "Ship of Religion," that is, of professing the religious life. The didactic purpose of the poem is considered to be of primary importance; allegory is used merely to convey the teaching. Consequently accessory after accessory is heaped upon the personifications, no matter how incongruous they appear, that all the characteristics of the thing personified may be clearly stated. The imaginative, pictorial or dramatic effect is not considered.

This is the very reverse of the method used in "Piers Plowman", where the allegorical significance is frequently forgotten in the poet's interest in the actual scenes he is depicting.

Allegory is used to embody the personal experience of the writer in Guillaume de Lorris' "Roman de la Rose." This poem differs from those already considered, in being the allegorical representation of a love-story. In so far as it probably recounts a real story, the experience of one

man, and, by so doing, teaches all lovers the laws of love, it may be compared to the Pilgrimages and the Visions of Dowel and Dobet just discussed. Guillaume de Lorris' aim was, however, that of the artist, not of the teacher; he is chiefly interested in beautiful descriptions and pleasant phrases, and in this he differs from the writers of those poems.

It is unnecessary to say more of the purpose of the first part of the "Roman de la Rose," since it has been clearly dealt with by M. Langlois in his "Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose," and since it is not of importance from the point of view of a comparison with "Piers Plowman."

For such a comparison, the second part is of far greater interest. In it allegory is employed to set forth abstract ethical truths. Jean de Meun takes the story of Guillaume de Lorris and eventually completes it; Bel-Accueil is rescued from the Castle of Jealousy where he has been imprisoned by Love and his Barons, and the Lover gains the Rose. But the allegorical action is constantly interrupted by long irrelevant discussions on any subject which interested Jean de Meun; the allegory is, in fact, but a framework for these discussions. As M. Langlois says: "La seconde partie du Roman de la Rose est moins un Art d'Amour qu'un recueil de dissertations philosophiques, théologiques, scientifiques, de satire contre les femmes, contre les ordres religieux, contre les rois et les grands, d'anecdotes tirées des auteurs anciens ou contemporains, le tout bien ou mal, plutôt mal que bien, groupé autour de l'idée principale : la conquête de la Rose." And M. Langlois sums up Jean's aim as follows: "Plus son livre enseignera de choses, plus il sera profitable."

"Origines et Sources," p. 93.

Ibid., p. 100.

The consequent digressions and discussions which, as M. Langlois has shown, contain material borrowed from many authors, are introduced at the most inopportune

moments. Thus the account of the assault on the Castle of Jealousy is thrice interrupted, first by Faux-Semblant's long confession, secondly by the advice of " La Vieille " to Bel-Accueil, and thirdly by the extraordinary episode of Nature and Genius. The speeches of the characters range from one subject to another in a manner far more perplexing and inconsequent than any change of topic in " Piers Plowman." The same introduction of long discourses on many subjects for the purpose of conveying instruction is to be found in De Guileville's " Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," especially in the second recension. The use of allegory in " Piers Plowman " as a setting for long and seemingly irrelevant speeches put into the mouths of personifications has frequently met with adverse criticism; it is therefore interesting to note that the writer might have found a precedent for this practice in the two popular poems, " Le Roman de la Rose " and " Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

Though it is probable that the various purposes for which allegory could be employed would have occurred to the English writer independently, it is interesting to remark that they may have been suggested by these French allegories or by others of a similar nature.

CHAPTER III

THE SETTING OF THE ALLEGORIES

THE setting or framework chosen for the allegory was naturally determined by the purpose of the poem. The Dream-form is used in all the allegories with two exceptions, probably because it affords sufficient remoteness from life to make the introduction of allegorical figures possible, and because, at the same time, a vision may be regarded as the truest interpretation of life.

The Dream-form was not so fashionable in literature at the date when the "Romans de Carité" was written as it afterwards became; this is probably the reason why it is not used there. It is also possible that the Renclus de Moiliens wished to emphasise the fact that his poem contained a real picture of the world, taken from life, and that there was nothing fanciful about it.

It is one of the functions of the Dream-setting to give an appearance of probability to the improbable. This object is attained by Huon de Méri in "Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist" by a different, but equally effective, device, the introduction of the Fountain Perilous with its associations of romance (*cf.* Ywain and Gawain). The emptying of the basin causes a terrible thunderstorm; when it has abated it is felt that anything unusual may happen.

The framework of "Piers Plowman" is formed by a series of visions; these visions are usually separated from each other by an account of the Dreamer's awakening, his actions in the world of reality and the circumstances which attend his falling asleep again. Such passages constitute what may be called the setting of the poem.

The line of demarcation between sleeping and waking is not always observed and occasionally vision melts imperceptibly into vision so that it is impossible to give a clear outline of the setting without being false to the text.

In order more easily to compare the use of the Dream-form in "Piers Plowman" with that in the French Allegories under consideration, the passages giving the setting are here collected and the chief variations between the three texts noted.

The A. Text has three Visions, the B. Text twelve and the C. Text ten.

A. Prol., 1–12; B. Prol., 1–12; C. I. 1–13. In the prologue to the first Vision the poet, clad like a shepherd or hermit, wanders through the world in search of wonders. On a May morning, he lies down to rest on the Malvern Hills under a broad bank, by a burn side, and there he falls asleep and dreams. The B. Text differs little from the A. Text; in the C. Text the details of the poet's dress and of the broad bank and burn are omitted. In the setting to this first Vision we find a description of place and season; the scene is even localised.

A. V. 2–11; B. V. 2–12. In the A. and B. Texts the poet awakes, sad at heart because he wishes to see more of the Vision; he journeys for a furlong and falls asleep again as he sits saying his Belief and telling his beads. The place is apparently still the Malvern Hills, though the name is not mentioned.

C. V. 196–C. VI. 113. In the C. Text there is a striking variation: the Dreamer awakes in a hot harvest to his life on Cornhill, and that life is described in a dialogue with Reason and Conscience. The poet then goes into a church and falls asleep as he is bewailing his sins before the Cross.

A. VIII. 127–IX. 60; B. VII. 138–VIII. 69; C. X. 292–XI. 67. In all three texts, however, the Dreamer is represented as awaking at the end of that Vision "on Malverne

hulles," at noon, and there pursuing his way meatless and moneyless.[1]

The Dreamer ponders on the significance of dreams, and the respective merits of pardons and "Dowel."

Here the Vision of "Piers Plowman" ends.

Some time is supposed to elapse before the Vision of Dowel. The Dreamer,

> "i-robed in russet . . . romed aboute
> Al a somer sesoun[2] for to seeke Dowel."

During his wanderings the Dreamer meets two friars to whom he applies in vain for directions to Dowel. After some discussion he leaves them, and goes on alone. He sits down under a linden-tree by a wood-side, to enjoy the song of the birds, and there falls asleep.

In the A. Text this Vision ends with Fever's admonition to "Wil", the dreamer; there is no mention of an awakening, and the poem closes with a short summary of Will's life and death which is possibly spurious. A. XII. A. XII. 99–105.

In the B. and C. Texts there is apparently a Vision within a Vision, for when Scripture scorns the Dreamer he weeps for woe and wrath and falls asleep and has a wonderful dream about Fortune. This Vision occurs earlier in the C. Text, but the setting is identical in both texts. B. XI. 1–10; C. XII. 163–172.

The Dreamer awakes, sorrowful because he has not learnt more of Dowel in his sleep. The next Vision follows immediately: "And as I caste up myn eyghen, one loked on me," etc., and "And thenne was ther a wi3t, what he was ich nuste." Thus is introduced the Vision of Ymagynatyf, which is loosely connected with the preceding B. XI. 395–400; C. XIV. 215–219. B. XI. 400. C. XIV. 220.

[1] Professor Manly suggests that the original poem may have ended here (A. VIII. 1. 131) as the differences he notices in A. IX.–XII. are also to be found in the remaining lines of A. VIII. Cambridge "History of Literature," Vol. II, p. 18.

[2] Professor Skeat thinks that this "somer sesoun," may indicate that a short interval occurred between the composition of the two visions. Skeat, Vol. II, p. x.

Vision. There is no notice of the poet's falling asleep, and at the end of the Vision Ymagynatyf vanishes, but at the beginning of the next passus we read—

B. XII. 293; C XIII. 217.

B. XIII. 1–21; *cf.* C. XVI, 1–25.

"And I *awaked* therewith, witles nerehande," and as the poet muses on his Visions he speaks of the things which "Ymagynatyf in dremeles me tolde," passages which Professor Manly has apparently overlooked, since he speaks of this episode as "not a vision, though it is distinguished from one only by the fact that the author is awake."

"Cambridge History of Literature," II, p. 26.

The Dreamer, having wandered as a mendicant many years, falls asleep again as he thinks over his dreams. In the B. Text this Vision ends after Patience has expounded the virtues of Poverty. The Dreamer wakes to his daily life, where he is despised and misunderstood until Reason has pity on him and rocks him to sleep. In his dream he sees "Anima," who corresponds to the "Liberum Arbitrium" of the C. Text. In the C. Text we read "Thenne hadde Actyf a ledere that highte Liberum Arbitrium," and in this way the appearance of "Liberum Arbitrium" is connected with the Vision of Haukyn without a break.

B. XIV. 332–XV. 11.

C. XVII. 158.

B. XVI. 18–22.

The next division of the dreams marked in the B. Text is also omitted in the C. Text. When Anima describes the Tree of Charity, the Dreamer swoons with joy on hearing the name of "Piers the Plowman," "and laye longe in a lone dreme." In this dream he is shown the Tree of Charity by Piers the Plowman.

In the C. Text Liberum Arbitrium leads the Dreamer forth and shows him the tree: there is no dream within a dream.

B. XVI. 167–173; C. XIX. 180–184.

In both the B. and C. Texts the poet awakes suddenly from his Vision of the Life of Christ. He sets out to seek Piers the Plowman (B.) or Liberum Arbitrium (C.) and meets Abraham (Faith) on Mid-Lent Sunday. Here

again there is no mention of the Dreamer's falling asleep, but apparently the meeting with Faith, Hope and Charity must be regarded as a Vision, for at the close of it the Dreamer awakes. He wanders about for some time until, weary of the world, he sleeps in Lent, and on Palm Sunday has a Vision of the Passion of Christ and His Harrowing of Hell. From this Vision he wakes once more as the bells ring on Easter morning. He summons his wife Kitte and his daughter Kalote to go to church. Then comes the first notice of writing the Vision. "Thus I awaked, and wrote what I had dremed." The poet goes to hear Mass, but in the midst of the service he falls asleep and has the Vision of Grace. When he awakes from it he writes what he has dreamt, and wanders forth sadly. About noon-time he meets Need, and after listening to a long discourse from him he falls asleep and has his last vision, the Vision of Antichrist.

B. XVII. 350 –XVIII. 9; C. XX. 332–XXI. 7.

B. XVIII. 424–XIX. 9; C. XXI. 471 –XXII. 9.

B. XIX. 1.

B. XIX. 478 –XX. 54; C. XXII. 483 –XXIII. 55.

The poem ends as the Dreamer wakes, roused by the despairing prayer of Conscience.

If we turn to the French poems under consideration we find that the Dream-form is used in Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer," the "Voie de Paradis" which is possibly to be assigned to him; "Le Roman de la Rose"; Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis", and De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine." The most obvious difference in the use of the Dream-form in "Piers Plowman" and in these poems is at once apparent. In the French work each poem relates one Vision only, in contrast to the twelve Visions found in the B. Text of "Piers Plowman." It does not seem, therefore, as if the idea of a continuous series of Visions had been suggested to the English writer by a perusal of any of these poems. But if we include, for the consideration of the Dream-form, all De Guileville's work, we find a striking parallel between his poems and the A. Text or nucleus of the "Piers Plowman"

poem. De Guileville's three Visions, "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," "Pèlerinage de l'Ame" and "Pèlerinage Jhesucrist" are as closely linked together as the three Visions of the A. Text. In the first, the "Vie Humaine," the setting is definite, though the details are not elaborated as in "Piers Plowman." The Vision comes to the writer as he sleeps in his bed at the Abbey of Chalis. The Dreamer awakes as Death attacks him. In the first recension of the poem the Dreamer, hearing the bell ring for matins, rises and attends the service; he thinks over his dream and writes it down. But in the second version of the poem, the poet hears the bell, but remains in bed meditating upon the value and signification of the dream. In the second Vision, the "Pèlerinage de l'Ame," this ending reappears in a modified form as the prologue to the second vision. After pondering on the Vision he has had, De Guileville turns over on to the other side and at once goes to sleep again. This corresponds to the Dreamer's awakening in "Piers Plowman" (in the A. and B. Texts) and the short interval which elapses before he falls asleep again. In De Guileville's trilogy, as in "Piers Plowman," there is a more decided break between the second and third Visions. At the end of the "Pèlerinage de l'Ame" there is a long passage on the value of the dream, and at the beginning of the "Pèlerinage Jhesucrist" De Guileville represents himself as still thinking over his earlier visions in a manner that gives the impression that some time has passed since he had them. Here, as before the Vision of Dowel in "Piers Plowman", the setting is elaborate. De Guileville goes into a garden, lies down under an apple-tree, and falls asleep as he listens to the song of the birds. This setting closely resembles that found in "Piers Plowman" and differs from the setting employed in the other French allegories in the fact that the place where the poet falls asleep is a garden,

Ed. Stürzinger, pp. 421, 422.

Stürzinger, "Pèl. de l'Ame," ll. 1–25.

Stürzinger "Pèlerinage Jhesucrist," ll. 1–53.

and not a bed, and in the greater attention paid to detail.

For the Dream-setting of these other poems is most insignificant. In Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer" the poet merely remarks "En sonjant un songe me vint." The writer, possibly Raoul, of "La Voie de Paradis" is a little more explicit; he says, "Je dormoie en mon lit jadis." Rutebeuf begins his "Voie de Paradis" with a description of spring; but as a moral application is given to this description and it is not clear that it is meant to refer to the time when the dream occurred, it cannot be considered as parallel to the descriptive passages in "Piers Plowman." Rutebeuf gives no more details, he simply remarks, "En dormant un songe sonja." Guillaume de Lorris only tells us that when he was twenty he had a dream one night in bed, and then proceeds to recount the dream. Although Huon de Méri's "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist" is not cast in Dream-form, a vision is recorded in it. The poet is wounded in the tournament, he faints, and when he is in the swoon he has a vision. This is analogous to the Vision of the Tree of Charity recorded in the B. Text, which came to the poet when he swooned for joy at the name of Piers Plowman.

Ed. Michel I, p. 2.

Ed. Tarbé, p. 79.

B. XVI. 18–22.

Between the second and third Visions in "Piers Plowman" there is a passage giving the Dreamer's meditations on the significance of dreams. He cites Cato and "Canonistres" as being of opinion that no value is to be attached to them: but contrasts with their opinion the fulfilment of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar and Joseph recorded in the Bible. Finally, he leaves the question undecided.

A. VIII. 132–153; B. VII. 143–167; C. X. 297–317.

This was a favourite subject for discussion in the Middle Ages and it is also introduced in some of the French allegories. There is an allusion to it in the first three lines of Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer" where the

Ed. Michel, I, pp. 1, 2. writer suggests that dreams may be true. Guillaume de Lorris is bolder, and in the "Roman de la Rose" he affirms his faith in the truth of dreams; his authority is Macrobius, who quotes Cicero's "Dream of Scipio." The Prologue to the second recension of De Guileville's Lydgate, ll. 185–209. "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" begins with a passage on the profit of remembering dreams, which implies a belief in their fulfilment. This passage is not in the first recension: it forms part of the explanation of the necessity for a revised edition.

The writer of "Piers Plowman" differs from the French poet in his use of Scriptural illustration and in his characteristic presentation of both sides of the question and consequent indecision.

The use of the Dream-form in these French poems may have given the suggestion to the author of "Piers Plowman," but we are not justified in assuming that this must necessarily have been the case. There are earlier and contemporary examples of the Dream-form Introd. § 5. in English literature. Professor Gollancz has pointed out the striking resemblance between the opening of ll. 1–103. "Piers Plowman" and that of the "Parlement of the ll. 31–46. Thre Ages" [1] and "Winnere and Wastoure," which he dates about 1350, that is about twelve years before the earliest version of "Piers Plowman."

In the "Parlement" the poet goes out to hunt on a May morning: he gives a beautiful description of the wood in which he falls asleep after he has killed a stag. In this there is a resemblance to the Prologue to "Piers Plowman," and in "Winnere and Wastoure" this resemblance is closer still, for the poet lies down "Bi a bonke of a bourne," under a hawthorn tree and falls asleep at

[1] "The Parlement of the Thre Ages." An alliterative poem of the fourteenth century . . . edited . . . with appendices containing the poem of "Winnere and Wastoure" . . . by Israel Gollancz, M.A., 1897, Roxburghe Club.

last, though he is long kept awake by the song of the birds and the noise of the water. This reference to the song of the birds reminds us of the Prologue to the "Dowel" Vision in "Piers Plowman," and of De Guileville's "Pèlerinage Jhesucrist."

The date of the "Pearl" has not been determined: it may or may not be earlier than the A. Text of "Piers Plowman": it is therefore impossible to tell whether the Dream-form used there is to be regarded as having influenced "Piers Plowman." But the "Pearl" and the poems of Chaucer—the "Boke of the Duchesse" and the "Legend of Good Women"—though later than "Piers Plowman" (A. Text), all prove that the Dream-form was well known to contemporary English writers.

It was not, of course, an invention of the French writers of allegory. Professor W. P. Ker and M. Langlois have traced its influence in European literature from the Vision of Er the Pamphylian in Plato's "Republic" and the Visions recorded in the Bible, through the Visions which find their place in early Patristic literature to Alain de Lille's "De Planctu Naturae" and the "Divina Commedia" of Dante. The Visions related in the last book of the "Dialogues of Gregory the Great" (593–594) and in Chapters XII and XIII of Bede's "Historia Ecclesiastica" certainly influenced the mediæval writers and possibly gave the writer of "Piers Plowman" an authoritative precedent for the use of the Dream-form, since several copies of these books would be found in most monastic libraries. But it is also probable that the Dream-setting of such popular allegories as the "Roman de la Rose" and De Guileville's "Pèlerinage" was the determining factor in the author's choice of a form for his poem.

W. P. Ker, "Dark Ages," p. 70 *seq.*

Langlois, "Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose," Pt. I., Ch. V.

Cf. also T. Wright, "S. Patrick's Purgatory."

CHAPTER IV

THE TREATMENT OF ALLEGORY : PERSONIFICATION

THE New English Dictionary defines allegory as "Description of a subject under the guise of some other subject of aptly suggestive resemblance." Figurative speech, of which allegory is thus said to be an extension, would seem to be an ineradicable human instinct which finds expression in all literature : as Professor Ker has shown, "Mediæval allegory is derived from a very luxuriant stock in classical literature." More important in its influence upon the allegories now under consideration is the allegorical method of interpreting the Bible introduced into the West by Hilarius (born between 310–320) and brought to perfection in the works of St. Gregory the Great—notably in the Moralia—which were studied throughout the Middle Ages in the monasteries, the centres of learning. This exegetical literature was probably the inspiration of mediæval allegories, for it is easy to pass from allegorical interpretation to allegorical representation. The "Physiologus," dating from the fourth or fifth centuries, and frequently translated and imitated, by its allegorical interpretation of the characteristics of animals, tended to familiarise the mediæval reader with the more minute kind of allegory, the allegorical device.

W. P. Ker, "Dark Ages," p. 27 *seq.*

Cf. Langlois, "Origines," Pt. I, Ch. IV.

The "Psychomachia" of Prudentius (*c.* 405), the "Satyra de Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii" of Martianus Capella (fourth or early fifth century) and the "De Consolatione Philosophiæ" of Boethius (*c.* 525), among

many others, show that allegory was no new thing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By that time all the various kinds of allegory had already been suggested; it only remained for the mediæval writers to elaborate them. For the term allegory is a wide one and includes many different methods.

For the purposes of the present inquiry, these methods may be classified as follows—

I. Personification.
II. Allegorical action.
III. Allegorical device.

No classification is perfect, for it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the various manifestations of the allegorical impulse. An allegory which presents personifications will usually present those personifications in action, or will at least refer to their habits and customs. But, for the sake of convenience, the term "allegorical action" must here be restricted to such action as has a definite allegorical intention—such as the motives of pilgrimage and warfare which are prominent in the poems under discussion. In this sense the pilgrimage to seek St. Truth in "Piers Plowman" is an allegorical action; Gluttony's carousal in the Tavern is not.

In the same way, allegorical actions may include "allegorical devices"—or prolonged metaphors—and it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between an "action" and a "device." For example, the Banquet at Conscience's Court in "Piers Plowman" may be regarded as an "action," but its main significance is to be found in the account of the allegorical dishes, which is clearly a "device."

It is also difficult to distinguish between the characterisation of personifications and the allegorical "device" of the symbolical armour or clothing assigned to them.

This classification, though not completely satisfactory, is, however, used for the sake of convenience in the present comparison of " Piers Plowman " and the French allegories.

Personification.

Although allegory and, as a natural consequence, personifications, formed part of the ordinary stock-in-trade of most of the mediæval poets, there is something entirely original in the treatment of personifications in " Piers Plowman."

The writers of the French allegories under consideration do not lose sight of the general character of the abstraction they personify. Speaking generally, and recognising that there are exceptions to every generalisation, it may be said that the didactic instinct of the expositor is stronger in them than the individualising tendency of the creator.

They seem to have set about personifying an abstract quality by tabulating the chief characteristics of that quality, by examining the visible results of its influence over the men around them and striking examples of its influence in the past; they then proceeded to consider how they could best represent these numerous characteristics, and allegorical clothing and other accessories were freely called into use. In this way the general abstract nature of the personification is preserved, often at the cost of its concrete vraisemblance.

The personifications, even though necessarily acting as men and women meeting the Dreamer in time and space —on a road, at a banquet—remain on the whole abstractions. Moreover, the abstract ideas personified in the work of the French allegorists are, as a rule, of a general character having a universal reference, whereas the writer of " Piers Plowman " tends in some cases to personify abstract ideas—thought, imagination, study

—as they form part of his personal experience. Of very few of them, in any text, can the reader be said to feel that "l'action qu'on suppose se passer une fois entre elles n'est que le symbole de leurs rapports constants," as Gaston Paris expresses it in his criticism of the "Roman de la Rose."

In the author or authors of "Piers Plowman" the creative is stronger than the didactic impulse. "Piers Plowman" may be said to approximate to the novel with a purpose. All the personifications are living persons; some, it is true, are only sketched in with the most sparing of touches, but others are full length portraits.

"Litt. Française au moyen âge," par. 111.

It is for this reason that there is nothing incongruous in the mingling of abstractions with typical characters. The King before whom Pees recounts the injuries Wrong has done might be labelled Kingship: or Pees might be A Peasant and Wrong An Overbearing Noble; there would be no need to rewrite the scene.

For this reason also we do not expect to find the personifications in "Piers Plowman" hampered with allegorical accessories—as will be shown later, these accessories, which play an important part in some of the French allegories, are scarcely to be found in "Piers Plowman."

This dramatic instinct accounts for the discrepancies, frequently noted, between the name of a character and the description given of it. The writer seems to have thought at once of his abstraction as a real man or woman and, in working up his conception of this personage, to have lost sight of the general characteristics of the abstract idea. This is especially noticeable in the account of Haukyn Activa Vita in the B. Text, and in the somewhat inappropriate nature of Pernel Proud-heart's Con-

fession as a representation of the Sin of Pride. A closer examination of the texts will illustrate these points; it may be shown also that the same general characteristics which distinguish "Piers Plowman" from the French poems may be found throughout the various texts of the poem.

1. A. I.–VIII. In these passus may be found the most vivid and detailed personal descriptions of personifications; Holy Church, Meed, some of the Deadly Sins and Waster may be given as instances. There are also less clearly individualised characters, such as Conscience, Reason, Repentance, Fals, Favel and the others who surround Meed. But, in most cases, some gesture or action reminds us that this personification is real and living. The writer saw him clearly, if we do not. There are here no personifications introduced merely by name to utter long speeches. Conscience, for instance, who appears at the beginning of the second Vision, has already been individualised in the preceding Vision of Meed.

The character of "Piers the Plowman" may here be regarded as a personification of the honest labourer, as the Knight, to whom he gives advice, is of Knighthood. There is no incongruity in their association with Waster and Hunger, etc.

2. A. IX.–XII. Mr. Manly has pointed out a difference in the treatment of personifications in the last four passus of the A. Text—

"Cambridge History of English Literature," Vol. II, p. 17.

"The theme is not presented by means of vitalised allegory; there are allegorical figures, to be sure, but their allegorical significance is only superficial, not essential; they engage in no significant action, but merely indulge in debate and disquisition; and what they say might be said by any one else quite as appropriately and effectively." It is true that, for the most part, "debate and disquisition" take the place of action, but

the difference is perhaps less striking than Mr. Manly suggests.

The central idea of these passus is the Dreamer's search for Dowel, Dobet and Dobest; and the idea of a quest underlies them. Each personification whom the seeker meets gives his or her description of the object of his search, and sends him to some one else as a better guide.

Again, Mr. Manly seems somewhat to have over-emphasised the difference between the personifications in the A. Dowel Vision and those of the preceding Visions. The personifications in the Dowel Vision—*e.g.* Thought, Wit and Study—have that characteristic which has been noted as distinguishing some of the personifications of "Piers Plowman" from those of the French allegories, of having a personal rather than a general reference (*i. e.* Thought stands for the intellectual experience of Long Wille); and at the same time they are certainly individualised.

Thus "Thought" is "a muche mon . . . lyk to my selven." A. IX. 61. Dowel, Dobet and Dobest are described as men, and their customs are given, thus: Dobet—

"The bagges and the bigurdeles he hath broken hem alle. A. IX. 78–80.
That the Averous hedde or eny of his heires."

Wit is clearly characterised—

"He was long and lene, to loken on ful symple A. IX. 110 112.
Was no pride on his apparail ne no povert nother,
Sad of his semblaunt and of softe speche."

Wit's wife "dam Studie" is "lene of lich and of louh chere." A. XI. 2.

The description of Wit's behaviour to Study is full of life—

"But al lauȝwhinge he loutede and lokede uppon Studie, A. XI. 97, 98.
In signe that I schulde biȩchen hire of grace."

This gives at once the characteristic touch found everywhere in "Piers Plowman." The gesture is the gesture of any amused husband towards his wife; there is nothing specially significant of the constant relations between Wit (*i. e.* Wisdom) and Study.

A. XI. 170, etc. There are other indications of this dramatic instinct in these passus. For instance, Scripture and Clergy greet the Dreamer with ready courtesy when they understand that he comes from Wit and Study. It is true that this passus is filled with long discussions, not specially appropriate to the speakers, as is all the latter part of "Piers Plowman"; but they are not out of place, for nothing is irrelevant in the quest for Dowel.

B. XI. 26-33. 3. B. Text. In the B. Text we find again the vivid dramatic touch—Elde is "hevy of chere," Recchelesnes "stode forth in ragged clothes." Best of all, perhaps,

B. XIII. 224, etc. is Haukyn Activa Vita, a description which is somewhat spoilt by the device—uncommon in "Piers Plowman"—of allegorical clothing. Haukyn gives a good, individual account of his life. He is not so much Activa Vita as an Active Man, until the account of the stains on his clothes is reached.

B. XV. 12. Anima, "a sotyl thinge withal, one withouten tonge and teeth," seems to belong to the same class as the "muche man," Thought; there is a vivid touch in the description of Boke, that curious figure in the account of the Harrowing of Hell:—

B. XVIII. 228. "Thenne was there a wi3te with two brode eyen,
Boke hi3te that beupere, a bolde man of speche."

B. XIII. There is no lack of long discussions in B., but there is likewise much action. The dinner at which Conscience, Clergye, Pacience, Scripture and the "maistre" meet is presented with much dramatic skill. So are the various accounts of Christ's Life, Death and Harrowing of Hell, the acted Parable of the Good Samaritan, and

Antichrist's attack on Unity, the Church. In most of these personifications play their part; though their appearance may not be described, their actions attest their individuality.

In the B. Text the description Anima gives of Charity furnishes an exception to the individualising tendency noticed as characteristic of "Piers Plowman." Perhaps because it is only a description, and Charity takes no part in the action of the poem, the account shows a more abstract conception of the character.

Charity may be found in the robes of King or pauper, B. XV 160, etc.

> "And in a freres frokke he was yfounde ones
> Ac it is ferre agoo in seynt Fraunceys tyme,"

but he is found most frequently as an ecclesiastic—

> "Ac in riche robes rathest he walketh
> Ycalled and ycrimiled and his crowne shave."

4. C. Text. The C. Text, being but a revision of the B. Text, naturally does not introduce any personifications. The modifications introduced all seem designed to give a more general, less individual character to the personifications. This is most clearly to be seen in the treatment of Envy in the Seven Deadly Sins.

A comparison of the treatment of the "Seven Deadly Sins" in the various versions of "Piers Plowman" and in such of the French allegories as they occur, will illustrate the different methods of personification employed. For the sake of completeness, passages referring to these Sins, other than those in which they are personified, have also been noted.

The treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins in "Piers Plowman" is extremely interesting on account of the variations in the three texts. Moreover, the Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins has been recently made the test case in the discussion of the authorship of the poem. *Cf.* Bibliography, *sub* Controversy.

A consideration of the passages dealing with the Sins in the probable order of composition affords some insight into the methods of workmanship and habits of thought of the writer or writers of "Piers Plowman." Such a consideration reveals similarities between the texts which have perhaps been hitherto overlooked in the controversy as to the authorship.[1]

A. II. 60-74, 1.

1. A. Text. The first sketch is to be found in the *Mock Charter* giving the enfeoffment of Meed. There the Sins are represented as possessions or titles. The only elaborations are the addition of the "yle of usure and avarice the false" to the Kingdom of *Coveitise* and the association of "grete othus" with *Glotonye*. The list of the Seven Deadly Sins is not complete. *Anger* is omitted—possibly for the psychological reason that Anger is less likely to be connected with Meed than the other Sins are, but probably because of the poet's forgetfulness. *Luxuria* is not named, though the Sin is probably represented by the phrase "delytes and lustes."

A.V. 47-262.

The *Confession of the Deadly Sins* is the first instance of their personification in "Piers Plowman." In the A. Text *Wrath* is again omitted from the list of the Sins, and the Confession of Robert the Robber is somewhat unexpectedly associated with *Sloth* instead of with *Covetousness*. This has been variously accounted for as due to the loss or misplacement of a leaf. At present there are three distinct theories—

(*a*) Mr. Manly's, that two leaves have been lost, one containing the Confession of Wrath, the other the conclusion of Sloth and some lines leading up to the Confession of Robert the Robber.

[1] Since this was written, articles by Mr. Manly, M. Jusserand and Mr. Chambers have appeared, dealing more fully with this question. I have thought it best to leave the record of my independent investigation as it was, noting briefly the various theories.

(*b*) Mr. Hy. Bradley's, that in the original MS. the leaf containing the Confession of Robert the Robber was transferred from its place at the end of the Confession of Coveitise (where the writer of the C. Text placed it) to the end of the Confession of Sloth, the position it now holds in all the MSS. of the A. and B. Texts that we have. This theory is also accepted by M. Jusserand.

(*c*) Mr. R. W. Chambers', that Robert the Robber's Confession was intended by the writer of the A. Text to follow the Confession of Sloth.

It will be noticed that the second and third theories alike accept the omission of Wrath as due to the writer of the A. Text.

It may be suggested the omission of Wrath by this writer offers less difficulty than has been supposed. A consideration of the French allegories will show that when mediæval writers personified the Vices they did not always consider themselves bound to mark off the accepted category of the Seven Deadly Sins. Since the symmetrical description of each of the Seven Deadly Sins was not so rigid a convention of the allegorists as has been assumed, it is less astonishing to find that in "Piers Plowman" one Sin is omitted altogether and that undeveloped sketches of some of the Sins are left intermingled with finished characterisations, especially as in later references in the poem the list of the recognised Seven is not always strictly adhered to.

There is indeed, as M. Jusserand has pointed out, a striking variety in the treatment of these personifications. Some of the Sins are given a personality of their own; they become sinners rather than Sins personified. Envye, Coveytyse and Gloton are not less real personages than the human beings, the "Betons" and "Wattes," by whom they are occasionally surrounded. "Modern Philology," VI, p. 284–300.

Graphic particular instances of their habits are given

from which the general characteristics of the Sin may be deduced. There is appropriateness but no allegorical significance in the description of their appearance and dress.

On the other hand, the characterisation of *Pernel Proudherte*, *Lechour* and *Sleuthe* is very slight. These three personifications do not really confess their faults, they express a sense of guilt and make promises of amendment in the future, both in terms which are not specially appropriate to the sins they are supposed to represent. Since they are not fully described, and since they are not surrounded by the homely details of everyday existence, these Sins have naturally less individuality of their own than Envye, Coveytyse and Gloton, and it is consequently easier to regard them as representations of abstract qualities, as Sins rather than sinners. It is probable, however, that the more general character of these personifications is not intentional, but is due to the fact that these Confessions are merely sketches which the poet intended to fill in later, as M. Jusserand has suggested.

These two passages contain all the information about the Seven—or, rather, Six—Deadly Sins—offered by the writer of the A. Text.

2. B. Text. It is interesting to compare the revision of these passages in the B. Text with the three additional descriptions of the Sins introduced in the extension of the poem.

"Cambridge History of English Literature," Vol. II, p. 32.

Professor Manly says of the *B. Text revision of the feoffment of Meed*. " B. does not understand that the feoffment covers precisely the provinces of the Seven Deadly Sins, and by elaborating the passage spoils the unity of the intention "—a statement which M. Jusserand very justly criticises, pointing out that B. adds Wrath, omitted by A., and that the elaborations " in no way

B. II. 74–103.

"Modern Philology," VI, p. 305.

impair . . . the unity of the intention." The elaborations, in fact, are invariably an improvement. Thus the A. version introduces *Pride* as follows: "To be present in pruyde for pore or for riche," where the last half-line adds little to the sense. The B. Text names definite characteristics—despising poverty, back-biting, boasting, bearing false witness, scorning, scolding, slandering, bold disobedience—all eminently suitable appendages to Pride.

Wrathe, previously omitted altogether, is added to the "erledome of Envye," which is further enlarged by the "chastelet of chest (strife) and chateryng-oute-of-resoun."

Covetise, in addition to the grant of usury and avarice found in the A. Text, is given the "borghe of theft"—an addition the significance of which has been hitherto unnoticed. It proves that the B. Text writer did not leave Robert the Robber's Confession attached to Sloth out of ignorance of the accepted classification of robbery with Covetousness. This perhaps makes it less likely that he should have deliberately fixed it in its present position by his working up of the Confession of Sloth, as Mr. Manly suggested, and is a slight confirmation of M. Jusserand's theory that the retention of Robert's confession in this place was unintentional, being due to the carelessness of a scribe.[1]

The additions to the "*Lordeship of lecherye*," which is scarcely mentioned in the A. Text, are interesting because the same graphic details, "waitynges with eies," etc., are introduced in the account of the stain of Lechery on Haukyn's Coat. This makes it the more surprising that the short and unsatisfactory Confession of "Lechoure" should be left unchanged.

[1] If Mr. Chambers' explanation of the character of Robert the Robber is accepted, the Confession of Robert falls naturally into place at the *end* of the other Confessions, and it is unnecessary to suspect the scribe.

On the other hand, the elaboration of "*Gluttony*," with its reference to a tavern scene, is obviously reminiscent of the A. Text account of the Confession of Gluttony.

"Sleuth, slepe and wanhope," three of the characteristics of "*Accidie*," seem to be not lands but servants in the B. Text—a change which was probably suggested by the A. Text mention of "the servyse of slouthe."

B. V. 61–519. The same elaboration is to be found in the *B. Text revision of the Confessions.*

"*Peronelle Proude-herte*" and "*Lecchoure*" are unchanged; they are still somewhat shadowy personifications. But the sketch of *Accidie* has been filled in, and Sloth may now take his place by Envy, Covetousness and Gluttony as a living person. His appearance is described and we learn that he has been priest and parson "passynge thretti wynter," though he is too lazy and ignorant to fulfil his duties. M. Jusserand thinks that the B. Text writer intended to place the confession of Robert the Robber, preceded by the Confession of "ȝvan ȝeld ageyn," after the confession of Covetousness, and that the Confession of "ȝvan" was mutilated and both Confessions were misplaced by the carelessness of a scribe.

Jusserand, "Modern Philology," VI pp. 291–295.

The B. Text writer supplied a Confession of *Wrath*. Mr. Manly emphasises the differences between this Confession and those of the A. Text, but there are also points of similarity which make it not impossible to hold the view either that this confession is based on a lost A. Text Confession or that the A. and B. Texts writers are identical.

"Cambridge History of English Literature," II, p. 15.

In the Confession of Wrath there is the same notice of personal appearance and the same somewhat complacent recollection of the cleverness of past misdeeds and detailed descriptions of them as is to be found in the fuller A. Text Confessions.

In addition to the important new work contained in the Confessions of Sloth and Wrath, B. worked over the Confessions of *Envy* and *Avarice*. In both cases the elaborations give greater vividness and individuality to the character.

There is what is practically another Confession of the Sins in *the description of the coat of Haukyn Activa Vita*. For though his Sins are primarily regarded as stains on Haukyn's "Cote of Crystendom"— B. XIII. 272–460.

"It was moled in many places with many sondri plottes,
Of Pryde here a plotte, and there a plotte of unboxome speche"

—the account of the stains soon turns into a description of the appearance and behaviour either of Pride, or of Haukyn when under the complete mastery of Pride.

There are interesting points of difference in the personification of the sins here and in the earlier passage. Moral insight and dramatic skill are shown in the delineation of Pride, Wrath and Envy, Lechery and Covetousness.

Pride is represented as a haughty overbearing man; his religious self-satisfaction and insincerity are skilfully indicated. The tone of the voice can almost be heard in his aggrieved reference to the bystanders—

"Lo if ȝe leve me nouȝt or that I lye wenen,
Axeth at hym or at hym and he ȝow can telle,
What I suffred and seighe and some tymes hadde,
And what I couth and knewe and what kynne I come of."

Wrathe and Envye are described together. The deterioration of a wrathful envious nature is shown by vivid touches. First the man makes mischief and stirs up strife; when he finds that he is not trusted, and so loses his power, he becomes ill through melancholy; he resorts to wizards for remedies instead of "Leche-crafte of our Lorde." His speech reveals his fretfulness and splenetic restlessness—

"No goddes worde gaf me nevere bote,
But thorw a charme had I chaunce and my chief hele!"

The account of *Lecherye* possesses the vividness which is so conspicuously lacking in the Confession of Lechour.

The description of *Coveitise* is somewhat similar to that found in the Confessions. Some details are repeated and some new ones are added, including the account of Coveitise's thieving propensities. He says that if his neighbour has any possession which he desires

"How I myȝte have it, al my witte I caste,
And but I it had by other waye, atte laste I stale it."

This is another instance of the B. Text writers' recognition of the connection of covetousness and robbery.

In the account of the *Glotoun* the existing confusion between the Sins regarded as stains upon Haukyn's coat and the personification of the Sins, is made still worse. For we read—

"ȝet the Glotoun with grete othes *his* garnement hadde soyled," etc.

where the possessive pronoun obviously refers to Glotoun and not to Haukyn, and the description is therefore transferred to the soiling of the Glutton's coat.

The chief point about the Glutton is the development of the "grete othes" idea with which Glutton has always been associated in this poem. He is also represented as falling into despair—*i. e.* Accidie.

Then follows an abrupt transition from allegory to didactic exposition which is an anticipation of the method of the C. Text writer.

Sloth is neither personified nor represented as a stain, but the "braunches that bringeth a man to Sleuth" are enumerated, and this is followed by a warning to lords and ladies not to prefer flatterers and fools to the poor and clerks.

The Seven Sins are mentioned again in this Vision of Haukyn the Active Man, but the list is again incomplete, Envy being omitted. B. XIV 201–258.

It is shown that they have less power over the poor than over the rich. The Sins are personified—they "wrastel with," "greve," and "cacche" the poor—but the only sin described is *Coveitise*, who is said to have "hondes and arms of a longe lengthe."

M. Jusserand considers that the line under "*Glotonie*." "So for his glotonie and his grete scleuthe he hath a grevous penaunce" is to be regarded as an account of *Sloth*, which is described later, and on the strength of this line he says that "Sloth is named twice." At the same time he does not point out that *Coveitise* and *Avarice* are mentioned as separate personifications. If the poet consciously omitted *Envy*, as Dr. Skeat suggests, because he could not show that Envy attacked the rich more successfully than the poor, and if he wished to bring the Sins to the "total Seven" he has named, it might be held that he was more likely to consider he had done so by the introduction of Avarice as well as Covetousness than by the scarcely perceptible duplication of Sloth which M. Jusserand suggests. "Modern Philology, VI, p. 297. Skeat, Vol. II, p. 211.

It may be observed that the writers of B. and A. do not show a clear perception of the distinction between Wrath and Envy. There was a tendency to associate each of the Seven Deadly Sins with some followers, and the distinction between the two Deadly Sins, Wrath and Envy, was possibly to this writer not greater than that between the allied Sins of Avarice and Covetousness.

We learnt that there were "*Seven great giants*" in the *Host of Antichrist* when he besieged Conscience and the Christians in Unity. Presumably this refers to the Seven Deadly Sins though only *Pride*, *Lechery*, *Covetousness*, *Sloth* and *Envy* are named, and they are in no way B. XX. 214. B. XX. 68–end.

distinguished from the other personifications who take part in the warfare.

B. XIX. 331–351. The attack of *Pride* and the "Lorde that lyveth after lykynge of body" (*Luxuria*) in the preceding Vision is evidently to be connected with this assault. The Sins in these Visions are not described in detail. *Pride* bears the banner of Antichrist, accompanied by *Lechery*. *Lechery*, *Coretousness* and *Sloth* fight with weapons of allegorical significance. Sloth's lineage is given: he is the son of Lyf and Fortune and he weds Wanhope. In this use of allegorical weapons and of the relationships of the personifications, the writer of "Piers Plowman" comes closer to the French allegorists' manner of dealing with personifications than he does elsewhere. His personifications of the Sins are thus made more representative of abstract qualities and less like human beings than they are in the earlier passages.

3. C. Text. We have now to consider the changes introduced by the C. Text reviser in these descriptions of the sins.

C. III 79–108. The B. Text account of the *feoffment of Mede* is retained unchanged.

C. VII.–VIII. 157. Important changes are to be noted in the *Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins*. In the C. Text the account of the sins given in the B. Text as stains on Haukyn's Coat is amalgamated with the Confession of the Sins. This amalgamation is, on the whole, successful. It is least so in the case of *Pride*, where the two Confessions follow each other. Either we are to suppose that two penitents represent Pride, or that Purnele Prouteherte utters a confession more appropriate to a man than to a woman. The most significant changes are to be found in the Confession of *Envy*. All the vivid details of personal appearance and of special instances of sin are omitted. The description of the sin found in the B. Text

account of Haukyn's coat is preferred to that of the Confessions. The tendency of C. is to make the personification a more general representation of the Sin ; his purpose is didactic rather than dramatic. This tendency is exemplified in the allegorical accessories bestowed upon *Envy*. Instead of being clothed in a "cauremaury," a "kertel" and "kourteby," as he is in the A. and B. Texts, we find in C. that "Hus clothes were of corsement and of kene wordes."

The Confession of *Anger* is amplified, and at the same time confused. Wrath is himself represented as envious of "Letice"—"After-ward after mete hue and ich chidde," but the next line runs—

> "And *ich*, Wrath, was war and wroth on *hem* both."

where Wrath is regarded as an inciter to the quarrel, not a participant.

The graphic details found in the Haukyn description of *Lecherie* are now introduced into his confession.

The Haukyn account of *Covetousness* is incorporated in the Confession of *Covetyse* and some details of the B. Confession are omitted for no apparent reason.

The Confessions of *Evan* and of *Robert the Robber* are here found for the first time in their more obviously appropriate place after the Confession of Covetousness.

There was nothing strikingly new in the Haukyn account of *Glotoun*, and accordingly it is not incorporated in the Confession, which closely follows the B. Text Confession. So does the Confession of *Sloth*. In place, however, of the Confession of Robert the Robber, which followed Sloth in the B. Text, we find the Haukyn passage about the branches that bring men to Sloth—even more inappropriate here than in its original context.

In the other passages where the Sins are described, the C. Text is practically identical with the B. Text.

When we consider the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins in the FRENCH ALLEGORIES we find at once ample precedent for the incomplete lists given in "Piers Plowman."

The "ROMANS DE CARITÉ" does not pretend to treat the Seven Deadly Sins. The poet's preoccupation is with Charity, and the only personified Sin is accordingly her worst enemy, Covetousness, who has everywhere supplanted her. *Covetousness* is described as "The money-getter who does not fear being treacherous, for she cares so much for money. She hides a false heart under a beautiful appearance."

"Romans de Carité," VIII.

On the journey to Hell described in the "SONGE D'ENFER" the poet naturally meets several personifications of Sin. Among these personifications only *one* of the Deadly Sins is given any importance—that is *Envy*, Lady of the City of Covetousness. At her house the Poet also meets *Avarice*. *Gluttony* is probably represented by two personifications—Drunkenness and her son Strife. Besides these personifications, some of the Deadly Sins are represented as places on the way to Hell—the *City of Covetousness*, the *River of Gluttony; Fornication and Castle-Brothel;* the *Country of Despair* (*Accidie*). Even if personifications and places are counted together only five out of the Seven Deadly Sins are named—*Pride* and *Anger* are omitted. With the exception of Strife and Robbery the personifications are not described, and there is very little characteristic action.

Cf. Appendix, p. 139.

This lack of elaboration is due to the fact that Raoul de Houdenc's impulse is neither creative nor didactic, but satiric.

He is not interested, as De Guileville was, in the moral lesson which might be derived from a faithful reproduction of the general characteristics of a Sin, nor does he wish, with the writer of "Piers Plowman," to create a living personage as the embodiment of a Sin; he cares

more for the satire conveyed in the Pilgrim's report of the prosperity of that Sin's followers upon earth.

In the "Songe d'Enfer" *Tolir* (Robbery) and *Roberie* (Theft) both offer hospitality to the Pilgrim. This duplication of the Sin of Robbery, which is not technically a Deadly Sin, is parallel to the Confessions of Ȝvan-Ȝeld-ageyn the Walishman, and Robert the Robber in "Piers Plowman."

The scene at the tavern kept by Roberie at once suggests a comparison with the tavern scene described in the Confession of Gluttony in "Piers Plowman." In the "Songe d'Enfer" the Pilgrim is the only human being in the midst of personifications. Instead of "Betun the breustere," Roberie keeps the tavern; and Gambling, False Calculation and Cheating are to be found there in the place of "Sesse the Souter's wyf," "Watte the Wariner," and their comrades. Gluttony is represented by two of its attributes—Drunkenness and Strife. The Pilgrim is overthrown by Strife in a wrestling match and the whole scene is graphically described, but the allegorical purpose is not lost, for it is most fitting that on his way to Hell the Pilgrim should be overcome by Drunken Strife. The Tavern Scene in "Piers Plowman" does not fit so well into the general scheme which is a Confession of the Sins, and not an account of the incidents leading up to that Confession. The allegorical significance is weakened by the treatment of "Glotoun" as a Glutton rather than as the personification of Gluttony, but this individualisation of the character brings it into harmony with its human surroundings, and the tavern scene gains in power as a presentation of contemporary life.

"Songe d'Enfer," pp. 182–188.

The "Voie de Paradis," possibly also by Raoul de Houdenc, is naturally more concerned with virtues than with vices. The Pilgrim, however, is on one occasion

"Voie de Paradis," Jubinal, Oeuvres de Rutebeuf, III, 210, 211.

attacked by a troop of Sins led by Temptation. Eight of these Sins are named—there are six only of the Seven Deadly Sins : *Pride, Envy, Avarice, Anger, Fornication* and *Despair* (*i. e. Accidie*). The other two are *Vain Glory*—usually considered an attribute of *Pride*—and *Hatred*, which is often classed with *Anger*. This affords another proof that it was not always considered necessary to personify the accepted catalogue of the Seven Deadly Sins. The passage is merely incidental, and there is naturally therefore no detailed description of the Sins. But throughout the allegory there is no attempt at characterising the personifications. The occasional epithets used are purely conventional—for instance, Pride is the " haughty " one. The personifications are the general representation of abstract qualities.

Rutebeuf Oeuvres, Ed. Jubinal, II. pp. 175–189.

In RUTEBEUF'S " VOIE DE PARADIS " Pity directs the Pilgrim to the House of Confession and describes to him the Deadly Sins and their dwellings that he may avoid them. This list is complete :—*Pride, Avarice, Anger, Envy, Accidie, Gluttony, Luxuria.*

The method of personification employed by Rutebeuf is in direct contrast to that usually found in " Piers Plowman." Rutebeuf never loses sight of the abstract quality by individualising the personification ; he does not forget that the abstractions have a general reference.

Rutebeuf's presentation of the Seven Deadly Sins is notable for its symmetry and the relevance of every detail. The descriptions may usually be divided into three parts : (1) Personal appearance, dress and customs of the personification, (2) the dwelling place, (3) the effect produced on the followers of the Sin. The relative importance of the parts varies ; the personal appearance of *Avarice, Envy* and *Accidie* only is described ; in most cases the customs of the Sin are recorded in general terms, no vivid details are introduced such as are to be

found in the " Piers Plowman " Confessions. The description of the dwelling places gives variety to the account and it affords opportunity for the introduction of additional characteristics, especially when the house is composed of allegorical materials, as in the case of *Anger* and *Luxuria*. The general character of the personification is emphasised by the account of the Sin's effect upon her followers.

The description of *Accidie* differs from that of the other Sins, though not to such an extent as some of the descriptions in " Piers Plowman " differ from others; it consists of a more detailed portrayal of the personal appearance and habits of Accidie. A characteristic speech is put into her mouth and there is no account of her dwelling place nor of her effect on her followers. In the greater individuality and realism thus gained, this personification approximates more nearly to those of " Piers Plowman."

Gluttony is again represented as the frequenter of a tavern; the innkeeper is Gambling.

The *first* part of " ROMAN DE LA ROSE," as might be expected, only contains portraits of such of the Deadly Sins as are inimical to Love. These may be found in Guillaume de Lorris's description of the figures painted on the wall of the Garden of Love; they are *Envy*, *Covetousness* and *Avarice*.

" Roman de la Rose," Ed. Michel, I, pp. 7-10.

It might be expected that Guillaume de Lorris, as he is describing painted figures, would confine himself to the appearance and dress of the personifications. But the opportunity was too good to be lost, and there is a full account of the character and customs of Covetousness and Envy. The only thing we are told of *Covetousness*' personal appearance is that her hands were crooked—

> " Recorbillies et croçues
> Avoit les mains icele ymage "

Among her deeds may be noted her encouragement of stealing—

> " C'est cele qui semont d'embler
> Les larrons et les ribaudiaus."

Guillaume de Lorris obviously found some difficulty in distinguishing between Covetousness and Avarice, for while he describes the habits of Covetousness at length and says practically nothing of her appearance, he devotes all his skill to giving a vivid portrait of Avarice. The distinction between Avarice and Covetousness may have suggested that found in " Piers Plowman."

Cf. B. XIV. 201–256.

The picture of *Avarice* is extremely interesting, for it so closely resembles passages in " Piers Plowman " that it is impossible not to suspect that they are imitations of it.

Thus the line " Etaussi vert com un cive," which the English translator renders " And also grene as ony leek," possibly suggests the finer simile found in the Confession of *Envye*—

A. V. 65, 66; *cf.* E. V. 82–83

> " As a leek that hedde i-leiȝen longe in the sonne,
> So loked he with lene chekes; lourede he foule."

The following description of Avarice possibly gave the writer of " Piers Plowman " hints for his treatment of the same subject, though his portrait is more lifelike. This is Avarice in the " Roman de la Rose "—

Ed. Michel, I, p. 8.

> " Tant par estoit descolorée,
> Qu'el sembloit estre enlangoree
> Chose sembloit morte de fain,
> Qui ne vesquist fors que de pain
> Pétri à lessu fort et aigre;
> Et avec ce qu'ele iere maigre
> Iert-ele povrement vestue
> Cote avoit viés et desrumpue,
> Comme s'el fust as chiens remese;
> Povre iert moult la cote et esrese,
> Et plaine de viés palestiaus," etc.

This is Covetousness in the A. Text of "Piers Plowman"— A. v 107-113.

"Thenne com Covetyse I couthe him not discreve,
So hungri and so holewe sire Hervi him loked.
He was bitel-brouwed, with twei blered ei;en
And lyk a letherne pors lullede his chekes;
In a toren tabart of twelve wynter age;
But ȝif a lous couthe lepe I con hit not i-leve
Heo scholde wandre on that walk, hit was so thred-bare."

Hunger and worn-out garments are the natural and conventional attributes of Avarice, so that we are not obliged to assume that the "Piers Plowman" poet borrowed the idea from the "Roman de la Rose." It is, however, interesting to contrast the passages, and to notice the minute details which make the English poet's work so much more vivid. The name "Hervi" is given; the "tabart" is "twelve wynter" old; and there is a happy appropriateness in the simile used for the lolling of his cheeks.

The portrait of *Envy* in the "Roman de la Rose" is, as M. Langlois has pointed out, based on Ovid's famous description in the "Metamorphoses," Book II. ll. 770, etc. Probably the English poet also knew Ovid's work, for there is a reference to "Ovidius" in the C. Text, and the resemblance between the "Roman" and "Piers Plowman" in this description is thus easily accounted for. Langlois, "Origines du Roman de la Rose," p. 69. C. XIII. 174.

It will be seen that Guillaume de Lorris's method is akin to that of the writer or writers of "Piers Plowman"—neither depends on allegorical accessories to point the moral—but the English poet has the advantage of dramatic representation, his personifications live and move and tell their own story with a wealth of detail which is naturally not to be found in Guillaume de Lorris's account of the pictured figures.

Some of the Sins are also named incidentally in the *second* part of the "Roman de la Rose."

"Amis" describes the Golden Age when there was Ed. Michel, II, p. 316.

love without lordship. Freedom was lost at the coming of Strife, Sin and Misfortune. These were followed by *Pride, Covetousness, Avarice* and *Envy*—

> " Orguel qui desdaingne pareil,
> Vint avec à grant appareil,
> Et Convoitise et Avarice,
> Envie et tuit li outre vice."

This passage gives another instance of the separate mention of Avarice and Covetousness in an incomplete list of the Sins, such as is found in " Piers Plowman."

As this passage is purely incidental, it does not fairly illustrate Jean de Meun's method of personification. With the exception of Faus-Semblans, who describes his habits in the greatest detail, the personifications are introduced without much attempt at characterisation. They tend to become merely the mouthpiece for long discussions on irrelevant subjects.

Riches' description of *Hunger*, however, shows that Jean de Meun could paint a portrait as vividly as Guillaume de Lorris, if he had wished so to treat the personifications who take part in the action of his poem. Hunger

Ed. Michel, I, p. 337.

> " Longe est et megre et lasse et vaine,
> Grant soffrete a de pain d'avoine;
> Les cheveus a tous hericiés,
> Les iex crués, en parfont gliciés,
> Vis pale et balievres séchies,
> Joes de rouille entechies;
> Par sa pel dure qui vorroit,
> Ses entrailles véoir porroit," etc.

This is a reproduction of the traditional portrait of Hunger; vivid though it is, it remains a general presentation of an abstract idea, and is as such distinguished from the individualised personifications of " Piers Plowman."

In the " Tournoiement de l'Antecrist " all the Seven Deadly Sins are to be found in the Host of Antichrist, but they are in no way marked off from the other Vices by whom they are surrounded. There is no account

of their general customs and character, but only of their warfare with the Virtues in this Tournament; the description of their appearance is confined to their armour of allegorical significance. In this way, the general character of the abstraction personified is preserved.

This method, as has been noted, is used to a certain extent in "Piers Plowman" in the account of the personifications who take part in the attack of Antichrist on Unity. This suggests the possibility that the account of that attack is a reminiscence of Huon de Méri's work. *Cf. supra*, p. 48.

In the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," all the Seven Deadly Sins appear; they are all personified as old women. These personifications are introduced dramatically, they come to attack the Pilgrim. The personal appearance of each Sin is described as she approaches the Pilgrim. Then she suspends her attack until she has given first an account of her past history and present habits, and, secondly, a detailed explanation of her allegorical accessories. The Sins are always ready to postpone their assault still further that they may administer a little more instruction to the Pilgrim. The best instance of this artificial method is to be found in the description of *Gluttony* and *Luxuria*. Gluttony attacks the Pilgrim, but promptly releases him, that he may question Luxuria (who has already wounded him), for, as he quaintly remarks—

> "Mal bailli serai et perdu,
> Se de voir ne sai qu'elle est."

Stürzinger, ll. 10, 516–10, 517.

The final attack is not specially significant.

It will be seen that De Guileville's presentation agrees with that of the writer of "Piers Plowman" in two respects.

In both cases, the personal appearance of the Sin is described by an actor in the story, and, in both cases, the Sins themselves give an account of their customs. But

beyond this there is no resemblance. De Guileville's personifications could not be mistaken for human sinners, they have the general character of abstractions. Their misdeeds extend throughout history; the personages to whom they refer are Lucifer, Adam, Joseph and his brethren, instead of Gybbe and Eleyne with her new coat. This abstract character is maintained by the allegorical accessories by which they are surrounded. Sometimes these accessories are other personifications—as *Envy's* two daughters Treason and Detraction, and *Pride's* steed, the old woman Flattery, and these personifications in their turn have allegorical accoutrements.

The accoutrements are occasionally of the most grotesque nature; for instance, two swords—joy-at-others'-grief and sorrow-at-others'-joy—project from the eyes of *Envy*. Occasionally dramatic use is made of the accessories; for instance, *Sloth* catches the Pilgrim in her cords of Negligence, etc. But on the whole, these accessories seem to have been introduced merely to give a more complete list of the characteristics of a Sin; the intention is didactic, not dramatic. In this employment of allegorical accoutrements De Guileville differs entirely from the writer or writers of "Piers Plowman," who rarely make use of this device.

There are not many resemblances of detail between the account of the Sins in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" and in "Piers Plowman," and such as there are may easily be accounted for by the fact that so many treatises on the Sins were in existence. The description of *Pride's* customs in the Pèlerinage may, however, have suggested the more subtle account of Pride which is found for the first time in the account of Haukyn's Coat.

B. XIII.275–313.

Stürzinger, 7523–7582.

"Tex choses fas pour ce que veul
Que chascun ait vers moi son eul,
Que soie dite sans pareil
Et singuliere en apareil,

A fin qu'aie de touz le pris
Et qu'a moi nul ne soit onnis
Quar de per et de compaignon
Je n'ai cure en nulle saison,
Et tost le cuer me creveroit
Se nul à moi s'aparioit"

may be compared with

"As in aparaille and in porte proude amonges the peple, B. XIII. 277 *seq.*
Otherwyse than he hath with herte or syȝte shewynge;
Hym willynge that alle men wende he were that he is nouȝte
. . . And so synguleré by hym-self as to syȝte of the poeple,
Was none suche as hym-self ne none so pope-holy."

The comparison of the Sins in "Piers Plowman" and in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" affords no nearer parallel than this, which, dealing as it does with obvious traits of Pride, is not necessarily a proof that the writer of "Piers Plowman" had read De Guileville's poem.

In the second recension of De Guileville, *Envy* is re-introduced towards the end of the poem. She and her daughters Treason and Detraction, accompanied by Scylla (Conspiracy), attack a convent, drive out the inmates, and fall upon the Pilgrim. In this passage Envy is compared to a Serpent, and the Pilgrim is unhorsed by the "Serpent tongue" of Detraction. This reminds us of the account of Envy in "Piers Plowman" (B. Text only).

Vérard, XCV. f. 18.

"Eche a worde that he warpe was of an addre's tonge." B. V. 87

The "serpent" was, however, possibly suggested to each poet independently by a line in Ovid's description of Envy in the "Metamorphoses"—"lingua est suffusa veneno."

Any comparison of the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins is made difficult by the fact that the sources of information for each writer are practically inexhaustible. The "Seven Deadly Sins" were among the commonplaces of mediæval theological thought. Treatises on them seem to have formed the favourite reading of the monks, for the catalogue of every mediæval, monastic

library contains the name of at least one "Tractatus de Virtutibus et Vitiis," and usually there are several. The Sins are personified in the "De Conflictu Vitiorum et Virtutum," possibly by S. Augustine, and in the "Moralia" of Gregory the Great, and both these were studied and imitated in the fourteenth century. Among other examples of their treatment in contemporary English literature may be mentioned Chaucer's "Parson's Tale," the "Ayenbite of Inwit," the "Handlyng Synne" and the "Sermons" of Wyclif. A reference to these books, as to the French allegories, serves to illustrate the originality and dramatic power of the writer of "Piers Plowman," who gives a novel interest to a common theme.

Migne, "Patrologia," VI, 1091.

Ibid. LXXVI, 621.

Other personifications besides the Seven Deadly Sins are common to "Piers Plowman" and some of the French allegories. Such are Reason, who figures in the "Roman de la Rose" and the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," and Eld, who attacks the dreamer in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine." But these may be considered as stock personifications, and the writers do not differ in their treatment of them.

There is nothing in the French allegories to be compared with such personifications as Thought, Imaginative, Recklessness or Anima.

The result of this examination of the treatment of Personification in "Piers Plowman" and in the French allegories may therefore be thus summarised—

1. In "Piers Plowman" the personifications become real human beings; their allegorical significance is thus occasionally obscured. In the French allegories, for the most part the didactic element is predominant.

2. This original and dramatic representation is to be found in *all* parts of "Piers Plowman."

3. The French allegories offer many parallel instances of the incomplete lists of the Deadly Sins in "Piers Plowman."

CHAPTER V

THE TREATMENT OF ALLEGORY: ALLEGORICAL ACTION

THE motives of Pilgrimage and Quest, Jousting and Warfare constitute the most important allegorical action in "Piers Plowman." The "Marriage of Meed" is also of interest, and so is the "Spectacle" or acted fable of the Rat Parliament.

Piers' Tilling of Truth may more conveniently be treated as a device, since the chief interest is to be found in the description of his tools. B. XIX. C. XX.

The main allegorical action of the French allegories may be briefly stated—

"Romans de Carité"—the Quest for Charity.

"Songe d'Enfer," two "Voies de Paradis" and "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine"—Pilgrimage.

"Tournoiement de l'Antecrist"—Jousting and Warfare.

"Roman de la Rose"—The Lover's efforts to pluck the Rose; this includes Warfare.

Since parallels may be found in the French allegories for the Pilgrimage and Quest and the Jousting and Warfare motives of "Piers Plowman," it will be more useful to examine these "motives" first and in greater detail, as they illustrate the treatment of allegorical action in "Piers Plowman."

I. *Pilgrimage and Quest Motive.*

There is nothing new in either the Quest or the Pilgrimage motive. The Quest motive was well known to writers

of romances: the "Romans de Carité" is an earlier example of its use in allegory. The conception of man's earthly life as a pilgrimage was common in Christian teaching. The idea was probably derived from two passages in the New Testament. The first is the command of Our Lord: "Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." This probably suggested the parting of the ways, found in Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis" and De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

S. Matthew vii. 13, 14.

The second is a passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "These . . . confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country . . . Now they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city."

Hebrews xi. 13–16.

Mediæval commentators on the Bible, possibly influenced by this passage, regarded the wanderings of the Children of Israel in the wilderness on their journey to the Promised Land as typical of man's passage through this earthly life to the life eternal.

The idea of man as a pilgrim became a commonplace of mediæval theology, and this allegorical conception would especially commend itself to an age in which pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to various shrines was a common practice.

Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer" seems to be the earliest example of its use in French literature; this was followed by three "Voies de Paradis," one possibly by Raoul de Houdenc, the others by Baudouin de Condé and Rutebeuf. In these cases the pilgrimage is regarded as an incident in the dreamer's life, but in De Guileville's

" Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine " all the dreamer's life from birth to death is represented as a pilgrimage.

" Piers Plowman " has, as far as is known, no English precedent for the use of the motive of an allegorical pilgrimage. The idea may be derived either from the French allegories, or from the theological thought common to Christendom.

Be that as it may, the Pilgrimage and Quest motive is the most important in " Piers Plowman " and it is found in all parts of the poem. It is true that there is no mention of a pilgrimage in the first vision of " Piers Plowman," but the Pilgrimage to seek St. Truth is the keynote of the second vision—the " Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins and of Piers the Plowman "—and it gives a unity to the vision which would otherwise be lacking. The Pilgrimage to seek St. Truth becomes, in the next vision, the Quest for Dowel, Dobet and Dobest, and, in the " Vision of Anima," the idea is again expressed in the Dreamer's wish to find Charity. Then the motive of the Quest is superseded by that of Jousting or Warfare, but it is never forgotten, and the poem closes with Conscience's resolution to go on a pilgrimage in search of Piers Plowman.

It would be a misrepresentation of the text to say that the idea of pilgrimage is carefully worked out or is at all conspicuous. It is, however, the underlying thought giving unity to the long and apparently detached discussions; occasionally directions for an allegorical journey reveal its presence.

A collection of the passages where pilgrimage is mentioned shows what has been, perhaps, an unsuspected unity of intention.

In the second vision, at the end of Conscience's (B. and C. Texts, Reason's) Sermon to the people, he says—

" And ȝe that secheth seynt Jame and seintes at Roome,
Secheth seint Treuthe, ior he may saven ȝow alle."

A. V. 40-41; *cf.* B. V. 57-58; C. VI. 198, 199.

Repentance's " rehearsal of this theme " brings about the Confession of the Sins, and at the end of the Confession the idea of pilgrimage is at once brought into prominence—

A. V. 260–263. cf. B. V. 517–519. C. VIII. 155–157.

" A thousent of men tho throngen to-geders,
Weopyng and weylyng for heore wikkede dedes,
Criȝinge upward to Christ and to his clene Moder
To have grace to seche seint Treuthe, God leve thei so mote."

But they cannot find the way and a Palmer cannot help them. " Piers the Plowman " appears for the first time; he, as Truth's servant, can give a detailed account of the road to His dwelling—as a heading in the C. Text points out, " Alta via ad Fidelitatem est observatio X Preceptorum."

A. VI. 50–126. B. V. 568–647. C. VIII. 204–291.

The pilgrims must go through Meekness to Conscience, Love of God and their neighbours: walk by a brook " Beo-boxom-of-speche " until they find a ford " ȝour fadres-honoureth " in which they should wade and wash. They next see " Swere-not-but-thou-have-neode—and nomeliche-in-idel-the-nome-of-God-Almihti "; and they are to avoid the croft " Coveyte-not-mennes-catel-neheore-wyves-ne-non-of-heore-servants-that-nuyȝen-hem-mihte "; " Loke thou breke no bouȝ there but ȝif it beo thin owne." Two " stokkes," " Sle-not " and " Ne-stel-not," are to be passed by. Apparently the A. Text writer has been content to let Piers bid the pilgrims " hold well thin haly-day evere til even " without giving to this commandment any allegorical form as a place on the journey. This is an interesting anticipation of the more directly didactic method of the C. Text. The brook " Berno-fals-witnesse " must not be touched, although coins may be seen in its bed.

The next landmark is " Sei-soth-so-hit-beo-to-done—and — loke-that-thou-lyȝe-not-for-no-monnes-bidying " ; after passing that, Truth's Castle will soon be reached.

Grace is His Gateward, his man is Amend-you, the Seven Chief Virtues are Portresses, and Mercy (the Virgin Mary) "hathe mihte over hem alle."

Piers undertakes to act as guide when he has ploughed his half-acre. After advising ladies and knights to perform the duties of their station, Piers arrays himself in pilgrim's attire, makes his will and then declares his intention of being "Truth's" "pilgrim atte plou3 for pore mennes sakes." Most of the company set to work to help him with his ploughing. The laziness of others arouses his indignation: Hunger is summoned and work rather than pilgrimage becomes the theme of the poem. There is possibly the suggestion here that it is through the faithful performance of work that Truth is reached. Then Truth's Bull of Indulgence is sent to Piers and pilgrimage is not again alluded to in this vision.

The Bull, however, suggests to the Dreamer the Quest for Dowel. After he has awakened, he roams about "al a somer sesoun" seeking Dowel. In the next vision, he at once asks Thought "Canst thou me telle wher that Dowel dwelleth?" Thought describes Dowel, and the Dreamer and he go forth "Disputing on Dowel day after other" until they meet Wit and ask him. Wit replies that he dwells "not a day hennes" in a Castle (Caro) made by Kind (*i. e.* Nature, the Creator). Dowel is duke of these marshes: his duty is to defend the lady Anima from the attacks of "a proud prikere of Fraunce, princeps huius mundi." Inwit is Constable, his sons, the five wits or senses, help him to defend Anima. Wit explains the allegory in answer to the Dreamer's questions. After a long discussion on "Inwit" and other subjects, Dame Study, Wit's wife, rebukes him for talking so freely to the Dreamer, but relents and tells the Dreamer that Clergy and his wife Scripture may be able to guide him to Dowel. Study's directions for the allegorical journey to Clergy

A. IX.; B. VIII.; C. XI.

A. IX. 67, 68; *cf.* B. VIII. 76, 77; C. XI. 74, 75.

A. X. 1–24; B. IX. 1–24; C. XI. 127–149.

may be compared with those for the road to Truth, given by Piers to the pilgrims—

Supra, p. 64.

A. XI. 113–123; *cf.* B. X. 157–167; C. XII. 107–114.

"I shal teche the the heiȝe wey" quod heo "from hennes to Soffre-Bothe-weole-and-wo, ȝif that thou wolt leorne,
And ryd forth bi Richesse, reste the nouȝt thereinne;
For ȝif thou couple the to him to Clergie comestou nevere.
And eke the longe launde that Lecherie hette,
Leve him on thi luft half a large myle or more,
Forte thou come to a court Kep-wel-thi-tonge-From-lesynyes-and-lyȝeres-speche-and-lykerous-drinke.
Thenne shaltou seo Sobre and Symple-of-speche
That eche wyȝt beo in wil his wit the to schewe
So schalt thou come to Clergye."

In the C. Text the didactic impulse is stronger than the allegorical interest and the idea of a journey is lost in direct admonition. This may be compared with the treatment of the Fourth Commandment in the A. Text account of the road to Truth.

Supra, p. 64.

The Dreamer, following Study's directions, comes to Clergy and Scripture.

Scripture gives a long exposition of "Dowel" to which the Dreamer urges some objections. A casual remark shows that the Quest motive is not forgotten. The Dreamer says—

A. XI 249, 250.

"ȝet am I nevere the ner for nouȝt I have walked
To wyte what is Dowel, witterly in herte."

This is not found in the B. and C. Texts, where the writer's interest in the discussions causes him to forget the framework in which they are set.

The idea of a Pilgrimage or Quest is found also in A. XII., the end of the original Vision of Dowel, which was omitted in the B. Text, when the poem was extended.

Scripture and Clergy upbraid the Dreamer for his presumptuous objections, but Scripture consents to direct him to her cousin Kind Wit, who dwells with Life. A chorister, "Omnia-probate," guides him to the town "Quod-bonum-est-tenete." Here Mr. Manly thinks the

A. XII. 40 *seq.*

original version ended; he attributes the lines after l. 56 to John But. "Cambridge History," II, 21.

These lines tell us that on his way to "Quod-bonum-est-tenete" the Dreamer went through Youth, met Hunger and other enemies and was finally overcome by Death. Thus the idea of a Quest or Pilgrimage is maintained to the end of the A. Text.

In the B. Text continuation, the Quest for Dowel is not so prominent, but the idea of a pilgrimage is never lost, though it is no longer clear that the main action depends on it. The Vision of Fortune, Concupiscentia Carnis and her companions interrupts the Quest for Dowel. As the poet shows, the Dreamer deliberately abandons his quest— B. XI., XII., XIII.

"Of Dowel ne Dobet no deyntee me ne thoughte;
I had no lykynge, leve me if the liste, of hem auȝte to knowe." B. XI. 47

The preaching of Scripture and a discussion on predestination and other subjects follow.

In the C. Text an incidental reference to pilgrimage is introduced. Recklessness, discussing the comparative advantages of riches and poverty says—

"Bothe two beth goode, be ȝe ful certayn,
And lyves that our lorde loveth and large weyes to hevene. C. XIV. 29, etc.
Ac the poure pacient purgatorye passeth
Rathere than the ryche, thauh they renne at ones."

He proceeds to develop his idea by an illustration of the comparative ease and speed with which a merchant and a messenger can accomplish their journey. He then explains the illustration: As the merchant must keep to the high road, even so must the rich "holden . . . the hiȝe weye, even the ten hestes," etc., while the poor man need only believe and love and he will not be refused entrance into Heaven.

Ymaginatyf discourses on the subject of Dowel, but there is no hint of a journey, and the Quest for Dowel is

B. XIII. 1–20; C. XVI. 1–25. not mentioned in the summary of this vision given in the Dreamer's musings when he awakes.

B. XIII. C. XVI. In the next vision, the Dreamer asks the Friar at the Supper about Dowel, and various definitions are given by him and by Patience. After the Supper, the Pilgrimage motive reappears but it is the pilgrimage not of the Dreamer seeking Dowel, but of Conscience setting out with Patience "to prove more."

B. XIII. 215. "Conscience tho with Pacience passed, pilgrims as it were."

Patience has allegorical food in his poke,

B. XIII. 218–219; *cf.* C. XVI. 188, 189. "To conforte hym and Conscience, if they come in place
There Unkyndenesse and Coveytise is, hungrye contrees bothe."

They journey on, talking of Dowel, until they meet Haukyn Activa Vita, and in converse with him the pilgrimage is forgotten.

There is however, an incidental reference to man's life as a pilgrimage in Patience's praise of poverty—

B. XIV. 210–214; *cf.* C. XVII. 53–57. "For the riche hath moche to rekene, and riste so'te walketh,
The heigh waye to hevene-ward ott richesse letteth,
There the pore preseth bifor the riche with a pakke at his rugge,
Batauntliche, as beggeres done and baldeliche he craveth,
For his poverte and his pacience a perpetuel blisse."

In the B. Text this vision ends with the penitence of Haukyn. We are apparently to understand that it was through the experience of real life that the Dreamer found Dowel and ended his search—

B. XV. 1, 2. "Ac after my wakyng it was wonder longe
Ar I couth kyndely knowe what was Dowel."

The reader is thus prepared for the abandonment of the quest in the visions.

But in the C. Text the vision does not end. The poet passes without a break to the description of Liberum Arbitrium, and this hint of the attainment of Dowel is consequently omitted.

C. XVIII. 158.

B. XV. 147, *seq.*; C. XVII. 284, *seq.* In the "Vision of Anima" (C. Text Liberum Arbitrium) there is another slight reference to the idea of a quest.

Charity is mentioned, and the Dreamer asks where he is to be found; he has never seen such a man. The C. Text has—

"For thoȝ men soȝt al sectes of sustren and of bretheren,
And thow fynde hym, bote figuratifliche, a ferly me thinketh." C. XVII. 293, 294.

Throughout Anima's description of Charity and subsequent digressions, the Dreamer does not forget his desire to find Charity. In the B. Text he asks "What Charite is to mene," the Tree of Charity is described, he swoons for joy at hearing that Piers Plowman tends it, and in a vision in his swoon he beholds it.

But in the C. Text an allegorical journey is substituted for the vision in a swoon—

"Leve Liberum Arbitrium," quath ich, "ich leyve, as ich hope,
Thou couthest telle and teche me to Charite, ich leyve?
Then louh Liberum Arbitrium and ladde me forth with tales,
Til we comen in to a contree Cor-hominis hit hyhte." C. XIX. 1-4.

There he sees the Tree "Ymago-Dei" bearing the fruit of Caritas.

From this point the motive of the Pilgrimage and Quest is superseded by that of Warfare, but it is found again incidentally in the fuller interpretation of the parable of the Samaritan, given by Charity. The journey from Jericho to Jerusalem becomes an allegory of man's pilgrimage throughout this life—the conventional mediæval interpretation. Every man is robbed as he passes through the wood by outlaws who lurk there. But when Christ (the Samaritan, or Charity) has fettered the Fiend, Faith will be forester. B. XVII. 98, *seq.*; C. XX. 90, *seq.*

"And kennen out commune men that knoweth nouȝte the contre,
Which is the waye that ich went and wherforth to Iherusalem." C. XVII. 113, 114 (omitted C.

Hope will lead them to the hostel, the Church, and Christ will return with 'salve for all sick.'

Except for this incidental explanation, the Pilgrimage motive is not found again until the end of the poem.

When the Dreamer has been attacked by Elde, and Death draws nigh, he appeals to Kynde for help—

B. XX. 211, 212; *cf.* C. XXIII. 212, 213.

> "And there, by conseille of Kynde I comsed to rowme
> Thorw Contricion and Confession til ich cam to Unite."

At the close of the poem, when all Conscience's followers fail him, and he is hard pressed in Unity by Pride and Sloth, he determines to become a pilgrim—

B. XX. 378–383; *cf.* C. XXIII. 380–385.

> "'Bi Cryste' quod Conscience tho, 'I wil become a pilgryme,
> And walken as wyde as al the worlde lasteth,
> To seke Piers the Plowman, that Pryde may destruye,
> And that freres hadde a fyndyng that for nede flateren,
> And contrepleteth me, Conscience; now Kynde me avenge,
> And sende me happe and hele til I have Piers the Plowman!'"

Thus the last thought of the poem is that of Pilgrimage.

From this account it appears that in "Piers Plowman" the Pilgrimage motive is used in several different ways, and further, that most of these varying methods may be found in all the texts alike.

1. First, the motive is used to give a framework to certain portions of the poem. This is illustrated by the Pilgrimage to seek St. Truth (A. V.–VIII., B. V.–VII., C. VI.–X.), which is never accomplished; the Quest for Dowel (A. IX.–XII., B. VIII.–XI., XIV.–XVII.); the Pilgrimage of Conscience and Patience on which they meet Haukyn (B. XIII., C. XVI.); the search for Charity, further developed in C. (B. XV., C. XVII. and XIX.); and the final resolution of Conscience to go on a pilgrimage in search of Piers Plowman (B. XX., C. XXIII.), which brings the poem to its close.

2. Secondly, and connected with this framework, there are the detailed descriptions of allegorical journeys. The most important are Piers' directions for the way to Truth (A. VI., B. V., C. VIII.); Study's to the Dwelling of Clergy (A. XI., B. X., C. XII.); Patience's mention of the countries of Covetousness and Unkindness (B. XIII.,

C. XVI.) and the journey to the land of Cor-hominis (C. XIX.).

3. Thirdly, the motive is found in incidental references to man's earthly life as a pilgrimage. There is no instance of this in any part of the A. Text. It is found in the B. Text in Patience's praise of Poverty (B. XV., C. XVII.) and is introduced in the C. Text in Recklessness's discourse (C. XIV.).

The treatment of the motive in the French allegories is also varied.

1. *An allegorical pilgrimage or quest the framework of the poem.*

The framework of the "Romans de Carité" is the Quest for Charity; that of the "Songe d'Enfer" and the two "Voies de Paradis," the journey to Hell and Paradise respectively; that of De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," the pilgrimage of man through this earthly life.

In the "ROMANS DE CARITÉ" the action is only allegorical because Charity is personified, and this personification is by no means consistently maintained throughout the poem. The Dream-form is not used; the Quest for Charity is carried out in real countries, not in places of allegorical significance; the seeker encounters members of contemporary French society instead of personifications of abstract qualities. In "Piers Plowman" also at one time the poet represents himself as wandering about the real world for a summer season to seek Dowel, questioning two friars and others whom he meets. But in that poem the wanderer soon falls asleep again, and in the dream the action is allegorical. A. IX., B. XIII., C. XI.

Both in "Piers Plowman" and in the "Romans de Carité," the writer's interest in his moral purpose causes him occasionally to forget the quest, the framework of the poem.

The "Pilgrimages" are all cast in Dream-form, and are all entirely allegorical in action. An allegorical Pilgrimage naturally gives an account of the places through which the Pilgrim passes and the people he meets on his way. In some cases the interest is concentrated on the journey, in others on the encounters.

The actual journey forms the framework of the "Songe d'Enfer." There is a definite account of the road to Hell, given partly in a narrative of the Pilgrim's adventures, partly in the directions he receives from Drunkenness. The road is a great iron highway which runs through the City of Covetousness in the Land of Disloyalty to the City of Faithlessness, thence, passing the River of Gluttony, to Tavern Town, from there, past Fornication to Castle Brothel. The road next passes through Cruelty and Cut-Throat to the Town of Murder-the-Gibbet and on through Despair and Suicide to Hell. The order in which the various places are reached, shows that the writer had not forgotten the allegorical significance of the journey; but had thought out a sequence of sins which might be supposed to lead a man to Hell. The Pilgrim has no adventures on the road. All his encounters with personifications take place at Covetousness, Faithlessness, Tavern Town and Hell. Although the scenes at these cities are the most interesting part of the poem, the pilgrimage setting is consistently worked out.

The journey and the encounters with personifications are of equal importance in the pilgrimage which forms the framework of the early "Voie de Paradis." The way to Paradise is clearly indicated; the Pilgrim goes from the House of Love to the House of Contrition and thence to the Castle of Confession. The road is difficult, but, when Penitence is reached, the Pilgrim has only to mount a ladder whose rungs are Christian Duties, to find himself on the borders of Paradise. The road itself is described

Ed. Jubinal, III, ll. 142-147.

—Temptation waits for the Pilgrim in a little wood where the path is narrow. The Sins come upon him when he has lost his way, after loitering by the meadows and broad river, where jugglers and minstrels (Worldly Vanities) are performing. This passage may be compared with the incidental description of man's pilgrimage given by the Samaritan in " Piers Plowman," where there is a vivid picture of the outlaws who " in the wode and under banke lotyeth," waiting to attack those passing through the Wilderness. ll. 516–561 B. XVII. 98, *seq.*

The journey in this " Voie de Paradis " is full of incident both on the actual road and in the dwellings where the Pilgrim passes the night. The pilgrimage never loses its allegorical character—the way lies through the accepted Church discipline of Contrition, Confession, Penitence and Good Deeds. The same road is followed by the dreamer in " Piers Plowman " when he takes shelter in Unity. B. XX. 212; C. XXIII. 213; *cf. supra* p. 70.

In Rutebeuf's " Voie de Paradis " the interest of the pilgrimage is centred in Pity's elaborate descriptions of the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Chief Virtues and their dwellings. The journey is not of great importance. At the outset of his pilgrimage, the dreamer comes to the parting of the ways. The road on the left is " beautiful and pleasant, delightful and easy," but it leads to an abode full of anguish. The Pilgrim chooses the road on the right and arrives at the City of Penitence, where he is welcomed by Pity and his wife Charity. Pity directs him to avoid the dwellings of the Sins, and seek those of the Virtues. Chastity leads the Pilgrim to the City of Repentance and the poem closes with an account of Repentance. Paradise has apparently been forgotten. It is obvious that there is no allegorical significance in this journey through Penitence to Repentance, nor any special reason why Pity should give the directions. As in " Piers Plowman " the ll. 49, 50.

pilgrimage tends to become merely the setting for descriptive passages.

In De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," the incidents of the "pilgrimage of human life" are represented as encounters and discussions with personifications rather than as places of allegorical significance on the Pilgrim's road. The only places named are the Waters of Baptism; Grace-Dieu's House, the Church; the Hedge of Penitence, dividing the two roads; the Bath of Contrition; the Sea of the World and the Ship of Religion. In the last part of the allegory De Guileville has confused the two common Christian conceptions of man's life as a pilgrimage and as a voyage over "the waves of this troublesome world in the ark of Christ's Church." In the second recension Scylla, Charybdis, etc., are changed from places, "perils of the sea," to personifications. This illustrates De Guileville's preference for personifications; in his preoccupation with discussions and explanations, he is a forerunner of the writer of the latter part of "Piers Plowman." But, unlike this writer, he works out the idea of a pilgrimage consistently. The Pilgrim traverses the path of the Christian from his birth to his death, making due use of the Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church.

Church of England Baptismal Service.

(2) *The detailed directions for an allegorical journey.*

In this the "Songe d'Enfer" and earlier "Voie de Paradis" show most resemblance to "Piers Plowman." In them there is, as has been shown, a sequence of places having a definite allegorical significance; various sins mark the Pilgrim's descent to Hell, the various stages of Repentance point the way to Paradise. This is analogous to the directions for the journeys to Truth and Clergy in "Piers Plowman." There is, however, one difference to be noted. In the French poems, there is an account of the allegorical journey itself; in "Piers Plowman"

almost all the allegorical places named are found in directions only. The only actions throughout the poem which occur at a definite place of allegorical significance are the banquet at the Court of Conscience and the attack on Unity. Neither is directly connected with the motive of pilgrimage. B. XI.; C. XVI.; B. XIX., XX.; C. XXII., XXIII.

In the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE" directions for an allegorical journey are given incidentally. The Lover wishes to rescue Bel-Acueil from his imprisonment in the Castle of Jealousy. "Amis" tells him to go by the road "Trop-Donner" made by Fole-Largesce. Leaving Largesce on the right, he must turn to the left, and he will soon come to the weak side of the Castle. Riches will lead him in and Poverty will bring him out. Fole-Largesce dwells on that road. The Lover follows the advice of Amis. He finds the path a pleasant one. Riches guards the road to Trop-Donner, now described as an *inn* kept by Fole-Largesce. Unable to comply with the demands of Riches, the Lover abandons his attempt, and keeps sadly on his way. There is no further mention of an allegorical journey. Ed. Michel, I, p. 263 *seq.* p. 331 *seq.*

In HUON DE MÉRI'S "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST," Antichrist and his followers make the Town of Despair their head-quarters; the King of Hope encamps in the Town of Hope. At the end of the battle there is a reference to the road to Hell, described in Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer." Truth announces that Antichrist has been set by Treason on the road to Hell and has entrenched himself in Faithlessness, an impregnable city.

(3) There are no examples in these allegories of *incidental references to man's life as a pilgrimage*, for the sufficient reason that this is the central idea in most of them.

II. *Jousting and Warfare.*

The conflict between good and evil was represented in allegories at an early date. St. Paul constantly refers *Cf.* Ephesians vi. 11-17; Romans

xiii.; 2 Corinthians x. 4; 1 Thessalonians v. 8; 1 Timothy i. 18; 2 Timothy ii. 3.

to the life of the Christian as a perpetual warfare with the powers of evil; he who would be victorious must be armed with "the whole armour of God." From St. Paul's Epistles, this conception of man's life as a conflict became part of Christian thought. It is, therefore, natural that, in the early "Voie de Paradis" and in De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," the Pilgrim should be set upon by Sins personified.

In "Piers Plowman" there is only one incidental reference to the Sins' attack upon the Christian pilgrim; this is to be found in the explanation of the Parable of the Good Samaritan already referred to, with its parallel in the "Voie de Paradis."

Supra, p. 69.

Closely connected with this idea is the allegorical representation of the conflict between good and evil as a battle between personified Vices and personified Virtues. This is the subject of the "Psychomachia" of Prudentius (c. 405), which is, according to Ebert, the first example of purely allegorical poetry in mediaeval literature.

Ebert, I, 302.

This warfare is the dominant idea of the Visions of Dobet and Dobest in "Piers Plowman." The Vision of Dobet records the enmity between Christ and the Devil, Life and Death; it closes with Christ's triumphant Harrowing of Hell. In the Vision of Dobest, the strife is continued, but the combatants have changed; Christ's followers, governed by Conscience and entrenched in Unity, are attacked by Antichrist and the Vices.

B. XVI.–XVIII.; C. XIX.–XXI.

B. XIX., XX.; C. XXII., XXIII.

The Church has always taught that in the Life, Death, and Resurrection of Christ, the conflict between good and evil was brought to a clearly defined issue. The distinctive feature of the treatment of this conflict in "Piers Plowman" is that Christ is represented as a Knight jousting in a Tournament against His foes. This idea is brought out again and again. Christ is to rescue the fruit of the Tree of Charity from the fiend—

"Thanne shulde Jesus juste there-fore, bi juggement of armes, Whether shulde fonge the fruit, the fende or hymselve." B. XVI. 95, 96; *cf.* C. XIX. 129–130.

Of the Crucifixion it is said—

"Jesus . . . for mankynde sake
Justed in Jerusalem, a joye to us alle.
On crosse upon Calvarye, Cryst toke the bataille,
Aȝeines deth and the devel, destroyed her botheres myȝtes,
Deyde, and deth fordid and daye of nyȝte made." B. XVI. 161–166 (omitted C.).

The Samaritan, later identified with Christ, is going to "justes in Jerusalem." B. XVII. 51; C. XX. 50.

In the next vision, still the Vision of Dobet, the Dreamer witnesses Christ's Entry into Jerusalem. B. XVIII. 10, *seq.*; C. XXI. 8, *seq.*

Christ enters "without spores other spere," like a knight coming to be dubbed. Faith calls His Title, "a! fili David!"

"As doth an heraude of armes when auntrous cometh to justes."

Faith tells the Dreamer that Jesus will joust in Piers' arms, humana natura, that He may not be known for "consummatus deus." He is to fight with "the foule fende and Falsdome and Deth." Longeus, who pierced the side of Christ, is said to "justen with Jesus." During the Crucifixion, dead men rise to tell of a "bitter battaille" between "Lyf and Deth in this derkness." It is of this battle that Faith speaks when he warns the Jews that their "Champioun chevaler" and "chief-knight" "ȝelt hym recreaunt rennyng riȝt at Jesus wille."

Christ's triumph is made manifest in the description of the Harrowing of Hell. The warlike preparations of the devils are described in detail in the C. Text—the gates are to be barred, and "brynston boilaunt," "bouwes of brake," and "brasene gonnes"—weapons of no allegorical significance—are to be made ready. But nothing can prevent the entry of Christ, who comes as a Conqueror to claim the spoils of victory. C. XXI. 283–296.

Christ is again introduced as a victorious knight at the

B. XIX. 6, *seq.* C. XXII. 6, *seq.* beginning of the next vision, the Vision of Dobest. As Conscience says—

> "Thise aren Pieres armes,
> His coloures and his cote-armure, ac he that cometh so blody
> Is Cryst with his crosse, conqueroure of Crystene"

ll. 12-14.

l. 50. He . . . conquered on crosse, as conqueror noble."

By such touches as these, prominence is given to the thought of Christ's jousting with His enemies, Evil and Death. In this way the unity of the Vision of Dobet is preserved.

The representation of Christ as a Knight is not original. It was probably a common comparison in an age of chivalry, and, as Dr. Skeat points out, it is to be found in the Ancren Riwle. There Christ is spoken of as a knight, dying in defence of the Lady He loves, the human Soul. As in "Piers Plowman," His human body is regarded as armour, covering His Godhead.

Skeat, II, 249.

Ed. Morton, p. 390.

No trace of this idea is to be found in the French allegories under consideration: some parallels, however, may be found in them for the incidents of the attack of Antichrist and the Sins upon the Church, recorded in the two visions which form the Vision of Dobest.

These incidents are extremely confused in the text, and it is, therefore, impossible to give a clear summary of the attack.

The first of these visions records the founding of the Church represented allegorically as farming operations carried on by Piers. Immediately

B. XIX. 331 *seq.*; C. XXII. 337 *seq.*

> "Pryde it aspyde,
> And gadered hym a grete oest, to greven he thinketh
> Conscience and al Crystene and cardinale vertues."

Pride's two followers, "Surquydous" and "Spille-love" or "Speke-yvel-byhynde," come to destroy all Piers' husbandry and to colour the implements "queyntly," and cover them under sophistry that they

may be used for Pride's purposes, to the confusion of all men. The Christians, guided by Conscience, seek refuge in Unity, round which they dig a moat of holiness. The remainder of the vision is occupied with Conscience's preparations for the Eucharistic Feast and the self-justification of a brewer, a vicar, a lord, and a king.

In the next, and last, vision there appears to be no change of scene. Antichrist conducts the attack on Unity, begun in the preceding vision. There is some repetition of the preliminary operations. First Antichrist destroys the result of Piers' husbandry, mingling the false with the true. Through his gifts he wins many followers, especially friars and members of the religious orders. With Pride and Lust he attacks Conscience, who calls on Kind (*i. e.* Nature) for help. Kind, however, accompanied by Elde and Dethe, wages war against humanity in general until Conscience begs him to stop. Fortune next directs the warfare; he sends Lechery among all men; Covetousness and Simony also assail Conscience. B. XX. 52-end; C. XXIII. 53-end.

The method in which the Vices conduct the warfare varies considerably. Simony's activities include winning priests for Antichrist's cause, establishing Fals in the King's Court in the place of Gode-Feith and overthrowing righteous judgments in the Law Courts. The allegorical actions of Lyf are also unconnected with warfare. His customs are described as showing much reckless defiance of Kynde, Dethe and Elde. He marries Fortune and their son Sloth weds Despair, daughter of Thomme Twotongue. Sloth and Wanhope attack Conscience, who cries to Elde for aid. Elde drives Lyf to "Fysyke," in whom he trusts, until a Physician falls a victim to Elde. Lyf then takes refuge in Revel—"a rych place and a merye." Elde next attacks the Dreamer, who is terrified at the approach of Death. Following Kind's advice, he goes to Unity. There Conscience is still hard beset

by Antichrist and "sevene grete gyauntz" (the Seven Deadly Sins). Sloth presses hard upon Unity, followed by "proud priests." Conscience cries for help, but finds the aid proffered by friars is useless. Following Need's advice, Conscience addresses an exhortation to the Friars, bidding them learn to love and leave logic. In defiance of his teaching, Envy commands Friars to study logic and preach communism. A digression follows, in which the writer inveighs against the evils of communism and of confessions being made to friars, instead of to the Parish priest.

The account of the assault is then resumed. Covetousness and Unkindness assail Conscience. Peace is made porter of Unity, he fights hard with Hypocrisy, who wounds many.

Shrift applies a sharp salve to the wounded, and Friar Flatterer is recommended by Contrition as a better physician. Flatterer and his fellow "Penetrans-domos" are refused admission by Peace, until Hende-Speche intercedes for them. Flatterer, by his plasters, makes Contrition and Clergy "lie and dream." Conscience, in despair at the renewed attacks of Sloth and Pride, resolves to go on a Pilgrimage to seek Piers Plowman.

So the Vision and the poem end.

This summary shows that the writer has here intermingled two kinds of allegorical action.

The first is the graphic presentation of a definite action —the assault of Antichrist upon Unity, which is defended by Conscience, weapons of allegorical significance being used. The second is the representation of the general activity of the personifications, which is not confined to any one allegorical "motive," such as pilgrimage or warfare. For example, Simony's deeds are not directly connected with the siege, and Kind, Elde and Death attack all men indiscriminately.

In Huon de Meri's "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist," the first kind of allegorical action is employed. The subject of this poem is a Tournament between the followers of Antichrist and of the King of Heaven. Antichrist and his followers march out from the town of Despair, the King of Heaven and his host from Hope. The armour of all the principal combatants is described in detail; it has allegorical significance. The tournament begins: devils fight against angels, vices against the appropriate virtues. The action is almost entirely confined to the actual battle in progress. Justice, however, is represented as hanging Homicide and Murder on a Gibbet at Meurtre-Ville (Murder Town); this cannot be regarded as part of the action of the Tournament: it is parallel to Simony's incursions into the King's Court and the Law Courts.

The Tournament ends with the victory of the King of Heaven and the Virtues. Antichrist and his followers set out on the road to Hell; the victors return with joy to Hope and thence depart to Paradise.

Warton pointed out the general resemblance between the "Tournoiement" and the last passus of "Piers Plowman."

Warton, "History of English Poetry," II, 60 (Ed. 1840).

In both the central idea is the attack of Antichrist and his followers, the Vices, upon the Virtues. There are other points of similarity.

As will be shown later, armour of allegorical significance is used by personifications in both allegories. In both there is the same inconsistency in its use: in some cases Vices and Virtues use appropriate allegorical weapons with excellent effect; in others, the attack is described in general terms.

Infra, pp. 91–2.

In the "Tournoiement," Raphael, Confession, Devotion, Compunction and Penitence tend the wounded when the battle is over. In "Piers Plowman," Shrift, and later,

Friar Flattery, put plasters on the wounds of Conscience's followers.

In both cases Vices and Virtues recruit their ranks from human beings.

A personal episode is introduced in both poems. In "Piers Plowman," Elde attacks the Dreamer, and in the "Tournoiement" one of Venus' arrows wounds the poet as he watches the battle.

No special significance is to be attached to the fact that the figure of Antichrist is common to both poems. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the belief in his coming was widespread; the Albigensian heresy, against which Huon de Méri's poem was directed, was especially identified with his activity. He appears again in English literature in Hampole's "Prick of Conscience," and in the "Chester Mysteries."

An account of an allegorical battle is to be found in Jean de Meun's continuation of the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE." In this case the conflict is between the followers of the God of Love and the guardians of the Rose, instead of the forces of good and evil.

Bel-Acueil (Welcome) has been imprisoned in a strong castle by Jealousy, because he let the Lover touch the Rose. The God of Love summons his barons, that they may attack the Castle and rescue him. The following obey his summons: Idleness, Nobleness of-Heart, Riches, Frankness, Pity, Liberality, Boldness, Honour, Courtesy, Pleasure, Simplicity, Company, Seurté (Formal Promise. Certainty), Delight, Joy, Gaiety, Beauty, Youth Humility, Patience, Bien-Celer (Discretion), Faus-Semblans (Insincerity) and his love, Constrained-Abstinence The God of Love explains the object of his summons The barons complain that Riches will not help them Their plan of attack is that Faus-Semblans and Abstinence, with their followers, and Courtesy and Liberality

Ed. Michel, I, 347, *seq.*

shall attack the gate guarded by Wicked-Tongue. Delight and Concealment are to set upon Shame; Boldness and Certainty upon Dread. Frankness and Pity are to fight against Dangier.

The God of Love objects to the presence of Faus-Semblans; he only tolerates him on condition that he describes his manner of life. This gives scope for a long digression, in which all kinds of insincerity, especially hypocrisy, are exposed. Faus-Semblans swears to serve II, 43.
Love faithfully, and the assault upon the Castle is begun. Faus-Semblans and Abstinence, disguised as pilgrims, are admitted into the Castle by Wicked-Tongue. After some converse with him, they set upon him, cut out his tongue, and fling his dead body into a ditch. Faus-Semblans, constrained Abstinence, Courtesy, and Liberality enter the Castle, and send a message to Bel-Acueil from the Lover, by the old woman who guards him. The old woman, in delivering the message expounds the Art of II, 127.
Love at great length. Bel-Acueil consents to receive the Lover. He enters by a gate at the back, and finds Love and Sweet-Looking (Doux Regarts) within. Bel-Acueil is about to give him the Rose, when Dangier, Fear, and Shame set upon them both, and load Bel-Acueil with chains. The Lover is rescued by Love's barons.

An account of the battle follows.—In each case the II, 148.
allegorical armour of the combatants is described. Dangier attacks Frankness, and overthrows her, Pity comes to the rescue and wounds Dangier. Shame stuns Pity and overpowers Delight, and Concealment comes to the rescue and subdues Shame, but is overcome by Fear, who also overthrows Boldness. Certainty attacks Fear, and the conflict becomes general. The besiegers are always defeated. The God of Love makes a truce and summons Venus, who comes in a chariot drawn by white doves. Love breaks the truce and the assault is again

118. begun. All Love's followers swear to love. A long digression follows, containing the confession of Nature
274. to her priest, Genius. Finally Nature sends a Pardon by Genius to the God of Love and his host, which will be granted to those who obey her laws. When this has been read, and the barons have given their assent, the assault
315. upon the Castle is begun once more. Venus summons the Castle to surrender, and Shame and Fear refuse admission. After a digression comparing an image made by Nature to Pygmalion's Statue, the account of the siege is resumed.
334. Venus' burning arrows set part of the Castle on fire, the Porters desert it, and Love's Host enters.

Langlois, "Origines," p. 151. M. Langlois has shown that the account of this battle is imitated from Huon de Méri's "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist." It has not, perhaps, hitherto been remarked that there are several points of resemblance between this part of the "Roman de la Rose" and the last passus of "Piers Plowman," other than those common to the "Roman de la Rose" and the "Tournoiement."

In the first place, in both the "Roman" and "Piers Plowman," an attack upon a building is substituted for a Tournament. In both, the position of Porter is important. The three porters, "Dangier," Fear and Shame are the chief defenders in the "Roman"; in "Piers Plowman", Pees defends the gate against the attacks of Hypocrisy. There is a certain similarity in the character of Friar Flattery and of Faus-Semblans. Both obtain admission to the Castle under the pretence of friendship. The descriptions of the allegorical armour used are somewhat similar. The long digression containing Nature's Confession in the "Roman de la Rose" may possibly have suggested the introduction of "Kind" in the "Piers Plowman" siege. In this Confession, Death is said to pursue all, not even Physicians escape. This may be compared with the passage in "Piers Plow-

man," recording the death of a Physician through the assault of Eld. B. XX. 174-176; C. XXIII. 17-177.

The similarities in these allegorical battles are sufficiently striking to suggest the possibility that the French allegories influenced Piers Plowman. But Prudentius' " Psychomachia," to which reference has already been made, depicts the triumph of Christian Virtues over Pagan Vices; so that the idea of a conflict between Virtues and Vices may have been suggested to the French and English poets independently by Prudentius' allegory, which was very popular in the Middle Ages. As far as can be seen from M. Ebert's analysis, " Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist " has more resemblance in general plan to the " Psychomachia " than has the Dobest Vision of " Piers Plowman "; nor does there appear to be any similarity in detail between the " Psychomachia " and " Piers Plowman." So it is still possible to believe that " Piers Plowman " owes more to the French allegories than to the " Psychomachia." *Cf.* Ebert, I, 308 *seq.*

III. *The Spectacle or acted Fable of Bell-the-Cat.*

In the B. and C. Texts, a King is introduced into the " fair field full of folk " ; problems of government are discussed, and good advice is given to the King by an Angel (C. Text, " Conscience "). Suddenly, in the midst of this scene, there is enacted the fable of the rats and mice who wish to bell the cat : " *With that* ran there a route of ratones at ones," etc. The Fable is well known; the writer of " Piers Plowman " has given it a new application. No one is bold enough to place the bell on the cat's neck, but the moral is not, in this case, the ineffectiveness of enactments which are not put into force. " A mous that moche good couthe " warns the rats that they will be extremely foolish if they kill the cat; his function is to preserve order, which he does more effectually B., Prol. C. I. B., Prol. 146-207; C. I. 165-215.

than a kitten could. This novel ending emphasises the fact of the interdependence of the various orders of society—an idea which is found in all parts of "Piers Plowman."

Skeat, II, 17; Jusserand, "Piers Plowman," p. 39.

Dr. Skeat and M. Jusserand have pointed out that there are several mediæval versions of this fable. Dr. Skeat instances the fourteenth-century French collection of fables called "Ysopet," and the fourteenth-century Latin metrical version published by M. Robert. M. Jusserand notices its inclusion in the thirteenth-century Latin collection of Odo de Cheriton; the moralized tales in French prose, written c. 1320 by Nicole Bozon; the "Summa Praedicantium" of John of Broomyard, and the poems of Eustache des Champs.

It has not, however, previously been remarked that this fable was probably suggested to the writer of the B. Text by a sermon preached by Thomas Brunton, Bishop of Rochester. This sermon was preached in 1370, probably before the Convocation. In a later vision the Dreamer speaks of hearing a Friar preach "bifor the den of Poules," so it is quite possible that the writer heard Brunton's sermon, for 1377 is the usually accepted date of the B. Text. This is how Brunton tells the story—

B. XIII. 65, 66; *cf.*

Quoted and translated by F. A. Gasquet in the "Old English Bible," chap. iii.

"But some will say, leave the Commons, who, like the foundations of the republic, effectually support the king and the Parliament (to look to it).

"Not so, Reverend sirs, lest our Parliament be compared to the Parliament of rats and mice in the fable.

"About this we read that, in their assembly they had strictly ordained that every cat should have a bell attached to its neck, so that, warned by the sound, the mice might have sufficient time to escape in safety to their holes. An ancient rat, meeting a certain mouse returning from the Parliament, inquired what was the news. When the mouse had explained to him the gist of the business, the rat remarked, 'This law is most excellent, provided

someone is appointed by your Parliament to carry it into execution.' The mouse replied that no such order had been made by Parliament, and so the law remained consequently useless and inoperative."

Although the moral derived from the fable differs in these two cases, both writers alike apply it to the contemporary politics of the Good Parliament.

There is nothing in the French allegories under consideration which is exactly parallel to this acted Fable. A "spectacle" of somewhat similar nature, is, however, introduced quite unexpectedly in De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine." When the pilgrim asks Avarice her name, she says that she will tell him—

Ed. Stürzinger, ll. 9158–9160; ll. 9169–9190.

"Mes avant je te mousterrai
De mes enfances et mes giens
A fin que tu me croies miex . . .
A donc sur un fosse monter
Me fist la vielle et regarder
En une plaine un bel moustier
Fonde de lez un eschequier
Ou il avoit menus et gros
Eschecs des quiex je vi les ros
Et les chevaliers et le roi
Qui en menoient grant desroi.
Chascun (d'euz) avoit cuint s'espée
Qui me fu chose desguisée.
Quar autre foys joue avoie
Aus eschez et nul n' (en) avoie
Veu qui fust de tel manière.
Leur contenance est moult fière
(Quar) vers le moustier s'en aloient,
(Et) jus abatre le vouloient.
Li rois premier devant aloit
Et les fondemens en miroit
De une croce a (un) evesque
Faisoit son houel et sa besche.
Besche en estoit le bout agu
Et houel l'autre bout crocu."

It is not surprising that the pilgrim should ask—

"Est ce songe ou faerie,
Ou fantome ou deverie?"

Avarice explains that this spectacle represents attacks made by Kings and Bishops upon Church property.

The representation of a mimic siege of an abbey by chessmen as a method of criticising contemporary politics does not differ essentially from the Rat Parliament of the "Piers Plowman" B. and C. Texts. Both are an acted parable. The introduction of such a parable in De Guileville's orderly account of the human pilgrimage is far more startling than the sudden appearance of the rats in "Piers Plowman," where the scene and characters are frequently changed.

IV. *The Marriage of Mede*

From the preceding examples it will be seen that the idea of some allegorical action underlies the greater part of all Texts of "Piers Plowman," giving a certain unity to the long discussions and apparently disconnected episodes and, further, that the same kind of allegorical action may be found in one or other of the French allegories under discussion. An account of the allegorical action of "Piers Plowman" is not, however, complete without some notice of the "Marriage of Mede," though no similar motive is to be found in these French allegories.

A. II.-IV.; B. II.-IV.; C. III.-V.

This Motive includes the projected marriage of Mede and Fals, its interruption by Theology, the journey to Westminster, and the dispersal of Mede's followers for fear of the King's displeasure. The scene changes to the King's Court. The King wishes Conscience to marry Mede, but he refuses, and Mede and Conscience mutually accuse each other of disloyalty to the King. Reason is summoned and is courteously received at Court: he denounces Mede and she is despised by all. In the general interest aroused by the King's decision to rule by the advice of Conscience and Reason, Mede is completely ignored.

In this account of the Marriage of Mede, the events follow each other in an orderly sequence; Mede's power, popularity, and ultimate humiliation are duly set forth.

The episodes are all connected with the main action; Pees' plaint against Wrong illustrates the activity of Mede, whose sympathies are at once enlisted on Wrong's behalf. The speeches also are all concerned directly or indirectly with the subject of "Meed." There is, however, confusion between the "Lady Mede" and the Meed, the principle of reward, which she personifies. This is shown in Conscience's speech—

"Ther beoth twey manner of meedes mi lord, by thi leve, A. III. 224–233; *cf.* B. III. 230–246.
That on, good god of his grace ziveth in his blisse
To hem that wel worchen whil that thei ben here
. . . Bote there is a meede mesureles, that maystrie desyreth
To meynteyne misdoers, meede thei taken."

In their clearness and completeness, these passus resemble the plan of the "Songe d'Enfer," and the early "Voie de Paradis." The writer has before him a practical aim—the banishment of Mede (*i. e.* Corruption) from the King's Court. This purpose is more definite than that of other parts of "Piers Plowman," and this gives a different character to the conduct of the action. The Pilgrimage to Truth, the Quest for Dowel, are never concluded, the aim is criticised from various points of view, and the action is confused. The difference between the "Marriage of Mede" of A. II.–IV. and the Pilgrimage to Truth of A. V.–VIII., accepted by Professor Manly as the work of one man, is at least as great as that between this Pilgrimage to Truth and the Quest for Dowel of A. IX.–XII., or the Vision of Antichrist of B. XIX.–XX., which he assigns to separate authors.

Thus a comparison of the treatment of allegorical action in "Piers Plowman" and in the French Allegories shows that the writer of "Piers Plowman" uses motives which were common to allegories at the time; it is certainly possible, moreover, that he may have been influenced by some of these allegories. The most striking result of the comparison is, however, the revelation of the originality of the English writer in his treatment of these stock themes.

CHAPTER VI

THE TREATMENT OF ALLEGORY: ALLEGORICAL DEVICES

UNDER this heading comes the consideration of objects formed of materials of allegorical significance, of episodical actions which are not essential to the main action, and of any other allegorical motive which is introduced incidentally.

There are parallels in the French poems for almost all the allegorical devices of "Piers Plowman," and the treatment of this kind of allegory in "Piers Plowman" may be illustrated by a comparison of such similar passages.

1. *Allegorical Armour.*

As might be expected, this "device" is chiefly found in poems or parts of poems where allegorical warfare is treated. Thus it occurs in the B. and C. Texts only of "Piers Plowman," in the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist," the "Roman de la Rose" and the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

In "PIERS PLOWMAN" there are some references to the armour worn by Christ in His conflict with evil—

B. XVI. 181 *seq.*; C. XXI. 189 *seq.*

(1) His "*blasen*" described by Abraham—

"Three leodes in o lith, non lenger than other,"

symbolical of the Trinity.

B. XVIII. 23; C. XXI. 22.

(2) "*The helm and habergeoun* of 'humana natura,'" Piers' armour, which Christ wears.

This is the armour referred to in the following vision when Conscience says—

"These aren Pieres (B) [Cristes (C)]armes
His coloures and his cote-armure, ac he that cometh so blody
Is Cryst with his crosse, conqueroure of Crystene." B. XIX. 12 *seq.*; C. XXII. 12 *seq.*

As there is no parallel in the French allegories to the representation of Christ's life on earth as a jousting with the Devil, so there is no parallel to this description of His armour. The armour worn by the King of Heaven in the "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST" resembles that of the other combatants, the Virtues and Vices. In its greater elaboration it presents a contrast to Christ's armour in "Piers Plowman." The King of Heaven's shield is of refined gold, starred. On it are portrayed a Cross of Sinople and two sleeves from Our Lady's robe. There is a carbuncle on his buckle set between four white Gospels. A piercing pity with a point of holy friendship and a ring of mercy is girt about his left side. Ed. Tarbé, p. 38.

The following account of the armour worn by Antichrist's followers in "PIERS PLOWMAN" may be compared with that described in the "Tournoiement," and in the "Roman de la Rose."

(1) *Lechery* is armed with idleness and "high bearing," his arrows are feathered with "faire beheste" and many a 'false truthe,' he attacks Conscience with "untydy tales." B. XX. 115 *seq.*; C. XXIII. 116 *seq.*

(2) *Covetousness* is armed with avarice; his weapon is wiles.

(3) *Lyf* is armed with "harlot's words."

(4) *Sloth* has a sling with which he throws dread of despair a dozen miles about.

(5) *Priests of Ireland* shoot a sheaf of oaths,

"And brode hoked arwes, goddes herte and his nayles."

There is no resemblance in details to this account in the description of the armour of similar Sins in the "TOURNOIEMENT," where more attention is paid to the heraldic emblems on shield and banner than to weapons of offence. Thus—

Tarbé, p. 29. (1) (*a*) *Lechery's* shield is made beautiful by excess and delight. (*b*) *Fornication* sends darts winged with false looks from his eyes and his head is protected by foll[y] and villainy. On his shield are a kiss of damnation, a cro[ss] of judgment, and a mirror of shame, spotted with sins. His banner is made from the shirt of Shame.

p. 23. (2) (*a*) *Avarice's* shield is of gold and silver, adorned with coins. (*b*) *Covetousness'* shield is of fine gold with bands of terms and usury.

(3) On *Sloth's* shield are depicted "elephant's tusks on dreams of sleep." It has bands of negligence with a rebatement of carelessness.

Offensive weapons are, however, occasionally described in the "Tournoiement." For instance *Murder* has a lance, and a sheathless sword called "Coupe-Gorge"; *Ribaldry* has a sling and rounded stones; *Prowess* has a helmet of pride burnished with patience, the steel of his lance is of praise, the wood is of renown; *Peace* and *Mercy* have swords of mercy. The description of the armour of Antichrist and Patience quoted in the analysis of the "Tournoiement" further illustrates Huon de Méri's treatment of this device.

cf. Appendix, p. 150.

Ed. Michel, II, p. 148 *seq.* In the *second* part of the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE" there is a description of the armour worn by the combatants at the siege of the Castle of Jealousy; the following examples are typical of Jean de Meun's method—

p. 154. *Delight* has a sword of pleasant life and a shield of ease bordered with solace and joy.

p. 155. *Fear* has a sword of "suspicion of pride" and a shield of fear and peril bordered with toil and pain.

Although none of these combatants are named among the followers of Antichrist in "Piers Plowman," the regular description of offensive armour gives the "Roman de la Rose" a closer resemblance to "Piers Plowman" than is to be found in the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist."

p. 165. Moreover, the arrows discharged by the Barons of Love's

Host are almost identical with those used by Lechery in "Piers Plowman." They are winged with great promises of gifts and of service; the wood is of promises, the steel of trust and oaths. *Supra*, p. 91.

In the *first* part of the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE" the golden and leaden arrows of the God of Love are the only allegorical weapons named. The golden arrows are Beauty, Simplicity, Frankness, feathered with Valour and Courtesy, Company, Faire-Semblant. The leaden arrows are Pride, Churlishness, Shame, Despair, Fickleness. The Lover is wounded by the golden arrows. Ed. Michel I, 30, etc.

The imagery of Love's gold and lead darts may be found in Ovid, "Metamorphoses," i. 468. *Cf.* Courthope, "History of English Poetry," I, p. 347.

There is no allegorical armour in "Piers Plowman" which resembles that described in the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE." Grace-Dieu gives the pilgrim armour composed of Christian Virtues; the idea is obviously derived from the armour of the Christian named by St. Paul. Ed. Stürzinger, pp. 118–153; *cf.* Appendix, p. 157. Ephesians vi. 13–17.

2. *Allegorical Clothing and other accessories of Personifications.*

There are no instances of allegorical accessories in the A. Text of "Piers Plowman" and very few in the B. and C. Texts. As has been shown, the use of such a device would not be consistent with the realistic characterisation of the personifications. There are no allegorical accessories in the "Romans de Carité," "the "Songe d'Enfer" and the early "Voie de Paradis," and only one in Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis." In the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" the fullest use is made of this device. *v. supra*, pp. 34–5.

The writer of "Piers Plowman" may have found in this poem a precedent for his use of allegorical accessories, though, as the following examples will show, no striking resemblances are to be found.

In "PIERS PLOWMAN" there are only three instances of *allegorical clothing*.

(1) The most important of these is the account of *Haukyn's Coat.* Haukyn Activa Vita has a "cote of Crystendome as holy kirke bileveth" stained with all the Seven Deadly Sins. The coat apparently signifies human nature—Haukyn says that it is his only garment and that his wife and children stain it against his will. Conscience advises him to cleanse it through the ministrations of Contrition, Dowel, Dobet and Dobest. This episode is omitted in the C. Text because the account of the Seven Deadly Sins in it has been embodied in the Confessions of the Sins.

B. XIII. 272 *seq.*

(2) *Pees' Dress.* Peace is "in pacience y-clothed."

B. XVIII. 166, 170; C. XXI, 172–176.

(3) *Envye's Clothes.* In the C. Text, Envy is given allegorical clothing in place of the caurimaury, kirtel and kourteby of the A. and B. Texts—

C. VII. 64. "Hus clothes were of corsement and of kene words."

The dress of Peace and Envy may be compared with the robe of Dame Humility in RUTEBEUF'S "VOIE DE PARADIS"—Humility

Ed. Jubinal, II, p. 190, ll. 534–537.

"A vestu une cote blanche
Qui n'est pas de blanc de Nicole
Aincois vous di a brief parole
Que li dras a non Bon-Eur."

Somewhat similar is the "Cloak of Hypocrisy" mentioned in the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE," as worn by Pride and the other Seven Deadly Sins.

Ed. Stürzinger, ll. 7991–8094.

These are the only instances of allegorical clothing in the poems.

Only one *allegorical accessory* other than dress, armour, etc., is named in "PIERS PLOWMAN"—Hope's Horn.

B. V. 514, 515; C. VIII. 152, 153.

"Thenne hent Hope an horne of 'deus tu conversus vivificabis nos, And blew it with 'beati-quorum remisse sunt iniquitates.'"

There is one instance of such allegorical accessories in the *second* part of the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE"—the dress adopted by Faus-Semblans and Astenance-Contrainte when they are disguised as pilgrims. Astenance-Con-

Ed. Michel, II, pp. 44–46.

trainte disguised herself as a Béguine; she had a staff of theft, given her by Guile, and a wallet of care. Faus-Semblans dressed as a Friar. He carried a stick of treason and a knife "Coupe-Gorge."

As has been said, allegorical accessories abound in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine." De Guileville seems to have regarded them as the necessary accompaniments of personifications, for every personification has one or more. De Guileville heaps accessory upon accessory without regard to any concrete possibility. Thus Pride, in addition to the cloak of hypocrisy, has the horn of haughtiness and cruelty, the bellows of vain glory, the trumpet of vaunting, the spurs of disobedience and rebellion and the stick of obstinacy. The accessories of the other personifications and the allegorical materials of the pilgrim's staff and wallet are noticed in the analysis of this Pèlerinage. Stürzinger, ll. 7991–8094. c. Appendix.

That the method adopted by De Guileville was a common one, may be surmised from the detailed description of the dress of "Dame Guile" in the short poem "De Dame Guile." Ed. Jubinal, "Jongleurs et Trouvères des XIII• et XIV• siècles," pp. 63–66.

Guile's hair is dressed by Beubance (Pomp) with an ornament of false attraction; she has a hat of negligence and a coif of falseness spangled with treachery; crape of melancholy; a dress of false covetousness, furred with feigning; a girdle of a false charter fastened by false seals with a buckle of polished lies; her purse is of envy; her knife of acquisitiveness; about her neck are false judgments. Her pelisse is long, embroidered by Envy with the gold and silver ornament of deceit, it has a little button of a false brilliant. She has a lace of false counsel; a chemise of unreason, fastened by treason. Her shoes are false witnessing; she has a sleeveless upper garment of false excuses. Nature gives her false hair of subterfuges. She has a cloak and hood furred by the malice of rapine and avarice.

3. *Allegorical Steeds.*

An allegorical steed may be regarded as an accessory of a personification somewhat analogous to dress, armour, etc. A few instances of this device are to be found in "Piers Plowman."

A. II. 132–166; B. II. 161–191; C. III. 175–203.

(1) *The steeds ridden by Mede and her company on their journey to London.*

In the A. Text these steeds are various officials with the exception of Favel's steed, "a feyre speche." In the B. Text this was changed to "a flaterere" for the sake of uniformity. But a flatterer is not quite analogous to sheriffs and deans, and in the C. Text Favel rides a sisour as Fals does. Mede rides a "schirreve"; Fals and Favel, "sysours"; Symonye and Cyvyle, "somnours" (C. Text, rectours), and similar steeds are used by the rest of the company.

The aim of the writer is here satiric and therefore Sothnesse's "palfrey" is not named in the A. and B.

C. III. 201. Texts. In the C. Text it is said that Sothnesse "priked forth on pacience."

A. IV. 18–21; B. IV. 19–22; C. V. 20–23.

(2) *Reason's horse.*

The allegorical accessories here are amplified in the second revision. In all three texts the horse is "Soffre-til-I-seo-my-time." In the A. Text the harness is merely to be strong, in the B. Text the girths are to be of "worthy words," in the C. Text this is changed and the horse is to be "warroked" (*i. e.* girthed) with "Avyse-the-before."

B. XVII. 107. (3) *The "caple" of the Samaritan*, or Charity, is called "Caro," signifying Christ's Human Nature.

No allegorical steeds are found in the French allegories before the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist." There the contending champions are naturally represented as mounted, but the only steed which has any allegorical

Ed. Tarbé, p. 36. significance is the horse of Cowardice, which is called "Tourne-en-fuite."

In the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE" some of the Deadly Sins have allegorical steeds or ride on other personifications.

(1) *Pride* rides on an old woman, Flattery. Ed. Stürzinger, p. 229–252.

(2) *Envy* carries her daughters Treason and Detraction. p. 255.

(3) *Luxuria* rides upon the swine Desire. p. 319–330.

More strictly allegorical in its significance is the Pilgrim's horse "Good-name" with its four feet (1) Honour, (2) Freedom, (3) Lawful Birth, (4) Sanity. p. 270.

There is no parallel in these French poems for the use of sinners as steeds by Mede and her followers, but "Soffretil-I-seo-my-time" may be placed by the side of such steeds as "Tourne-en-fuite" and "Good-name."

4. *Allegorical Dwellings.*

The device of allegorical dwellings is closely connected with the pilgrimage and jousting motives. These allegorical dwellings may be divided into two distinct classes—

(1) The dwellings of personifications, and houses with a definite allegorical significance.

(2) The castles, which are an allegorical representation of the human body.

Examples of both classes may be found in "PIERS PLOWMAN."

I. *Description of Houses with a definite allegorical significance.*

(1) The *Tower of Truth* and the *Castle of Care* mentioned in the first two passus; these are not described. A., Prol., I.; B., Pr. I., I.; C. I., II.

(2) *The Castle of Truth*, described by Piers Plowman. The moat is of mercy; the walls of wit to keep will out; the battlements are of Christendom; the buttresses of the Belief; the roofing is not of lead but of love. (Here the description in the A. Text ends; it is amplified in the other texts.) The bars are of buxomness (C. only); the bridge of bidde-wel-the-bette-may-thow-spede; the pillars are A. VI. 75–84; B. V. 594–603; C. VIII. 232–242.

of penance and prayers to saints; the gates are hung on hooks of alms deeds.

B. XIX. 315–325; C. XXII. 320–330. (3) *Unity or Holy Church*, built by Piers with materials supplied by Grace. The timber is composed of Christ's Cross and Crown of Thorns; the mortar of His Baptism and the blood shed on the Cross—it is called Mercy. The house is wattled and walled with Christ's pains and passion and the roof is made of Holy Writ.

Allegorical dwellings are mentioned in RAOUL DE HOUDENC'S "SONGE D'ENFER" and the "VOIE DE PARADIS," but there is no detailed description of them.

In RUTEBEUF'S "VOIE DE PARADIS," each Sin and each Virtue has an appropriate dwelling. The dwellings of the Sins are described at length; there is no account of the houses of the Virtues, with the exception of the house of Humility. The houses of Anger and of Humility are composed of allegorical materials.

Jubinal, Vol. II, p. 179, ll. 257–283.

Rutebeuf's method may be illustrated from the description of the *House of Humility*. The foundations are of concord, the threshold of patience; the walls of friendship; the timber of olive, signifying peace and love; the rafters of good luck. There are six windows—two of sweet-looks (douz-regart); two of grace; and two of loyalty and faith; but these windows are now broken.

Ed. Jubinal, Vol. II. pp. 191, 192. ll. 555–596.

The account of the Castle of Truth in "Piers Plowman" bears a striking resemblance to this passage.

In the "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST" there is a slight description of the town of *Faithlessness* (Foi-Menti). The tiles were made by Mulciber, the gates by Vulcan (*sic*) in Hell.

Ed. Tarbé, p. 101.

In the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE," first recension, the only actual dwellings described are the house of Grace-Dieu hanging between Earth and Heaven and the castle in the Ship of Religion. Grace-Dieu's house is a church; the castle, a monastery.

The *Ship of Religion*, however, has some allegorical accessories. The strong ropes binding the ship are slack, because the little cords are left untied (*i. e.* the disregard of small rules causes the more important to be broken); the mast is the Cross of Christ; the wind, the Holy Spirit. Ed. Stürzinger, ll. 12, 443—12, 538.

In the *second recension*, Grace-Dieu describes the building of a Benedictine monastery. The materials signify the rules of the order. The foundations were of charity, concord, fraternity, peace, unity and love. The mortar which has not endured, was compounded of orisons, fasting, abstinence, seclusion from the world, etc. Lydgate's Trans., ll. 23, 490—23, 552.

There is no allegorical significance in the description of the Castle of Jealousy in the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE." Ed. Michel, I, p. 125–131.

These examples show that the writer of "Piers Plowman" was not the first to give an account of buildings composed of virtues, or other allegorical materials. It is not unlikely that the idea was a commonplace of mediæval allegory.

Dr. Skeat has suggested that the castle in GROSSETESTE'S "CHATEAU D'AMOUR" may be the original of the description of the Castle of Truth. The passage from Rutebeuf, however, presents a closer parallel. In fact, the account of the "Castle of Love" may be regarded as intermediate between the two classes of descriptions noticed. For the "Castle of Love" is the body of the Virgin Mary, described as a castle, every part having an allegorical significance assigned to it. Skeat, Vol. II, p. 103. English Version "Castel off Love," Ed. Weymouth, pp. 29–42.

The castle is built on a firm rock, signifying the pure heart of the Maiden; four small towers protect the central tower—the four Cardinal Virtues. There are three baileys—holy Maidenhood, holy Chastity, holy Matrimony; seven barbicans, the seven Virtues which keep out the Seven Deadly Sins. The castle is painted with three colours; the foundation is green, signifying Faith; there is blue in the midst, Hope; and red above, Love.

II. *Representation of the Body as an Allegorical Dwelling.* There are two instances of this in "PIERS PLOWMAN."

A. X. 11-57; B. IX. 1-58; C. XI. 127-172.

(1) *Wit's description of the Castle of Caro wherein Dowel dwells.*

The castle is composed of the four elements: earth, air, wind and water. Within dwells the lady Anima desired by "A proud prikere of Fraunce, princeps huius mundi." Kind has protected her by putting her in charge of Dowel. His daughter is Dobet and (B. and C. only) Dobest is "a bisschopes pere" and guides both. Inwit is the Constable of the Castle which he guards by the help of his five sons: "Sire Seo-wel and Seywel and Herewel the hende, Sire Worche-wel-with-thin-hond, a wiht mon of strengthe, and sire Godfrei Gowel, grete lordes alle." The fact that these sons do not represent the five senses may be compared with the occasional omission of one or other of the Seven Deadly Sins. Wit explains his description, Kind is the Creator; the castle is Caro—"And is as muche to mene as mon with a soule." Inwit's sons are "all wits." Anima is "Lyf," who wanders over the body, but makes her abode in the heart. Inwit (Conscience) guards body and soul.

(2) *Clergy's reference to his seven sons (seven Sciences) in a Castle—*

B. XIII. 118, 119 (omitted C.)

"I have sevenne sones," he seyde, "serven in a castel,
There the lorde of Lyf wonyeth to leren hym what is Dowel."

This "Castle" seems to refer to the Castle of Caro described above.

The body is represented as a castle in a curious passage, showing the influence of chivalric poetry in the "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST." The poet has been wounded by an arrow shot by Venus. He swoons, and on his recovery appeals to a Judge, to know which is most guilty, his heart, his eyes, or the goddess. The Judge replies that the eyes are to blame, as they let the adversary into the castle. The eyes defend themselves—

Ed. Tarbé, p. 81.

"A cest mot lor gages tendent
Et de traïson se deffendent
Mi oil, et dient lor raison:
Li cuer, font il, de la maison
Est le sire, nous li sergeant
Qui son commant sans contremant
Faisons: ne ja n'iron en proie
Si le cuer ne nous i envoie,
Sans son commant rien ne feson."

Reason comes and pronounces the final verdict—the heart is the culprit.

In the *first* recension of De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," there is a slight reference to the body as a house, in the speech of Penitence—

"En la meson dont baiesse
Sui et Grace est la maistresse
VI portes sont dont V i a
Par ou l'ordure dedens va,
L'une est la porte d'odourer,
L'autre d'oyr et d'escouter,
L'autre de goust, l'autre de tast
Et l'autre si est de regart" Ed. Stürzinger, ll. 2221–2246.

The sixth gate, by means of which the house is cleansed, is the mouth, with which the sinner confesses his sin.

In the *second* recension of the poem, this idea of the body as a castle is much more fully developed, *e. g.*—

(1) Grace-Dieu reminds the Pilgrim of Penitence's speech, in which the senses were represented as gates of the body. Grace-Dieu adds— Verard, fol. xxij, back.

"Et ces portes je dy portiers
Introduisans et messagiers
De quanque est fait et dit dehors."

(2) *Mortification of the Body* tells the Pilgrim of his body— Verard, fol. xlvii.

"C'est ung chastel ou ie fuy mie
Des ce que ie vins en ce pays.
Baille me fut a celle fin
Tant que je seroye pelerin
Que bien me gardasse dedans
Contre tous envahissemens
Et assaulx de tous ennemis."

He did not bar the windows of the castle (his senses), and his mortal enemies entered through them and wounded him. Therefore he has now barred every window, and hung out the King's Banner, on which is the sign of the Cross.

Skeat, II, p. 138.

The idea of the body as a castle is also to be found in earlier English literature. Dr. Skeat instances Hampole's "Pricke of Conscience" and the homily "Soul's Ward."

Ed. R. Morris, pp. 156–158.

In the "PRICKE OF CONSCIENCE" the idea is suggested but is not worked out.

The soul is God's daughter, committed to the care of man as His "reeve." The body also must be carefully guarded—

ll.5820–5827.

"Ilka man's body may be cald
Als a castelle here for to hald
þat til man es gyfen of God to kepe
For his profit and Goddes worshepe,
þe enemys ofte assales it hard
And þarfor says Saynt Bernard:
'Bonum castrum custodit
Qui corpus suum custodit.'"

Morris, "Specimens of Early English," Vol. I, p. 87.

"SOUL'S WARD" is an adaptation of part of the "De Anima" of Hugo of S. Victor. This homily is based on the following text—

Matthew xxiv. 43.

"But know this, that if the good man of the house had known in what watch the thief would come, he would have watched and not have suffered his house to be broken up."

The master of the house is Wit: his servants are the five senses, the limbs, etc. These servants obey the mistress Will, in preference to Wit, if possible. Man's Soul is the treasure guarded within by Virtues and desired by Thieves, Evil Spirits and Vices. God has given Wit His four daughters—the four cardinal virtues—Prudence, Strength, Moderation and Equity—to help him to guard the castle.

It will be seen from these examples that the idea of representing the body as a castle was a common one. Therefore the writers of "Piers Plowman," the "Tournoiement" and the "Pèlerinage" may be mutually independent in their use of it.

5. *Allegorical Ladder.*

The attainment of an object by means of certain qualities may be represented allegorically by the scaling of a ladder whose rungs are composed of these qualities. Such allegorical ladders may be found in "Piers Plowman" (B. and C. Texts), the early "Voie de Paradis" and in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine." In each case the idea is the same, though the details vary.

In "PIERS PLOWMAN" the Fiend robs the Tree of Charity by laying

"a laddre there-to, of lesynges aren the ro ges." B. XVI. 44. C. XIX. 44.

In the early "VOIE DE PARADIS" the Pilgrim is told that he must mount the eight rungs of the ladder Jacob saw, to reach Paradise. These rungs are various Christian duties. Ed. Jubinal, "Oeuvres Rutebeuf," III, p. 214-21.

In the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" the dreamer sees S. Benedict helping his followers into the Heavenly City by a ladder in which are fixed the twelve degrees of Humility, the famous rule of the Benedictine Order. Ed. Stürzinger, II. 133 137.

6. *Allegorical Food.*

This device is used in "Piers Plowman" (B. and C. Texts only), the "Songe d'Enfer," the early "Voie de Paradis," the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist" and the "Salut d'Enfer."

In "PIERS PLOWMAN" this food almost always takes the form of scriptural texts; the idea appears to be derived from our Lord's saying: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Matthew iv. 4.

This may be illustrated by the following instances—

B. XIII. 37 *seq.*; C. XVI. 43 *seq.*

(1) *The food served by Scripture at Conscience's Court to Conscience, Clergy, Patience, the Dreamer, the Friar and* (C. only) *Reason*—

This consists of—

> "Sundry metes manye,
> Of Austyn, of Ambrose, of alle the foure Evangelistes."

Patience and the Dreamer eat a sour loaf called "agite-penitenciam" and drink "diu-perseverans." They have another dish "Miserere-mei-deus," and (B. only) "Beati-quorum of Beatus-virres makynge."

> "Et-quorum-tecta-sunt-peccata in a disshe
> Of derne shrifte, 'Dixi et confitebor tibi'"

Patience has a "pitaunce"—"pro-hac-orabit-ad-te-omnis-sanctus-in-tempore oportuno."

But the Friar and his man cannot eat these texts, they prefer more substantial dishes, "mortrewes and potages."

> "Of that men mys-wonne thei made hem wel at ese
> Ac her sauce was over-soure and unsavourely grounde,
> In a morter, post-mortem of many bitter peyne,
> But if thei synge for tho soules and wepe salt teres."

(2) *The "lyflode" for men and beasts Patience shows to Haukyn*—

B. XIV. 36, 48. *Cf.* C. XVI. 239–249.

> "Pacyence . . . out of his poke hente
> Vitailles of grete vertues for al manere bestes . . .
> . . . . But I loked what lyflode it was that Pacience so preysed
> And thanne was it a pece of the pater-noster 'fiat-voluntas-tua.'"

(3) *Charity's Food, which is reminiscent of the preceding passage*—

B. XV. 174–175.

> "'Fiat-voluntas-tua' fynt hym evermore
> And if he soupeth, eet but a soppe of 'spera-in-deo.'"

This passage is altered in the C. Text to—

C. XVII. 318.

> "'Fiat-voluntas-tua' festeth hym eche day."

A parallel to this scriptural food may be found in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

Study bears the food of Holy Scripture in a vessel of parchment along the cloister of the monastery. Ed. Stürzinger, p. 401.

In other passages in "PIERS PLOWMAN" qualities and actions are allegorically represented as food, *e. g.*—

1. *The Provisions Patience takes on his Pilgrimage*— B. XIII. 216–217; C. XVI. 186, 187.

"Thanne had Pacience, as pylgrymes han, in his poke vittailes,
Sobrete and symple-speche and soth-faste byleve."

2. *The dishes Wrath prepared in the Convent.* B. V. 158–162; C. VII. 133–136.

(1) "Joutes of jangelynge."

(2) "Wortes" (vegetables) of "wykked wordes" (B. only).

The effect produced by Wrath's dishes is well described in the B. Text—

"'Thow lixte' and 'thow lixte' lopen oute at ones
And eyther hitte other under the cheke."

There is a slight resemblance to this food in the anguish and sobs, etc., set before the pilgrim of the early "VOIE DE PARADIS."

This is the account of a banquet at the *House of Contrition*—

"Seglous éûmes à foison
Angoisses et lermes béûmes,
Deqoi mult grant plenté eûmes." Ed. Jubinal, III, ll. 195–198.

Then Confession provides—

"Souspirs et plains plus douz que miex
Et angoisses de cuer si douces
C'on ne l'porroit dire de bouches
A-on éu léens assez
Si que chascun en fu lassez,
S'éumes seglous et soupir
Après ot-on ¡iteus gémirs
Et si but-on lermes plorées.
Aval la face jus coulées
Par la destrece de l'pechié
Dont on avoit Dieu corroucié." ll. 371–381.

Dr. Skeat has pointed out the resemblance between the feast in Conscience's Court in "Piers Plowman" and that in Despair in the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist"; he also Skeat, II, 181. *Cf. supra*, p. 104.

refers to the "Songe d'Enfer." But this resemblance is very slight and is only to be found in the general idea of describing a feast of allegorical dishes.

Ed. Scheler, p. 191 *seq.*

In the "SONGE D'ENFER" the food at the banquet in Hell consists, not of texts, but of sinners, served up in appropriate sins, as the following summary shows—

The cloths are made of the skins of disloyal usurers; the Pilgrim's seat is formed of two "Popelicains" (*i. e.* publicans or heretics); his table is a toisseraint (? blockhead); his napkin is made from the skin of an old prostitute. The guests are served with the following dishes: vanquished warriors; usurers fattened by the possessions of others; robbing murderers red with the blood of merchants they had killed; prostitutes; sodomites served with the sauce of damnation; tongues of false lawyers, fried in the wrong which they have made the right appear to be; murdered children; then came (ll. 590–595)—

"Bedel beté bien cuit en paste (Beadles beaten, well cooked in paste)
Papelars à l'ypocrisie (Hypocrites in Hypocrisy)
Noirs moines à la tanoisie (Black Monks in Tan)
Vielles presteresses au civé (Old priestesses in civet)
Noires nonnains au cretonné (Black Nuns in a stew)
Sodomites bien cuis en honte (Sodomites well cooked in shame)"

The beverage of Hell is "villainées" instead of wine.

Ed. Tarbé, p. 13.

In the "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST," at a banquet in the City of Despair, the guests are served with the allegorical food described by Raoul de Houdenc in "Le Songe d'Enfer." This is supplemented by an entrée of sins against nature, the beverage of shame, and, with a change of allegorical method which comes amiss to few of these writers, gingerbread cooked in sulphur in the Gulf of Satan.

At a banquet in the City of Hope, the guests drink "Honour." The food, with the exception of the Eucharistic Bread and Wine, is not mentioned.

Jubinal, "Jongleurs et trouvères"

The description of allegorical food served at a banquet in Hell was apparently popular, for the short poem, "LE

SALUT D'ENFER," contains the account of two such banquets. It closely resembles that of Raoul de Houdenc's "Songe d'Enfer" and it is possible that one is an imitation of the other. The first banquet consisted of a heretic, in a well-pounded sauce made of a renegade béguine; the second banquet of a usurer, false money-lenders roasted, two false jugglers, a fat monk and many lawyers. des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," pp. 43–45.

Separated from all these passages by its greater poetic force, and yet akin to them through its subject matter, is *Christ's Speech to Lucifer* in "PIERS PLOWMAN" (C. Text)—

"For ich th t am lord of lyf, love is my drynke,
And for that drynke to-daye deyede, as hit semede;
Ac ich wol drynke of no dish ne of no deop cleregie,
Bote of commune coppes, alle Cristene soules;
Ac thi drynke worth deth and deop helle thy bolle." C. XXI. 406–410; *cf.* B. XVIII. 361 *seq.*

7. *Allegorical Medicaments.*

This device is found in "Piers Plowman" and in the "Tournoiement de l'Antecrist." It is only found in the B. and C. Texts in "PIERS PLOWMAN" for the sufficient reason that there is no opportunity for introducing it in the A. Text. The two examples in "Piers Plowman" are both used to inculcate Church teaching.

(i.) The first shows the efficacy of the Sacraments in restoring the sinner to virtue. It occurs in Charity's account of the medicaments required by the wounded man in the Parable of the Samaritan—

"May no medcyn on molde, the man to hele brynge,
Neither Feith ne fyn Hope, so festered ben his woundis,
With-out the blode of a barn, borne of a mayde.
And be he bathed in that blode, baptised, as it were,
And thanne plastred with penaunce and passioun of that babi,
He shulde stonde and steppe; ac stalworth worth he nevre
Tyl he have eten al the barn and his blode ydronke." B. XVII. 91–97; *cf.* C XX. 83–89.

In the C. Text there is a slight alteration; the wounded man must be "plastred with pacience."

(ii.) In the second example confession and absolution are represented as "salves" for those wounded by sin—

a somewhat obvious application. The efficacy of absolution and penance given by a parish priest and a friar are compared, to the disadvantage of the latter.

B. XX. 304–306; *cf.* C. XXIII. 306–308.

Plasters are applied by Shrift to those wounded by Hypocrisy.

> "Shrifte shope sharpe salve and made men do penaunce
> For her mysdedes that thei wrouȝte hadden,
> And that Piers were payed 'redde quod debes.'"

Apparently "penance" was the salve applied by Shrift. The wounded beg for a physician who "softer couth plastre," and Friar Flatterer is summoned. Conscience bids him tend Contrition—

B. XX. 357–359. *Cf.* C. XXII. 359–361.

> "The plastres of the persoun and poudres biten to sore,
> He lat hem ligge overlonge and loth is to chaunge hem;
> Fro lenten to lenten, he lat his plastres bite."

Very different are the plasters applied by Friar Flatterer. The plaster given to Contrition is of

B. XX. 362–365, *cf.* C. XXIII. 364–367.

> "A Pryve payement and I shal praye for ȝow,
> For alle that ȝe ben holde to, al my lyf-tyme,
> And make ȝow, my lady, in masse and in matynes,
> As freres of owre fraternite for a litel sylver."

The result of the plaster is to make the wounded unable to help in the defence of Unity.

Confession and its accompaniments are also symbolised by medicaments in the "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST."

Ed. Tarbé, p. 89.

After the battle, Raphael heals all the wounded, Confession probes the wounds, holy Devotion washes them in the tears of Compunction, and Penitence dries them with the cloth of Satisfaction.

The poet goes to Confession, led by Compunction and Devotion. Confession gives him an ointment made of the tears of Compunction and binds round his wound the sleeve of Penitence's robe.

Skeat, II, p. 284.

Dr. Skeat has pointed out the general resemblance between these two passages.

A striking contrast to these medicaments is presented by the love-potion given to the wounded poet by Cupid. The idea of this potion is probably derived from chivalric poetry. Delectation made the potion at a fine dwelling in Suspicion; she mingled with it anguish, a double amount of shuddering and sighs; she tempered it with a long thought fried in the occasion of absence. Ed. Tarbé, p. 79.

Hope also gives him a plaster of Good Hope.

8. *Allegorical Cleansing.*

Confession is represented allegorically by cleansing as well as by healing processes. This representation is also somewhat obvious, and it is probably derived from such biblical passages as the fifty-first Psalm. Parallel instances of its use may be found in " Piers Plowman " (B. and C. Texts only) and in the " Tournoiement de l'Antecrist."

In " Piers Plowman " the three parts of Confession—contrition, confession and satisfaction—are represented as three stages in the cleansing and dyeing of *Haukyn's Coat.* B.XIV.1-27.

Haukyn says that—

" It hath ben laved in lente and oute of lente bothe,"

through sickness and loss of goods, shriving by the priest and performance of the penance he appointed, but he cannot keep the coat clean.

" 'And I shal kenne the' quod Conscience 'of Contricioun to make,
That shal clawe the cote of alkynnes filthe,
Cordis contricio, etc.:
Dowel shal wasshen it and wryngen it, thorw a wys confessour,
Oris confessio, etc.:
Dobet shal beten it and bouken it as brizte as any scarlet,
And engreynen it with good wille and goddes grace to amende the,
And sitthen sende the to satisfaccioun for to sowen it after,
Satisfaccio dobest.' "

The whole episode of Haukyn's coat is omitted in the C. Text.

There is also in " Piers Plowman " a somewhat similar

passage, giving an allegorical representation of *Charity's cleansing of his heart by means of self-examination*—

B. XV. 181–188; *cf.* C. XVII. 328–333.

In the B. Text it is said that Charity

> "wil . . . some tyme
> Labory in a lauendrye wel the lengthe of a myle,
> And ȝerne in-to ȝouthe and ȝepliche speke
> Pryde with al the appurtenaunce and pakken hem to-gyderes
> And bouken hem at his brest and beten hem clene,
> And leggen on longe with 'laboravi-in-gemitu-meo'
> And with warme water at his eyghen wasshen hem after.
> And thanne he syngeth whan he doth so, and some tyme seith wepyng,
> 'Cor contritum et humiliatum, deus, non despicies.'"

The C. Text is slightly different. Charity runs into "Thought," not "Youth," and the laundry is called "laboravi-in-gemitu-meo."

Confession is also represented as a "lavender" in the "TOURNOIEMENT DE L'ANTECRIST."

Religion has—

Ed. Tarbé, p. 47.

> "Un blanc penoncel a sa lance . . .
> Que blanchi ot Confession
> Es larmes de Conponccion
> Qui est la veraie rivière
> Et Confession est lavandière,
> Qui les taches de tous péchies
> Lave, dont somes entéchiés."

This idea of the cleansing power of Confession is symbolised in the early "Voie de Paradis" by the insistence on the cleanliness of the House of Confession; and in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine" by the broom which Penitence carries to sweep out filth and by the Bath of Penitence.

Appendix, p. 196. Appendix, p. 159.

Skeat, II, p. 204. "Ancren Riwle," Ed. Morton, p. 300. Morris, "O. E. Homilies," p. 56.

As Dr. Skeat notices, "Omnia confessione lavantur" is found in the "Ancren Riwle," and a sermon on shrift published in "Old English Homilies" also compares Confession to washing. The comparison is a natural one, and was probably common; the parallel instances of its allegorical presentment in "Piers Plowman" and the "Tournoiement" are, however, interesting.

9. *Allegorical Documents.*

Several allegorical documents are mentioned in "Piers Plowman," and also in some of the French allegories.

In "Piers Plowman" these documents are to be found in all the texts of the poem.

(i.) *The Enfeoffment of Mede.*

"Now Simonye and Sivyle stondeth forth bothe,
Unfoldyng the feffement that Falsnes made." A. II. 60-82; *cf.* B. II. 72-113; C. III. 75-115.

The Charter begins in the B. and C. Texts with the regular formula "Sciant presentes et futuri," etc.

As has been shown, the charter grants Mede and her husband possession of the Deadly Sins. It is duly witnessed by Wronge, "Pers the pardoner," "Bette the budul," etc. *Supra*, p. 40, 42.

"In the date of the devel the deede was a-selet,
Be siht of sir Symoni and notaries signes."

(ii.) *Piers Plowman's Will.*

Before setting out on his pilgrimage, Piers writes his will. He leaves his soul to God, his body to the Church, and his goods to his wife, to share among his friends and children. With the residue, he will be "Treuth's . . . pilgrym atte plouȝ." A. VII. 78-97; B. VI. 87-106; C. IX. 94-111.

(iii.) *Truth's Bull of Indulgence.*

This is sent to Piers and to all those in every class of society who perform the duties of their station. A. VIII. 1-99; *cf.* B. VII. 1-115; C. X. 1-291.

A priest tells Piers that he will translate the pardon into English.

"And Pers at his prayere the pardon unfoldeth,
And I bi-hynden hem bothe bi-heold al the bulle.
In two lynes hit lay and not a lettre more
And was i-writen riht thus in witnesse of treuthe:
'Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam eternam;
Qui vero mala, in ignem eternum.'"

(iv.) *Letters borne by Fever*, from Death to Life.

"We han letteres of Lyf, he shal his lyf tyne;
Fro Deth, that is oure duk, swyche dedis we brynge." A. XII. 86, 87.

C. XVII. 36. (v.) *Charter made by Holy Church and Charity*, of contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

B. XVII. 1–18; C. XX. 1–20. (vi.) *Spes' Letters Patent.*

He has a writ, containing a commandment binding upon all men. It is not sealed, as yet. Spes seeks

"hym that hath the sele to kepe;
And that is, crosse and Crystenedome and Cryst there-on to hange.
. . . Thanne plokked he forth a patent a pece of an hard roche,
Wher-on were writen two wordes on this wyse y-glosed,
'Dilige deum et proximum tuum,' etc.
This was the tixte trewly, I toke ful gode ȝeme;
The glose was gloriousely writen with a gilte penne.
'In hijs duobus mandatis tota lex pendet et prophetia.'"

B. XVIII. 180–185; C. XXI. 186–193. (vii.) *Pees' Patent.*

Love has sent Pees letters to say that she and Mercy shall save mankind.

"'Lo! here the patent!' quod Pees, 'in pace in idipsum'—
And that this dede shal dure—'dormiam et requiescam.'"

Allegorical documents, presenting a striking resemblance to some of these passages, may be found in the second part of the "Roman de la Rose" and in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

In the "ROMAN DE LA ROSE" there is a "pardon" or "charter" which is similar to Truth's "Bull of Indulgence."

Ed. Michel, II, 274. Nature sends a pardon by Genius to all the barons of Love's host who will obey her commands. She says to Genius—

p. 276.
"Pardon qui lor soit soffisans
Lor donés, non pas de dix ans:
N'el priseroient un denier;
Mès à tous jours pardon plenier
De trestout quonque fait auront,
Quant bien confessé se seront . . .
. . . Publiés lor en audience
C'est pardon et ceste sentence
Que ge voil que ci soit escrite.
Lors escrit cil, et cele dite,
Puis la séelle et la li baille."

p. 279. Genius mounts a platform, the barons stand around, "Et cil sa chartre lor desploie"; Genius reads the pardon,

in which the barons are promised the joys of Paradise if they will obey the commands of Nature.

In the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE" Charity has a charter, the *Testament of Christ*. This testament may be compared with Piers the Plowman's will.

In the first recension the testament begins—

Ed. Stürzinger, ll. 2459 *seq.*

"Je Jhesus, le fil Marie
Voie, verité et vie.
En ma mort qui est prochaine
Et qui m'est toute certaine,
Je fais mon derrain testament
Ou quel je laisse franchement
A ceus qui sont en val de pleur
Et en la terre de labeur
Le don de pais."

This gift is then described.

In the second recension the testament is enlarged— Verard, XVII. back.

Christ leaves His soul to His Father that He may protect Him in His descent into Hell; His body to the sepulchre for three days and as a repast for pilgrims; His heart to those who keep His commandments; His mother and perseverance to S. John; His blood, wounds, laws and words for salvation to His followers.

Some "Commissions" in this Pèlerinage may be compared with the "Letters Patent" borne by Fever, Spes and Pees in "Piers Plowman." These commissions are given in full; they are perfectly regular in form.

(i.) *Reason* has a commission, given her by Grace-Dieu giving her full power over Rude-Entendement. It begins and ends with the regular formulæ— Stürzinger, ll. 5175–5258.

"Grace-Dieu par qui gouverner
Se dient les roi et regner
A Raison nostre bonne ami
Et en touz (bons) faiz esprouver
Salut et de ce que mandon
Faire plaine execution . . .
. . . De ce plain povoir te donnon
Et commissaire t'en faison
Donne en nostre an que chascun
Dit MCCC et XXXI."

Stürzinger, ll. 12 083–12,214.

(ii.) *Tribulation* also has commissions, one from God and one from Satan. They begin with the conventional salutation, as the following quotation from the Commission of God shows—

> "Adonai, roi de Justice . . .
> . . . Salut a Tribulation
> Tel comme mander li devon."

10. *Sermons delivered by Personifications.*

This is an episodical action rather than a device, but it may most conveniently be noticed here.

There are two examples of such sermons in "PIERS PLOWMAN"—

A. V. 9–22; B. V. 9–60; C. VI. 109–201.

(i.) *Conscience* (A.) (B., C., *Reason*) *preaches* to the field full of folk, before the king. The preacher exhorts all classes to amend their ways, proving that "thise pestilences weore for puire synne."

He closes his sermon by advising his hearers to seek S. Truth.

(ii.) *Scripture's Sermon.*

The Dreamer, having followed Fortune until he becomes old, has found out the fickleness of the Friars; Loyalty encourages him to expose them. Suddenly Scripture interposes—

B. XI. 103; C. XIII. 40.

"'He seith sothe' quod Scripture tho and skipte an heigh and preched."

The text she chose was—

> "Multi to a maungerye and to the mete were sompned,
> And whan the peple was plenere comen, the porter unpynned the ȝate,
> And plukked in pauci priveliche and lete the remenaunt go rowme."

The only examples of this preaching by a Personification in the French allegories is to be found in the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE."

There *Reason* twice *preaches*—

Stürzinger, ll. 837–932.

(i.) To those who have just received the tonsure from the Bishop, explaining the significance of the tonsure.

(ii.) To those to whom the Bishop has given the sword and keys, explaining the significance of the gift. II. 1061–1430.

> "Tantost au prone vi aler,
> Dame Raison pour sermonner."

These sermons are delivered in the house of Grace-Dieu, the Church. The Pilgrim witnesses there the various Church services, and it is natural that a sermon should be included.

11. *Symbolical significance given to Church Vestments, etc.*

In "Piers Plowman" the symbolical significance of the *Bishop's Crosier* is twice given—

(i.) *The Crosier carried by Dobest.*

"Dobest . . . bereth a busschopes cros, A. IX. 86–88; *cf.* B. VIII. 94–96; C. XI. 92–94.
Is hoked atte ende, to holden hem in good lyf"
(B. "to halie men fro helle." C. "And halye with the hoked ende, ille men to goode.")

"A pyk is in that potent, to punge a-down the wikkede."

(ii.) *The duty of a Bishop, shown by Crosier.*

B. "Every bisshop that bereth crosse, by that he is holden" to visit and teach the people in his diocese. B. XV. 561–564 C. XVIII. 283–287.

In the C. Text this duty of the Bishops is said to be "by the lawe," and some Latin verses set forth the significance of the crosier—

> "In baculi forma sit presul hec tibi norma
> Fer, trahe, punge gregem, servando per omnia legem."

In the "Romans de Carité" the Renclus de Moilliens points out to the various orders of the realm that the symbols of their office should remind them of their obligations. The symbolic significance he assigns to the Abbot's staff and the Bishop's mitre may be compared with the treatment of the crosier in "Piers Plowman." *Cf.* Appendix, pp. 133–4. Ed. Van Hamel. CIII.–CXVIII.

(i.) *Abbot's Staff.*

The staff teaches them humility by the curved top; sharpness in punishing by the sharp point; the main-

tenance of order and the duty of living an upright life by the length of the stick.

(ii.) *Bishops* should learn the same lessons from their crosier. The two horns of their mitre symbolise the knowledge of the Old and New Testaments.

In the "PÈLERINAGE DE VIE HUMAINE"

Stürzinger, ll. 625–796.

Reason explains to Moses, the *Bishop*, the significance of the crosier and mitre. She urges him to be gentle with his flock. He asks why he has horns on his head and a sharp point to his stick, if it is not that he may punish evil doers. Reason replies that, if he has horns on his head, he should have none in his heart, but be merciful; and his crosier has a crooked top, signifying humility, as well as a sharp point. The horns were originally given him that he might keep the Devil out of the Church; now he must use them to resist aggressions upon the rights and properties of the Church.

Skeat II, 136.

These various passages were probably all derived from a common original. Dr. Skeat refers to the account of the Bishop's crosier given in Rock, "Church of our Fathers."

Rock, "Church of Our Fathers" (Ed. 1903), II, 155.

There the following description quoted from "Gemma Animae" I. 220 may be found—

"Os recurvatur, ut populus errans per doctrinam ad Dominum retrahatur . . . In curvaturo est scriptum, 'Dum viatus fueris, misericordia recordaberis' ne ob culpam gregis superet via mentem pastoris . . . In sphaerula est scriptum 'Homo' quatenus si homi nem memoraretur et de potestate collata non elevetur. Juxta ferrum est scriptum 'Parce' ut subjectis in disciplina parcat . . . unde et ferrum debet esse retusum."

12. *Mirror.*

The device of a Vision seen in a mirror is to be found in "Piers Plowman" (B. and C. Texts), the "Roman de la Rose" and the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

In "PIERS PLOWMAN" Fortune shows the Dreamer "wonders" in the "Myroure of Mydlerd"—

"Fortune me fette,
And into the londe of Longynge allone she me brou3te,
And in a myroure that hi3t Mydlerd she mad me to biholde.
Sitthen she sayde to me 'here my3tow se wondres,
And knowe that thow coveytest and come ther-to par-aunter.'" B. XI. 6–10; *cf.* C. XII. 168–172.

In the B. Text the mirror is not mentioned again. After many adventures and discussions "Kynde" (Nature) comes and takes the Dreamer to a "*mountaigne* that Mydelerd hy3te." From this mountain he sees all the wonders of Nature— B. XI. 312 *seq.*

"I seigh the sonne and the see and the sonde after
And where that bryddes and bestes by here makes 3eden,
Wylde wormes in wodes and wonderful foules,
With flekked fetheres and of fele coloures.
Man and his make, I my3te bothe byholde." B. XI. 318–322; *cf.* C. XIV. 135–139.

He describes the beauty that he sees and adds—

"Ac that moste moeved me and my mode chaunged,
That Resoun rewarded and reuled alle bestes,
Save man and his make." B. XI. 366–368; *cf.* C. XIV. 180–182.

He asks Reason for an explanation and is rebuked for his presumption. He becomes ashamed and wakes.

In the C. Text the Vision of Fortune is introduced earlier in the Vision of Scripture and Clergy. But though there is thus more intervening discussion, the C. Text gives unity to the Vision by substituting the "Myrour of Myddelerde" for the mountain of that name. This unity is lacking in the B. Text, where there is no adequate reason for the introduction of the mirror, since the idea is not further developed. The connection between the two parts of the Vision is clearly indicated in the C. Text— C. XIII. 163 *seq.*

"Kynde com, Clergie to helpen,
And in the myrour of Myddelerde made him *eft* to loke." C. XIII. 131, 132.

The wonders of Nature are seen in the mirror instead of from the mountain.

There is an account of a Vision seen in a mirror in the "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," which may be compared with this description of the "Myroure of Myddelerde." In this case, the Vision serves as an introduction

Ed. Stürzinger, ll. 35–42.

to the chief subject of the poem, for the dreamer is incited to start on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the Vision of that city in the mirror—

> " Avis m'ert si com dormoie
> Que je pelerins estoie
> Qui d'aler estoie excité
> En Jherusalem la cité.
> En un mirour, ce me sembloit,
> Qui sanz mesure grans estoit
> Celle cité aparceue
> Avoie de loing et veue."

A magic mirror is also to be found in GUILLAUME DE LORRIS'S " ROMAN DE LA ROSE." In this case also " the mirror-motive " is of greater structural importance than it is in " Piers Plowman," for it is in the magic mirror that the Lover first sees the " Rose " which gives the title to the poem.

Ed. Michel, I, 47 *seq.*

The Lover finds a fountain, above which is written " Ici desus se mori li biaus Narcisus." At the bottom of the well are two pieces of crystal, in which half the garden is reflected. The well is enchanted, so that whoever looks into it loves what he beholds in the mirror. The Lover looks and beholds the Rose: his efforts to obtain the Rose constitute the chief allegorical action of the poem.

Ed. Michel, II, 217, etc.

In JEAN DE MEUN'S continuation of the " ROMAN DE LA ROSE," God's foreknowledge is spoken of as a mirror, in which He sees all things, present and future. The fact that it is not the dreamer who uses the mirror differentiates this treatment of the " mirror-motive " from that in " Piers Plowman," but there is a certain similarity in the idea of a Vision of the whole world, and of things present and future. Nature says God has a

> " miroer pardurable . . .
> . . . Qu'il tient et tint tous jors o li,
> Ou tout voit quanqu'il avendra
> Et tous jors present le tendra
> Voit—il ou les ames viont," etc. . . .
> " C'est la predestinacion
> C'est la prescience divine."

Some support for the suggestion that the writer of "Piers Plowman" had this passage in his mind is furnished by the similarity of ideas found in the continuation of this speech of Nature and the Dreamer's Vision in the mirror in "Piers Plowman." The Dreamer sees Reason following all creatures save man only. Nature, in the "Roman," says—

"Si ne me plaing mie des plantes
Qui d'obeir ne sunt pas lentes . . .
. . . Ne des oisaus ne des poissons
Qui moult sunt bel a resgarder
Bien sevent mes regles garder." Michel, II. 263.

She does not complain of any other creature—

"Toutes a ma corde le tirent
Et font si cum lor pères firent.
Li masles vet o sa femele
Ci a couple avenant et bele."

Man alone disregards the commands of Nature.

CHAUCER'S "SQUIRE'S TALE" was probably written after 1376–7, the date of the B. Text of "Piers Plowman," so that the "magic mirror" there described, to which Dr. Skeat refers, could not have suggested the "Myroure of Mydelerd" to the writer of "Piers Plowman." It shows, however, that descriptions of magic mirrors were popular at the time. Chaucer's poem contains a reference to the legend of Virgil's magic mirror and to experiments in optics. The subject of such magic mirrors is fully dealt with by Warton in his notes on the "Squire's Tale."[1] His remarks indicate that much interest was taken in mirrors, real and imaginary, in the Middle Ages; it is therefore possible that the idea of introducing a magic mirror occurred to the French and English poets independently. Skeat, II, 170. "Squiere's Tale," ll. 225–235.

This comparison of allegorical devices shows that this

[1] Quoted in Skeat's Introduction, p. xxxvii., to his edition of Chaucer's "Prioresses Tale," etc., edited for the Clarendon Press.

kind of allegory was used more freely in the B. and C. Texts of " Piers Plowman " than in the A. Text. That it is used in the A. Text in the case of steeds, dwellings, documents, sermons and journeys, which are fairly representative devices, proves that there is in this respect no essential difference in the allegorical methods used in the three parts of the poem.

It shows also that the same allegorical devices occur in " Piers Plowman " and in the French poems; the greatest number of parallels to " Piers Plowman " devices is to be found in the " Tournoiement de l'Antecrist " and the " Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine."

Two important allegorical devices of the " Piers Plowman " B. and C. Texts must be considered for the sake of completeness, although there is nothing which resembles them in the French poems. They are the Tree of Charity, and the Farming Operations of Piers.

13. *The Tree of Charity.*

The allegorical device of the Tree of Charity is of greater importance in the structure of the poem than most of the devices already considered. This is especially true of the B. Text, the original version. There the Vision of the Tree of Charity forms a connecting link between the Prologue to the Vision of Dobet (B. XV.) which contains Anima's description of Charity, and the account of Christ's conflict with the Devil, which is the chief motive of the Vision of Dobet. In the C. Text this connection is obscured by the rearrangement of the passus and the continuation of the Vision of Activa Vita to the end of the story of Christ's Life, introduced by the description of the Tree of Charity.

In both Texts the " Tree " is one of the most elaborate of the allegorical devices of " Piers Plowman." The differences introduced in the C. Text show the preference for greater clearness characteristic of the C. reviser.

The B. Text version, as the original account, is naturally more interesting. The picture of the Tree is extraordinarily vivid, and is worthy to be placed beside the Confession of Glutton. The poet sees a real tree and a real robber casting up stones and sticks, though the missiles are called "unkynde neighbores," etc., for the sake of the allegory. It is obvious that the poet thinks more of the pictorial and dramatic aspect of what he is describing than of its allegorical significance. For this reason it is often very difficult to determine the meaning of the allegory. In this case the Vision of the Tree remains before the writer, but he changes its allegorical significance half-way through his description. The root of the Tree of Charity is Mercy; the middle stock is B XVI.1-63. Reuthe; the leaves are "Lele-wordes, the law of Holycherche," the blossoms "Boxome-speche" and "Benygne Lokynge"; the "pure-tre," the wood, is Patience and "pore-symple of herte"; the fruit is Charity. The Tree grows in a garden in the midst of man's body in a "herber" called Heart; it is tended by Liberum-Arbitrium under the guidance of "Piers Plowman," who, in the preceding passus has been identified with Christ. B. XV. 206. The Tree is propped up by three piles, the three Persons of the Trinity, that it may withstand the winds of the World and the Flesh and the efforts of the Fiend to dislodge the fruit.

The allegorical significance of this description is quite clear. The Tree of Charity is symbolical of the growth of grace and virtue in the heart of the individual Christian; the Tree is called Charity because "Love is the fulfilling of the Law." This virtue or love of the Christian is upheld by his faith and tended by his free will under the guidance of Christ. By these means it is proof against temptation.

But the significance of the latter part of the description B. XVI. 65–89. is quite different—

After a short account of the "piles," Piers, at the Dreamer's request, describes the fruit of the Tree. It is no longer "Charite," but Matrimony, Continence and Maidenhood. When Piers shakes the Tree, the apples which fall to the ground are men—

> "Adam and Abraham and Ysay the prophete, Sampson and Samuel and Seynt Johan the baptiste."

These apples are quickly gathered up by the Devil and carried off to Hell. "Piers Plowman" attacks the Devil with the prop "Filius."

The Tree is now typical of the human race; Matrimony, Continence and Maidenhood are three conditions of mankind; the apples are men of the Old Dispensation. Apparently "Piers" here symbolises human nature. He is human nature in its mortality when he shakes the Tree, human nature triumphing over the Devil through the Incarnation when he attacks the robber with the pile "Filius." The result of that attack is shown in the Birth and Life of Christ; the souls of men are rescued from the Devil in the Harrowing of Heli. Put briefly, this is a representation of the necessity for the Incarnation.

C. XIX. 1–52. The C. Text reviser notes the transition of thought and, by giving a clearer significance to each part of the allegory, he makes this transition more marked. The Tree is shown to the Dreamer by Liberum-Arbitrium, "Piers Plowman" does not ppear. The Tree is "Ymago-Dei" or "Trewe-love," and the account of it is shortened. It lives through lovely-looking; the blossoms are "Benygne-Speche," the fruit

> "Workes of holynesse, of hendynesse of help-hym-that-neodeth, the whiche is called Caritas, Cristes owen fode."

The tree is, in short, the manifestation of love. The B. Text description of the props and the enemies of the Tree is retained.

C. XIX. 53–123. Then comes the transition. The fruit is in "three

degrees," Matrimony, Widowhood and Virginity. The Tree is here clearly shown to be humanity—

" Adam was as tree and we aren as hus apples," and, again, the Tree " bryngeth forth faire frut—folke of all nacion." l. 68. l. 102.

It is " Elde," the symbol of mortality, who now shakes the fruit; and Adam and his descendants are again taken up by the Devil and carried to Hell. In the C. Text, however, " Libera-Voluntas-Dei "—the Free Will of God—and not " Piers Plowman," causes the Incarnation.

It is just possible to explain away the apparent transition in the B. Text. The earliest description of the Tree may be taken as referring to human virtue and love under the Old Dispensation, helped by Faith to withstand the World, the Flesh and the Devil, but falling into the power of Evil through its mortal nature until that nature is made victorious and triumphant in the Incarnation of the Son of God. That the faith of the Jews is represented by faith in the Trinity is not an insuperable difficulty, for it is Abraham who expounds to the Dreamer the mystery of the Trinity. But this explanation is perhaps somewhat far-fetched, and though it may have been vaguely in the poet's mind, it is easier to think that he passed unconsciously from one allegorical interpretation of a Tree to another. Such representations were probably common, and parallels may be adduced for either interpretation. B. XVI. 172 *seq.*

The religious life, in the technical sense, is compared to a Tree in " The Pilgrimage of Perfection," printed by Richard Pynson in 1526 and again by Wynken de Worde in 1531. This work was probably written in the early 16th or late 15th century; it is certainly later than " Piers Plowman." The description of the allegorical Tree, however, is to be found in a chapter headed " Howe holy fathers hath compared the lyfe of relygion to dyvers Book III, Chapter ii.

thynges," and there is a marginal reference to S. Bonaventura, with whose works the writer of "Piers Plowman" was probably acquainted.

The following passage may be compared with the first description of the Tree of Charity in "Piers Plowman"—

Ed. Pynson, Book II, fol. xxxvii.

"Some compareth it (*i. e.* the Life of Religion) to a tree and so it may be assembled conveniently. For lyke as a tree first opeyngeth in the stocke, and after in the braunches, after that in leaves, than in floures and at the last in frute. So the tree of perfeccion first presupposeth as the root, grace and spireth out the stock of feyth whose sap is the holy love of God, charite, for nothyng can be quycke lyveng without that sap, the barke, hope, which defendeth all the tree fro tempestes and stormes: the principall braunches the vii gyftes of the holy goste; the iiii pery braunches the iiii cardinall vertues; the leves, the morall vertues; the flours, the operaccions and werkes of the sayd gyftes of grace; which ben called the beautitudes of the gospell; and the frutes ben the xii frutes of the holy goste: which be none other but the sure tastes of the swetenes of the lyfe to come."

fol. lxxvii.

In this same book the Tree of Grace is also compared to a vine in the garden of man's Soul; it is the Tree of Love, which must be carefully tended. And again we read—

"This vyne of grace was planted in the soule of every christen man and woman in their baptyme, de enced and hedged about with the sacramentes of Christes Churche and with the graces of the same."

These passages seem to indicate that the "Piers Plowman" writer had some such comparisons in his mind when he wrote his description of the Tree of Charity.

The representation of the human race as the fruit of a tree sprung from Adam is to be found in De Guileville's "Pèlerinage de l'Ame." The Soul of the Pilgrim, having been conducted through purgatory by an angel, returns to earth, where he sees Pilgrims playing with an apple in a plain in which there are two trees, one green and one dry. The angel explains that this apple is Christ, who grew on the green tree, the Virgin Mary, and was hung on the dry tree, the Cross. The pippins of the apple Adam ate were planted in his body, which was not a

Ed. Stürzinger, pp. 185–219.

suitable place for them; as a result, Adam's descendants could only bear woody, bitter fruit, which God did not put in His barns, but threw to the pigs of Hell. Finally, God grafted on to an apple tree a graft from the Root of Jesse, which, though originally wild, was then exempted from original sin. This was the grafting of the Virgin Mary on to S. Anne; she became a suitable apple tree to bear good fruit. This is then said to be the Tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw. The tree reaches to Heaven; the leaves are words of great beauty, which make a shade for the weary; under it live wild beasts (those who lead bestial lives), that they may have an opportunity to repent; the birds in its branches are "spiritual" men; the Tree bears one apple only, Christ. Daniel iv. 7–13.

The allegory differs somewhat from the latter description of the Tree in "Piers Plowman." It shows, however, that the comparison of humanity to a Tree, whose fruit becomes the property of the Devil until the Incarnation, was probably a familiar one in the 14th century.

The transition of thought is more easily accounted for if we suppose that the poet was acquainted with the idea of either allegory, and so passed unconsciously from the representation of one to the other.

14. *The Founding of the Church represented as the Farming Operations of Piers.*

The account of these Farming Operations presents one of the most sustained allegorical descriptions to be found in "Piers Plowman." This is the more interesting, since no parallel has yet been found for it, either in the French allegories or elsewhere.

Grace, having given varied gifts to men, counsels them to make Conscience king, and Craft steward; Piers Plowman is Grace's procurator, reve, register, purveyor and plowman; as a plowman he is to till Truth. For this purpose Grace gives him a team of four oxen, the B. XIX. 251 *seq.* C. XXII. 254 *seq.*

four evangelists, to plough; four stots (bullocks), the four Fathers Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory and Jerome, to harrow after them with two harrows, the Old and New Testaments; they harrow all Holy Scripture by their commentaries. Piers must sow in the Soul of Man the four cardinal virtues—Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Justice. By Grace's advice Piers builds the House of Unity or Holy Church to receive his corn; it is carried home in a cart called Cristendome, or the Bileve, drawn by two horses, Contrition and Confession. Priesthood is made hayward, while Piers and Grace go throughout the world to till Truth.

Supra, p. 98.

The allegorical significance of this account of the founding of the Church is quite clear. The precision of the allegorical method resembles that of De Guileville far more closely than do other passages of "Piers Plowman."

The comparison of the evangelists to oxen may be compared with the metaphors used of the Apostles in the "ROMANS DE CARITÉ"; among many other things they are said to be "oxen ploughing the earth."

CLXXXVIII.–CXCI.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

THE chief result of this comparison of "Piers Plowman" with these French allegories is to show that there was a common stock of allegorical material of which the writer, or writers, of "Piers Plowman" made use.

As has already been suggested, part of this material was probably supplied to French and English poets independently by the commentaries on Scripture and other theological and educational works which were studied at the period. Similar material may also be found in other contemporary works, which it has been impossible to examine in detail. *Supra*, Chap. I, p. 3.

There is no external evidence forthcoming to prove that the French allegories, with the exception of the "Roman de la Rose," were known in England at the time when "Piers Plowman" was written. In view of these considerations, the question of the indebtedness of "Piers Plowman" to the French allegories becomes less easy to decide than has sometimes been assumed.[1]

There are no similarities so striking as to justify the conclusion that the English writer must certainly be here borrowing from the French.

At the same time, the likeness in some cases is close enough to suggest, though not to prove, that the writer of "Piers Plowman" had read and remembered some of the French allegories.

The "Roman de la Rose" would probably be known to him. It has been shown that the description of Avarice *Supra*, p. 54.

[1] Cf. the authorities cited in Chapter I.

in the " Roman " possibly gave the writer of " Piers Plowman " hints for his account of Coveitise and for a simile used in that of Envy. It has also been suggested that the long and irrelevant discussions of problems theological and practical, found in both parts of the poem, and which are especially characteristic of the work of Jean de Meun, may have afforded the writer of " Piers Plowman " a precedent for his own discursive method. The second part of the " Roman de la Rose " contains the account of the Siege of the Castle of Jealousy, which has been compared with the attack on Unity, and the Confession of Nature, which the writer of " Piers Plowman " possibly had in his mind when he wrote the account of the " Mirrour of Mydelerd."

Supra, p. 54.

Supra, p. 82.

Supra, p. 118.

The whole action of the " Tournoiement de l'Antecrist " certainly supports Warton's theory that it was known to the writer of the attack of Antichrist on Unity. The assault of the Sins led by Antichrist, the use of allegorical armour, the symbolising of Confession by medicaments, and the poet's vision in a swoon are all paralleled in one or other part of " Piers Plowman." At the same time, the Siege of Unity in some respects bears a closer resemblance to the Siege of Jealousy's Castle in the second part of the " Roman de la Rose," and the writer of " Piers Plowman " probably wrote with both allegories in his mind.

Supra, p. 81, 91–2, 108.

The general purpose of De Guileville's " Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine " as a representation of the whole life of man, with all the problems, intellectual and practical, which he has to solve, has some affinity with the purpose of the Visions of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest, from which, however, De Guileville's poem is differentiated by its definite ecclesiastical and didactic aim.

The dramatic presentation of the Seven Deadly Sins may have suggested the Confession of the Seven Deadly Sins to the writer of " Piers Plowman," though, as has

been shown, the methods of personification are entirely dissimilar. There is also possibly a reminiscence of the "Pèlerinage" in the idea of an allegorical Pilgrimage which underlies part of "Piers Plowman." The representation of the body as a Castle, and of Scripture as food—common allegorical motives—is also to be found in both allegories. The use, in "Piers Plowman," of a grammatical illustration, and of a vision in a mirror (also found in the "Roman de la Rose"), may be an unconscious remembrance of similar motives in the "Pèlerinage." The idea of a continuous series of visions may also have been suggested to the writer of "Piers Plowman" by the linking together of De Guileville's three Dream Pilgrimages. The "Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine," as the "Roman de la Rose" affords ample precedent for the interruption of definite allegorical action by long discussions, which is found in "Piers Plowman."

Supra, p. 57–8
Supra, p. 101.
Supra, p. 105.
Appendix, p. 163.
Supra, p. 117.
Supra, p. 27.

The two "Voies de Paradis," the "Songe d'Enfer," the "Salut d'Enfer," and "De Dame Guile," are mainly interesting because they show the common use of certain allegorical motives, such as pilgrimage and, included in this, allegorical dwellings and food. But the banquets recorded in the "Tournoiement" and the "Songe d'Enfer" do not bear so close a resemblance to that described in "Piers Plowman" as Dr. Skeat's remarks would seem to indicate. There is a House of Humility composed of allegorical materials described in Rutebeuf's "Voie de Paradis," which possibly suggested the account of the Castle of Truth to the writer of "Piers Plowman." In this allegory also, Gluttony is represented in a Tavern, and there is a Tavern scene in the "Songe d'Enfer," in which Drunkenness and Strife are the most prominent figures. This may have given a hint for the Tavern Scene of Gluttony's Confession, but the treatment in "Piers Plowman" is quite different.

Supra, p. 105.
Supra, p. 98.
Supra, p. 51.

The "Romans de Carité" has not hitherto been suggested as a possible source for "Piers Plowman." The resemblance between the two lies rather in the spirit of the poems than in any details of the method employed. The Quest for Charity throughout the world is certainly parallel to the Quest for Dowel, Dobet and Dobest.

Supra, p. 71.

The modification of the form of the poem and the occasional abandonment of allegory furnish a precedent for the use of such methods in "Piers Plowman." It is just possible that the discussion of such problems as the comparative advantages of Poverty and Riches gave some suggestions to the writer of "Piers Plowman."

Appendix, p. 134.

The suggestion that reminiscences of certain French allegories are to be found in all the parts of "Piers Plowman" certainly supports the old theory that they are all the work of one man.

Further this examination of the treatment of allegory shows that the same methods of personification, the same kind of allegorical action, and, in many cases, the same allegorical devices, are used in all parts of the poem. So that it supplies no evidence to support Mr. Manly's theory of diversity of authorship.

Though this comparison does not definitely prove that "Piers Plowman" was influenced by the French allegories, it serves to illustrate the poem. It shows that the long discussions, the abrupt transitions, the occasional curious use of allegorical devices—all the things which have been regarded as defects in "Piers Plowman"—are not peculiar to that poem. Full use is made there of the common stock of allegorical material which the poet found ready to hand.

The writer of "Piers Plowman" probably embodied his thought about life in allegory because allegory was, at his time, the common literary medium for reflective poems; it was, also, eminently suited to his requirements.

For he is essentially one to whom the unseen is more real than the seen, to whom moral and spiritual truths are matters of experience rather than matters of dogma. His personifications are to him realities, not mere abstractions of the intellect. This peculiar outlook is at once apparent in the first vision—the Tower of Truth and the Castle of Care are set in immediate proximity to the Field full of Folk.

The other allegorists, such as De Guileville, have also to some extent the outlook of those to whom the spiritual is as real as the material, but allegory is, nevertheless, to them an affair of the intellect rather than of the imagination; it is used for a definite didactic or satiric purpose. It is in "Piers Plowman" alone that we find allegory used to record the writer's mental and spiritual experience. And "Piers Plowman" reveals a personality very different from the ingenious writers of the French allegories.

The English poet has no definite scheme for the world; the poem is full of restless questionings, and the long quest for Dowel, Dobet and Dobest seems to represent the writer's own development.

In the other allegories there is no such curious personification of an aspect of the writer's own personality as we find in Thought—"a muche mon . . . lyk to myselven," and in Ymagynatyf, who has followed him "in feithe this five-and-forty wintre." A. IX. 61; B. VIII. 70; C. XI. 68. B. XII. 3; C. XV. 3.

It is noteworthy that Thought belongs to the A. Text and Ymagynatyf to the B. Text continuation. The likeness, yet unlikeness, of the figures suggests that they are the creation of one man.

Indeed, it is the same strongly marked individuality that is revealed in all Texts—an individuality that stands out clearly in comparison with the French writers, even with such men as Jean de Meun and Rutebeuf. The

change in outlook certainly seems to be that which is natural to advancing years. The A. Text writer, who
A. XII. 6. is "lef to lerne but loth for to stodie," is surely the same who, in the B. Text, lets Ymagynatyf rebuke him as
B. XII. 217. "Thow that seekest after the Whyes." And an older man, revising the record of his youthful questionings and
C. XII. objections would naturally assign them to "Rechelesnesse" when he had himself found a working solution.

There is nothing in any way resembling these questionings and this self-analysis in the French allegories examined. "Piers Plowman" shows as much originality in the spirit of the writer as in the method of using common allegorical motives. And the same spirit and the same use of allegory are to be found in all parts of the poem. Allegory is not again so vital until it once more sets before us first-hand spiritual experience in "The Pilgrim's Progress."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

ANALYSES OF THE FRENCH ALLEGORIES

Li Romans de Carité

(Van-Hamel, *Edition Critique*, 1885, Vol. I., pp. 1–129.)

Stanzas I.–IV. *Introduction.* The poem will only please men of "good heart"; it cannot please all, for men are very different and the bad prevail. Even in the Church there are lamps without light. Charity is hidden and the poet does not know where to look for her.

Account of the Poet's Search for Charity. The poet seeks Charity everywhere—

V.–XX. (1) *Rome.* Covetousness has driven Charity from the Papal Court; avarice and bribery are prevalent in Rome; Charity is not there.

XXI.–XXVII. (2) *Europe and the Holy Land.* The poet seeks Charity in vain in most of the countries of Europe and in the Holy Land.

XXVII.–XXIX. (3) *France.* The poet hopes for better success in France, where the name, meaning "frank," is of good omen.

Change in the conduct of the action of the poem. The poet tends to forget the search for Charity in his exhortation to the various orders of the realm of France to fulfil their duties. Their titles and the symbols of their orders should remind them of these duties.

XXX.–XXXVIII. (1) *The King* must govern well and protect the weak.

XXXIX.–LIV. (2) *Nobles* must protect the clergy and labourers, be impartial judges, and defend the poor against the rich.

(3) *Ecclesiastics.* Charity ought especially to be found with them.

(i.) *Parish Priests* must be ready to help and must be examples to all men; they are mirrors to foolish sinners, so they must be bright themselves. LV.-CII.

(ii.) *Abbots* must stay in their cloister and keep and strictly enforce the rules of their orders. CIII. CXIII.

(iii.) *Bishops* must be learned and keep discipline. CXIV.-CXVIII.

(iv.) *Prelates generally* must watch and guard the sheep, not join the wolves in preying upon them; nowadays they are merchants, caring only for gain. CXVIII.-CXXVI.

A Prayer to Charity to return. Where is she to be found? CXXVII.

(v.) *Monks* must keep strictly to the rules of their order with regard to dress, food, silence, and seclusion in their monasteries. The poet satirises the new state of affairs, comparing the luxury of the monks of his day with the asceticism of the founders of their orders. CXXVIII. CXLVIII.

(4) *Lower Classes*—"Pules menus"—must not care more for the riches of this world than for heavenly riches. CXLIX.-CLIV.

Second modification of the action of the poem. The poet breaks off his account of the duties of the "pules menus" to contrast the foolish bargain made by the avaricious man, who sells himself for worldly goods, with the wise bargain of Charity. This leads to a *description of Charity the Merchant*. The Heavenly City, depopulated by Satan's disobedience, was offered to the poor. Charity became poor, gained the city, and now sells it to the poor. In parenthesis, the poet points out that riches in themselves are not sinful; they may be made a means of serving God, through Charity. CLV.-CLVI. CLVII.-CLXIX.

Clerks and laymen are exhorted to listen to the good counsel of the poet; they must leave the path on the left, and follow the clear path pointed out by God and lighted by the saints, the stars of the earth. CLXX.-CLXXIII.

Examples of Saints and others.

The Virgin Mary, the brightest of these stars, overcame CLXXIV.-LXXXC.

Pride and Satan, "the jay", by humility. Her followers become archers, shooting this jay.

CLXXXI., CLXXXII. *S. Mary Magdalene*, the Star of Repentance, overcame the "jay."

CLXXXIV.–CLXXXVI. The Magdalene reminds the poet of the Betrayal; he recounts the fate of *Judas Iscariot*.

CLXXXVII.–CXCV. He eulogises the *Twelve Faithful Apostles*, comparing them to many things; S. Peter and S. Andrew are specially mentioned.

CXCVI.–CXCVIII. Through Charity, the early Christian Maidens faced Martyrdom. Therefore no excuses as to difficulty will be accepted at the Day of Judgment, when each order will be judged by saints belonging to that order.

CXCIX.–CCIII. *Interruption of the narrative* by objections put into the mouth of the reader. Will the poor suffer in the next world as they do in this? Will God always favour the rich? The poet replies that each class has its own opportunities of serving God; the poor man is reminded that God has a right to shear His sheep as nearly as He pleases.

CCIV, CCV. The poor man should take *Lazarus* as an example.

CCVI.–CCXIV. *Job* is a pattern to all men; an account of his career is given.

CCXV.–CCXVIII. The Objector urges the weakness of the flesh. That must be overcome as the saints overcame it, for they too were mortal. The example of *S. Agnes*.

CCXIX.–CCXXVIII. Man's virtue is like a walled garden; it is attacked through the senses.

CCXXIX.–CCXLII. *The poet abandons his search for Charity on earth* in despair. She must be in the Heavenly City. A description of the delights of this City and the folly of men in refusing to seek it.

The poet's final exhortation. Charity is the one virtue needful; it is extremely foolish to prefer this world to the next.

Noticeable Features.

I. *Form.* A Dream-setting is not used; the search for Charity is direct.

II. *Allegory.*

(1) *Personifications.*

Only two personifications are important—*Charity and Covetousness.* The personification of *Charity* is at times almost forgotten; it is clearest when she is called a Merchant. CLVII. CLXIX.

Covetousness is well described as "the money-getter." Two personifications are named incidentally: in the opinion of modern monks, monks of old were sons of Folain (Folly) and Durain (Hardship). VIII. CXLVII.

(2) *Allegorical Action.*

(i.) The search for Charity. This allegorical action is not maintained consistently throughout the poem.

(ii.) Charity's activity as a Merchant.

(3) *Allegorical Devices.*

(i.) *Significance of the symbols of the different orders.*

(1) *King.* The *Crown* teaches him to be impartial, "entire"; the *Throne* to fear God, the King of all; the *Coronation Oil* to be gentle.

(2) *Nobles.* The *Sword* teaches them to discriminate between right and wrong; its two edges remind them to be neither too strict nor too lax; they also symbolise the two parts of Charity, Love of God and of the Brethren; the point reminds them of the duty of discretion.

(3) *Ecclesiastics.*

(*a*) *Priests.* Each of the Eucharistic Vestments teaches the priest how to order his life aright.

(*b*) *Abbots.* The staff teaches them humility by the curved top, sharpness in punishing by the sharp point; the maintenance of order, and the duty of living an upright life by the length of the stick.

(*c*) *Bishops* should learn the same lessons from their crosier. The two horns of their mitre symbolise the knowledge of the Old and New Testaments.

(*d*) *Monks* are taught to obey the rules of their orders by their regulation dress, *e. g.* the narrow shoes symbolise discipline; the tonsure, care for heavenly things.

(ii.) *Insistence on the significance of Names.* *Cf.* XCVI., 9–12.

> "Li nons de cascun estrument
> Moustre quel uevre on en doit faire,
> Ki des nons set le sens estraire,
> Ou en latin ou laiement."

Thus "Roi" signifies rule, not desroi = disorder; "justichier," justice; Prêtre, près etre = to be ready and prêter = to lend; évêque, veiller = to watch; abbés, abaier = to bark as watch-dogs; France, frank.

(iii.) *Lists of Metaphors and Similes*—e. g.

CCXII.-CCXIII. CLXXXVIII -CXCI.

Job is compared to many things.

The account of the Twelve Apostles is a good example. They are clear preachers; reapers; labourers; clouds; winds; thunder; physicians curing all ills; oxen ploughing the earth; coals relighting other dead coals; workmen enriching the fields by their blood; wise senators; good pastors.

Satan is compared to a Jay, building his nest in the heart of the proud.

III. *Didactic purpose of the Poem.*

The writer, wishing to bring about reform, satirises the present state of things. Charity is nowhere to be found. The various countries are named. A vivid detail is introduced—Charity left England when Thomas à Becket was murdered.

IV. *Use of Illustration.*

The lives of the Saints are related; the account of the XIV.-XVII. covetousness of all at Rome is enforced by the story of

the old woman who took the injunction to " oil the palm " literally.

V. *Distinction* between the *different orders* of society observed—

(i.) In the Search for Charity.

(ii.) In the account of the Day of Judgment.

Le Songe d'Enfer.

(Auguste Scheler. *Trouvères Belges*, pp. 176–200.)

Introduction. Allusion to the use of a Dream-setting for the Allegory (ll. 1–3). p. 176.

Account of dream. The poet desires to set out on a pilgrimage to Hell; he arrives at his destination after journeying during Winter and Lent on a good road. p. 177.

Description of Journey. 1*st night.* The Pilgrim comes to the *City of Coretousness* in the *Land of Disloyalty*, where he is well entertained by Envy, the Lady of the City. pp. 177–179.

2*nd day.* The Pilgrim sets out early and, turning to the left, he reaches the *City of Faithlessness* (Foi-Mentie). Robbery (Tolir), the Lord of the City, welcomes him to dinner. Leaving Faithlessness, the Pilgrim passes the *River of Gluttony*, where many drown themselves, and comes to *Tavern Town*. There he is welcomed by Theft at her tavern. The scene at the tavern is described; the Pilgrim gambles and converses with Gambling (Hasart), False Calculation (Mesconte), and Cheating (Mestret). Drunkenness comes with her son Strife (Versez = over-thrower). An account is given of the Pilgrim's fight with Strife, who throws him to the ground. pp. 180–188.

Drunkenness stays with the Pilgrim, and takes him past *Fornication* to *Castle-Brothel*, where he spends the night with Shame, the daughter of Sin and Secret Theft (Larrecin), the Son of Midnight.

Directions for the Journey are given to the Pilgrim by Drunkenness and Secret Theft. He must go by Cruelty pp. 188, 189.

to *Cut-Throat* (Cope-Gorge) and straight to the *Town of Murder-the-Gibbet* (Murtre-Vile-le-Gibet). He must never leave the great iron highway.

Journey, 3rd day. Following these directions, the Pilgrim traverses many countries until he comes to
p. 189. *Despair*, and from thence to *Suicide* (Mort-Soubite), which is next to Hell.

pp. 188–200. *Hell.* The Pilgrim is welcomed in Hell and goes to the Palace of the King, who is holding a council at which all his chief followers are present. There the Pilgrim is greeted by clerks, bishops, and abbots; Pylates and Belzebub ask him whence he has come.

Feast in Hell. They feed on sinners of various descrip-
pp. 191–197. tions. When the feast is over, the King of Hell questions the Pilgrim about himself, and orders him to read from the book containing the record of the sins of all men. The Pilgrim reads the account of the sins of foolish minstrels. The King pays the Pilgrim, and he and all his retinue mount their horses, and go to seek their prey.

End of Dream. Raoul de Houdenc awakes from his dream.

The poem concludes with a prayer that the poet and his friends may be preserved from Hell and brought to Paradise.

Noticeable Features.

I. *Form.* The use of a Dream-setting.

II. *Allegory.*

(1) *Personifications.*

(i.) *Characterisation.* There is no attempt at characterisation except in the case of *Robbery*, who is courteous and a practised liar; and *Strife*, who is big and strong and much feared; he is the cousin of "Gautier l'Enfant" (presumably a well-known wrestler), and was born in England.

(ii.) *Personifications introduced incidentally.*

At the House of Envy, the Pilgrim meets *Treachery*, her sister *Rapine*, and her cousin *Avarice*.

Other relationships are mentioned, *e. g. Shame* is the daughter of *Sin*.

(iii.) *The Seven Deadly Sins* are not all named, and those named are not always personified, *e. g. Gluttony* is a river, *Despair* (= Accidie) a place.

(2) *Allegorical Action.*

The Pilgrimage to Hell with which the whole poem is concerned.

(3) *Allegorical Devices.*

(i.) *Accessories of the Personifications.*
(ii.) *Dwellings.*
} There is very little description and none of allegorical significance.

(iii.) *Food.* The feast in Hell at which sinners are served to the company. p. 192 *seq.*

III. *Satiric purpose of the poem.*

Introduction of direct satire on places and persons. The contrast is noted between the " open house " kept in Hell and the closed doors of the houses in France. The Pilgrim tells *Avarice* that her followers have chased *Liberality* from the land; *Treachery*, that " Li Tricheor " (the Deceiver) is " justice, dame et Viscontesse " in Poitou, and that *Treachery* is the acknowledged Queen of the Poitevins; *Robbery*, that Robbery flourishes and Giving languishes; *Gambling* and his comrades, that their friends are faithful to them, the names of real personages being given; *Theft*, that his followers suffer on account of the King's vigilance.

IV. *The skill*, with which the poet varies the account of the journey; directions are occasionally substituted for narrative.

La Voie de Paradis.

(*Oeuvres de Rutebeuf*. Ed. A. Jubinal, 1875. Vol. III., pp. 195–234.)

p. 195. *Introduction. Dream-form of the Allegory.* The poet wishes to relate another dream concerning a pilgrimage to Paradise.

p. 196. *Account of Dream.* The poet, desiring to set out on the way to Paradise, prays to God, and is told to seek direction from Our Lady. She tells him that if he loves God he will be on the road to Paradise.

The Pilgrim's Journey, 1st day. The Pilgrim sets out on this road; he meets Grace, the Maid who takes him pp. 196–198. to the *House of Love.* An account is given of his entertainment there.

2nd day. The next day the Pilgrim seeks the *House of Contrition;* he is threatened by Temptation, but, pp. 199–201. encouraged by Hope, he defies Temptation, who takes to flight. Faith leads the Pilgrim and Hope to the *City of Contrition*, where they pass the night.

3rd day. The Pilgrim quickly arrives at the *Castle of* pp. 202–207. *Confession;* his entertainment there is described.

4th day. The Pilgrim, guided by Perseverance, sets out pp. 208, 209. for *the House of Penitence.* They come to a deep and broad valley, through which a river runs, with meadows on each side of it. There the Pilgrim stops so long to look at the jugglers, drummers, and minstrels that Perseverance leaves him. The explanation of this is given; the valley is the world; the meadows, great possessions; the river delight of the world, and the jugglers and drummers are Vanities and Laziness.

pp. 210–212. The Pilgrim, being unable to see either his companion or the narrow path leading to Penitence, wanders alone along the valley. A troop of robbers advances to attack him; Temptation leads them, and the company consists of Vain Glory, Pride, Envy, Hatred, Avarice, Anger,

Fornication, Despair and many others (not named). The Pilgrim is succoured by Hope, followed by Humility the wise, Charity, Temperance, and Chastity, who overcome the Sins and lead the Pilgrim back to Confession. p. 213.
She sends Perseverance to guide the Pilgrim again, and they reach Penitence in safety.

Penitence welcomes the Pilgrim and gives him *directions* pp. 214–218.
for his journey. He must mount the eight rungs of the *ladder* Jacob saw. These are : (1) Faith in God, (2) Active Virtue, (3) Instruction in Virtue (Science en Vertu), (4) Abstinence, self-discipline, (5) Almsgiving and care for others, (6) Patience, (7) Love of his neighbours, (8) Love of God.

His companions must be Watching; Fasting; Almsgiving; Going barefoot and wearing a hair shirt; Fleeing from vanities and laziness; Doing good works and abstaining from Sin; and Serving God.

5th day. The Pilgrim starts next morning, accompanied pp. 219, 220.
by Vigour, and soon finds the Ladder, which is guarded by Watching, Fasting, and their company. Aided by them, he mounts the Ladder, and finds himself in a wide plain where Desire dwells. Desire leads him through Montjoie to *Paradise*, where the Pilgrim sees God, S. Mary, the angels, the saints, many members of religious orders and Kings, knights, citizens and working people. Those who recognise him ask after their friends.

He kneels before the Throne of God. God pardons him, but commands him to go back to earth that he may tell men to cease from their sins and serve God; on his return to Paradise he shall have a crown of gold.

End of Dream. The Pilgrim descends to the world; he p. 224.
awakes and finds with sorrow that it has all been a dream.

The allegory ends here. A sermon in verse follows, in pp. 224–234.
Sermon.
which the writer professes to give a description of the joys of Paradise and the pains of Hell, based on Scripture.

The moral is enforced by S. Bernard's exhortation to men to seek Paradise, and S. Gregory's description of the Last Judgment.

The poem closes with a prayer that all the readers of the poem may come to Paradise. This emphasises the religious and didactic purpose of the work.

Noticeable Features.

I. *Form.* The use of a Dream-setting.

II. *Allegory.*

1. *Personifications.*

(i.) *Characterisation.* There is no attempt at characterisation and no description of the appearance of the personifications. The epithets used are conventional, *e. g.* Pride, the haughty; Grace, the loyal and fine.

(ii.) *Personifications* are introduced incidentally at the House of Love, where *Crémirs* (*Godly Fear*) is seneschal, and at the *Castle of Confession.*

(iii.) *The Sins* which attack the Pilgrim in the Valley do not represent the *Seven Deadly Sins.* Five of them are given: Pride, Envy, Avarice, Anger, Fornication; Despair probably represents a sixth—Accidie; Gluttony is omitted and Vain Glory and Hatred are added. They are opposed by five Virtues only.

2. *Allegorical Action.*

The Pilgrimage to Paradise, with which the whole poem is concerned.

3. *Allegorical Devices.*

(i.) There are no *Accessories of the Personifications.*

(ii.) *Dwellings.* The insistence on the cleanliness of the Castle of Confession has allegorical significance; but none is attached to the description of the other dwellings.

(iii.) *Food.* The guests are served with sobs, sighs,

tears, and similar dishes, both at the House of Contrition and at the Castle of Confession.

(iv.) *Pillow of Groaning*, on which the Pilgrim sleeps in the House of Contrition.

III. *Didactic and ecclesiastical purpose of the poem.* The Church doctrine about Confession is inculcated, and the moral of the allegory is emphasised by the sermon at its close.

Satire on the Béguines is introduced. The Pilgrim tells the company at the House of Love that, while some of the Béguines do their duty, others use their habit as a cloak for sin.

IV. *The distinction observed* between the different *orders of Society*, even in the account of Paradise.

V. The detailed *explanation of the allegory* of the Temptations of the world is interesting and unusual; it is given in parenthesis.

Le Tournoiement de l'Antecrist.

(Edited by P. Tarbé, "Poètes de Champagne," 1851.)

Introduction. The poet resolves to treat a new theme, p. 1.
the Tournament of Antichrist.

The writer follows King Louis into Brittany; there he pp. 1-7.
leaves the army to seek Berceliande and the Perilous Fountain. He finds the fountain and twice empties the basin, thus causing a great thunderstorm. The heavens open showing Paradise, and God bids the thunder cease.

Tournament story begins. At daybreak, the writer sees pp. 7-10
a Moor riding towards him, leading a horse loaded with armour. The poet attacks him, but is forced to surrender; he must now follow the Moor wherever he goes. The Moor is Bras-de-Fer, Prince of Fornication on earth, Notary of Hell, Chamberlain of Antichrist. Antichrist is about to fight the Lord of Heaven, and Bras-de-Fer is

pp. 10–15. going to prepare his lodgings. The Moor and the poet enter the *Town of Despair*; near it is the *Town of Hope*. The arrival of Antichrist and his host is described, they sit down to a banquet which is like that described by Raoul de Houdenc. Drunken Challenge (Guerçoi), Drunkenness and Lechery incite the guests to drink. Outrage (Excess) is butler, and fills up the cups; his mother, Gluttony, is there.

pp. 16–37. The host sets out at daybreak.

There is a detailed description of the armour of each champion and his followers, and its allegorical significance.

The champions are named in the following order—

pp. 16–18. 1. *Antichrist;* his standard-bearer, Belzebuc; the barons of Hell: Jupiter; Saturn; Apollo; Mercury; Hercules; Neptune; Mars; Pluto and Proserpine, King and Queen of Hell, and their daughter Megera; Cerberus.

pp. 18–21. 2. *Pride;* his standard-bearer, Boban (Arrogance, Vanity); Cointese (Fastidiousness); Disdain; Despis (Scorn); Vain Glory; Boasting.

pp. 21, 22. 3. *Tençon* (Quarrelsomeness), stepmother of Concord; Felony, enemy of Pity; Hatred, mother of Discord; Anger, the son of Felony; Forseneric (Mad Fury).

pp. 22, 23. 4. *Wrong*, enemy of Right.

pp. 23, 24. 5. *Avarice;* her cousin Covetousness; Rapine, enemy of Liberality; Cruelty gave them their armour.

pp. 24–27. 6. *Dame Envy;* Falsehood and Hypocrisy, the Queens; Treachery and her son Barat (Fraud), the enemy of Loyalty; Lying, enemy of Truth; Backbiting, son of Flattery, cousin of Detraction; Loberie (Malice, Mockery); Treason; Heresy.

pp. 27–29. 7. *Larrecin* (Furtive Robbery); Rapine; Homicide; Disloyalty; Force; Murder; Cruelty; Felony, the standard-bearer of Larrecin.

pp. 29–34. 8. *Lechery* and her elder sister Gluttony; Excess, Gluttony's son; Viloinie (Churlishness), mother of Excess

(*sic*) ; Fornication ; Adultery ; Guersois (Drunken Challenge); Drunkenness; Hasart (Gambling, Ribaldry).

9. *Folly.* pp. 34, 35.

10. *Sloth ;* Cowardice; Treason. pp. 35–37.

The *King of Heaven* and His followers issue from the City of Hope, the "Montjoie" of (? nearest point to) Paradise.

There is a description of their armour and its significance; They are named in the following order—

1. *The King of Heaven ;* His standard-bearer, Cherubin ; pp. 38–42. S. Michael; Gabriel; Raphael.

2. *The Virgin Mary,* who comes to watch the conflict. pp. 42–44.

3. *Virginity ;* Religion (*i. e.* Religious Profession); pp. 44–46. Abstinence; Confession; Penitence; Chastity; Patience.

4. *Dame Humility ;* her standard-bearer Lowliness ; pp. 47–49. Peace,the cousin of Patience ; Simplicity ; Obedience ; Pity ; Debonaireté (Graciousness), the daughters of Humility.

5. *Liberality ;* Prowess; her eldest son Courage ; pp. 49–56 Courtesy; Franchise (Generosity, Politeness); Love.

6. *Wisdom ;* Providence (Foresight), her cousin. pp. 56, 57.

7. *Charity,* mother of all Virtues ; her daughters Mercy pp. 57–61. and Truth ; Almsgiving, daughter of Pity ; Peace, cousin of Friendship ; Pity ; Loyalty ; the Knights of the Round Table.

'Both armies prepare for the Tournament.

Tournament. There follows a vivid description of the pp. 61, 62. Tournament in which the Virtues attack and overthrow pp. 62–89. their corresponding Vices.

Finally Raphael and the other Archangels attack the "Barons of Hell." Michael tries to overthrow Antichrist but is unsuccessful. The King of Heaven comes to his aid, all the Virtues rush upon the Vices, Antichrist and his followers are driven into the Town of Despair, the King of Heaven returns joyfully to the City of Hope and the Tournament ends.

This account of the Tournament is interrupted by the curious incident of the poet's wounding by Venus; his vision in his swoon; his recovery through Hope's ministrations; and his appeal to Judgment to know whether Venus, his eyes or his heart is to be blamed. Reason decides that his heart is guilty.

pp. 89–92. *The Care for the Wounded.* Raphael, God's Physician, tends the wounded, aided by Confession, Devotion, Penitence and Compunction. The poet is healed by their salve, and Bras-de-Fer abandons him in disgust.

pp. 92, 93. *The Poet goes to Hope.* A description of the city—it is the City of Jerusalem, " Montjoie " of Paradise.

pp. 93, 94. Then the poet visits the House of Largesse (Liberality) next to the House of Prowess. Within sit Liberality and Courtesy, and the Barons are summoned to a great feast.

pp. 94–97. *Description of the Feast.* The King of Heaven sends the Bread of Heaven and Wine from the Vine of Jesse.

pp. 97–99. The guests go into an orchard. The poet tells his adventures to Liberality and Courtesy; they drink Honour.

pp. 99, 100. Throughout the city the Champions are praised for their valour in the fight against the host of Antichrist. The poet is refused entry into the Palace of the King, because he has not a wedding garment.

pp. 100, 101. Next morning, Truth, the Watchman, says that Antichrist has broken his word, has been set by Treason on the road to Hell, and has reached the city of Foi-Mentie (Faithlessness).

pp. 101–end. *Parliament of the King* of Heaven and his Barons. Sapience advises that Antichrist shall be left for the winter in Foi-Mentie, and that the King of Heaven shall lead His followers to His eternal glory. All agree; Foresight prepares the road to Paradise, and they all set out with great joy.

The poet is commended to the care of Dame Religion,

and is led by her to the Church of St. Germain, near the walls of Paris.

The poem ends with the poet's apology for his work, and references to the greater ability of Raoul and Chrestien.

Noticeable Features.

I. *Form.* The setting of the poem is historical and romantic; the dream-form is not used.

II. *Allegory.*

1. *Personifications.*

(i.) *Characterisation.* There is very little attempt at characterisation, and the description of the personal appearance of personifications is confined to a notice of their armour. The account of the habits of Love is an exception.

(ii.) *Confusion in the Grouping of the Vices and Virtues.* The same personifications are found in different groups, and the original grouping is not kept in the account of the Tournament. The conventional clear distinction between the Seven Deadly Sins and the Seven Chief Virtues and the other Vices and Virtues is not observed.

(iii.) *Intermingling of personified abstractions, mythological and real personages.* Among the Vices and Virtues fight the Gods of Roman mythology—the "Barons of Hell"—and the Archangels; the Virgin Mary comes to watch the conflict; Venus and Cupid suddenly appear as Antichrist's allies; the Knights of the Round Table follow Prowess, Courtesy and Liberality; the Vices and Virtues have followers from various nations.

2. *Allegorical Action.*

The Tournament between the King of Heaven and Antichrist, with which the main part of the poem is concerned. In the *description of the Tournament* may be noted—

(i.) *The mingling of incidents of allegorical and non-allegorical significance, e. g.* Silence defeats Quarrelsomeness by "listening"; Graciousness overcomes Wrath through the Shield of Patience, but Patience merely unhorses Frénésie (Mad Fury), and on the whole the ultimate defeat of the Vices by the Virtues is the only part of the conflict to which special allegorical significance can be given. Vivid details are introduced of no symbolic value, *e. g.* the horse of Gabriel bolts with the bit between its teeth.

(ii.) *The variety* afforded by the following incidents :— (1) Justice hangs Homicide and Murder on a Gibbet at Murtre-ville (Murder Town); (2) Treason, lurking among the horses to kill Loyalty, is discovered by Truth. (3) Liberality's right hand is cut off, and she is conveyed to shelter by Prowess and Courtesy. The lament of the minstrels is recorded. (4) Gluttony comes from a tavern. (5) Secret Theft assembles his men in the dark wood.

(iii.) *The interruption* of the Tournament narrative by the account of the poet's wound, swoon and vision.

3. *Allegorical Devices.*

(i.) *Accessories of the Personifications.*

(*a*) *Dress.* General description without allegorical significance.

(*b*) *Armour.* Detailed description, especially of the symbolical device on the shield. Two examples will illustrate Huon de Méri's method—

1. *Antichrist* carried a beautiful shield, black with false miracles, bordered with devilry with a crook (or cross) of damnation. His judgment was written on a bar of Mort Subite (Sudden Death—possibly Suicide) lozenged with Mortal Sins. He rode a fierce black horse. His helmet was a diamond from the mines given to him by Proserpine, who incurred the jealousy of Pluto by her love for Antichrist. Belzebuc carried the Banner,

worked by Proserpine, on which was displayed a devil and a serpent fighting.

2. *Patience* wore a hauberk and a hair-shirt. She had the shield of Confession lozenged with Compunction and Pity and a sleeve " white as snow on a branch," from the Magdalene's robe to show her alliance. Her white banner had been washed by Confession in tears of Compunction; Dame Friendship had attached it to the lance by four cords of Pity.

(ii.) *Steeds.* No allegorical significance except Cowardice's horse, which is called " Tourne-en-fuite."

(iii.) *Dwellings, Towns.* General description without allegorical significance. *Hope* is identified with the Jerusalem described by Ezekiel. *Foi-Mentie* is impregnable, for the tiles were made by Mulciber, the gates by Vulcan (*sic*) in Hell.

(iv.) *Food.* (*a*) *At Despair*, the guests are served with the sinners described by Raoul de Houdenc, with the addition of an entrée of " Sins against nature," a beverage, Shame; and " gingerbread cooked in Sulphur in the Gulf of Satan." (*b*) *At Hope*, the only allegorical food is the Eucharistic Bread and Wine and the beverage of Honour.

(v.) *Medicaments.* (*a*) *Potion* given to the poet by Love (Cupid) compounded by Delectation of a mood of Love. (*b*) *Plaster* of Good Hope, given to the poet by Hope. (*c*) *Ointment*, made from the tears of Compunction and Devotion, given to the poet by Confession.

(vi.) *Confession* is described as a *Laundress.*

(vii.) *Trial*, to decide whether Venus, the poet's eyes or his heart is responsible for his wound.

(viii.) In this connection, the *Body is regarded as a Castle*, of which the heart is the Lord, the eyes the Porters.

III. *Satirical Purpose of the Poem.* It is directed against the heresy of the Albigensians.

Satire and Compliment may therefore be found—

(1) *Special.* Vaunting is Dame de Normandie; Felony is followed by Burgundians; Avarice by the people of Metz and the Romans; Prowess by the French; Heresy's followers are men of Cahours, Pavia and Milan, Albigensians and Toulousans, etc.

(2) *General.* The maiming of Liberality.

Rutebeuf's La Voie de Paradis.

("Oeuvres de Rutebeuf." Ed. A. Jubinal, Vol. II, pp. 169–203.)

pp. 170, 171. *Introduction.* Description of Spring, the time when the wise man ploughs and sows.

Account of Dream. Pilgrimage to Paradise. The poet takes the staff and wallet of the Pilgrim.

pp. 171, 172 1*st day.* Parting of the ways; the broad way leading to destruction on the left, the narrow way leading to Paradise on the right. Many pilgrims turn to the left, but the poet keeps to the right.

pp. 173, 174. 1*st night. The City of Penitence.* Hospitality shown to the Pilgrim by Pity and his wife Charity. He is warned against their enemies Avarice, Envy, Vain Glory and Pride, the son-in-law of Felony.

Pity's Directions for the Pilgrim's journey to the House of Confession—

pp. 175–189. I. *Dwellings of the Seven Deadly Sins* to be avoided. Description of the Sins, their houses and followers in this order:—Pride, Avarice, Anger, Envy, Accidie, Gluttony, Luxuria.

pp. 189–202. II. *Dwellings of the Se en Virtues* to be sought out. Description of the Virtues and occasionally of their houses in this order:—Humility, Liberality, Graciousness, Charity, Prowess, Abstinence, Chastity.

p. 202. *Conclusion* of Pity's description of the journey; Chastity will lead the Pilgrim to the City of Repentance.

The Poet, omitting an account of the journey, describes pp. 202. 203. the *City of Repentance*. It has four gates :—Remembrance, Good Hope, Fear and True Love which leads to Confession.

Abrupt Ending. Paradise has not been reached, nor does the writer tell of his awakening from his dream.

Noticeable Features.

I. *Form*. The Dream-form is used.

II. *Allegory*.

1. *Personifications.*

(i.) *Characterisation.*

(*a*) The Seven Deadly Sins and Seven Virtues are all feminine except Pride.

(*b*) Descriptions of the personal appearance only of Humility, Chastity, Avarice, Envy and Accidie; a characteristic speech is put into the mouth of Accidie.

(*c*) Account of the habits of the Sins, with a reference to Ovid's treatment of Envy, but not of the Virtues. The Virtues are represented as harassed by the attacks of the corresponding Sins, who have taken away their followers.

(*d*) Practical identification of Humility with the Virgin Mary (ll. 564–568).

(ii.) *Personifications introduced incidentally, e. g.* Gluttony frequents the Tavern of *Gambling* (Hasart); Luxuria has a Porter, *Welcome*, and servants, *Cunning* and *Untrustworthy* (Fou—or Faus-s'i-fie); *Privation* built the House of Abstinence.

2. *Allegorical Action.*

The Pilgrimage to Repentance.

3. *Allegorical Devices.*

(i.) *Dress and other accessories of the Personifications.* Humility wears the white robes of Happiness. The description of the speedy fading of the dresses and

garlands of Pride's followers has also allegorical significance. No other allegorical accessories are named.

(ii.) *Dwellings.* There are descriptions of the Houses of each Sin, but not of the Houses of the Virtues, except that of Humility. There is allegorical significance in the materials composing (1) the House of Anger—appropriate sins; (2) the House of Humility—appropriate virtues; (3) the paving of the House of Luxuria—Folly and Flattery.

III. *Satiric Purpose of the Poem.*

There is introduced :—

(i.) *Special Satire* on the Frères-Sacs in the account of Prowess.

(ii.) *Special Compliment* to the Monks of S. Victor in the account of Charity.

(iii.) *General Satire* in (1) The account of the crowded dwellings of the Vices and the appearance and fate of their followers; (2) the insistence on the deserted state of the dwellings of the Virtues.

IV. *Description of the season* at the beginning of the poem. Spring when the wise man ploughs and sows. *Moral Application* :—the benefit arising from divine seed sown in the human heart.

V. *Introduction of the Poet by name,* with a pun on the name—

ll. 17-19. "Au point du jour c'on entre en oevre
Rustebuef, qui rudement oevre
Quar rudes est."

Le Pèlerinage de vie Humaine.

(First Recension edited for Roxburghe Club by J. J. Stürzinger.)

Book I, pp. 1, 2. *Introduction.* The author summons all men to hear his vision of *man's pilgrimage in this world.*

pp. 2–8. *Vision of the Holy City,* reflected in a mirror. A

description of the beauty and joys of the city and of the difficulties of entrance. The religious orders are helped by their founders.

The Poet wishes to go on a Pilgrimage to this City. He sets out at his birth, seeking the Pilgrim's Staff and Wallet. He meets a beautiful lady, *Grâce Dieu* (Grace of God) who says that no one can reach Jerusalem without her aid; she promises to help the Pilgrim. She leads him to *Grâce Dieu's House* (*the Church*) which hangs between Heaven and Earth, and has a lake in front of it. The Pilgrim passes through the lake, being baptised by one of Grâce Dieu's ministers, and is led into the House. pp. 8–13. pp. 13–16.

A description of what he sees in the House. A Cross is in the midst of it, and a Bishop (Moses) makes the sign of the Cross on the foreheads of all God's Servants including the Pilgrim (Confirmation). pp. 16–157. pp. 16–19.

The Bishop gives the Priest three ointments for the use of Pilgrims.

Reason descends from her Tower. She exhorts Bishop and Priest to be gentle and explains the real significance of the Bishop's mitre and crosier. pp. 19–26

Meanwhile the Priest marries a man and a woman. p. 26.

The Bishop appoints men to various services in the Church, giving to some the tonsure and to priests the sword and keys and Grâce Dieu as companion. pp. 27–45.

Reason preaches twice, explaining the symbolical significance first of the tonsure and secondly of the sword and keys. She also points out the value of her friendship. The Pilgrim, desiring a sword and keys, is given a sheathed sword and keys tied up. Reason explains that it is because he has no subjects.

The *Eucharist* is described. *Reason*, being unable to explain transubstantiation to the Pilgrim, sadly returns to her Tower, and sends *Nature*, who upbraids Grâce Dieu for trespassing on her province in this and in the miracles pp. 45–63

of Christ. Grâce Dieu reminds Nature that she is but her handmaid and finally makes her submit.

pp. 64–82. *Penitence and Charity* come to prepare the people to receive the Communion. They address the pilgrims, explaining their attributes.

Penitence has in one hand the *mallet of contrition*, in her mouth the *broom of confession*, and in her other hand the *rod of satisfaction*.

Charity records her virtues: she caused the Incarnation of our Lord, and He has left with her the gift of Peace. She reads Christ's Testament of Peace, in which Peace is compared to a carpenter's square.

p. 83. The Pilgrims who partake of the Feast after receiving Charity's gift of Peace and the discipline of Penitence, become beautiful, and their hunger is satisfied. Those who ignore Charity and Penitence become vile, filthy and hungry.

pp. 84–103. The dreamer asks how the small amount of food received can satisfy the pilgrims. Grâce Dieu tells him that he must trust no sense but his hearing; *Charity* sowed the Grain (Christ) on earth and tended It so that It became the Bread of Heaven; *Wisdom* prepared the feast which is great in reality though small in appearance. *Wisdom* confutes the objections of *Nature* and her *clerk Aristotle*, and reminds them that she is their superior and is therefore not accountable to them.

pp. 103–118. The dreamer desires to partake of the Feast. Grâce Dieu first gives him the Pilgrim's staff and wallet, explaining their significance.

The *Wallet* is Faith; the twelve bells are the articles of the Christian Faith; it is made more precious by being stained with the blood of the martyrs.

The *Staff* is Hope; the higher pommel, a mirror reflecting the Holy City, is Christ; the lower, a carbuncle, is the Virgin Mary. The staff is not tipped with iron that it may be lighter; it is a support, not a weapon.

Grâce Dieu arms the Pilgrim with the gambison of Patience; the habergeon of Strength; helmet of Moderation; gorget of Soberness; gauntlets of Continence; sword of Justice; scabbard of Humility; girdle of Perseverance; buckle of Constancy; shield of Prudence. pp. 118–153.

The Pilgrim finds the armour too heavy for him, and takes it off, in spite of Grâce Dieu's warnings.

Grace gives him *Memory*, a maiden with eyes in the nape of her neck, to carry it for him.

The Pilgrim puts some Bread from the Feast in his wallet. Grace promises to be with him, though invisible, and he sets out on the Pilgrimage, followed by Memory. pp. 153–157.

The Pilgrimage. The Pilgrim meets *Rude Entendement* (Natural Understanding), carrying a stick, Obstinacy, who orders him to cast aside the Wallet and Staff. Reason comes to the Pilgrim's help, with a commission from Grace; after a long discussion, she summons Rude Entendement to judgment, and leads the Pilgrim past him. Book II. pp. 158–177.

Reason tells the Pilgrim that his body, which he pampers is his enemy, and will not bear the armour; she describes body and soul. The soul is the helmsman, the body the ship. The Pilgrim's soul, through Reason's help, escapes from the body for a time. His sensations are described; on his return he finds his body burdensome; Reason tells him to subdue it by fasting and discipline since it is strong in this world, which is its home. pp. 177–202.

The Pilgrim pursues his way. *The Paths divide*, with a thick hedge between. pp. 202–215.

On the left sits *Huiseuse* (Laziness) on the right *Occupation* (Work). Each gives a description of herself to the Pilgrim, and tells him her way is best. Following the counsel of the body, the Pilgrim sets out on the road of Laziness.

Grace and Reason tell him to leave this road and come to the other through the hedge planted by Penitence. pp. 215–219.

As he is trying to find a way through the hedge, he is attacked in turn by the *Seven Deadly Sins*. A full description is given of their appearance and actions. They are all old women.

pp. 219–229. (i.) *Sloth* (Paresce) catches the Pilgrim with the cords of *Negligence*, *Weakness* (Laschete) and *Nonchalance* (Fetardie); she makes men hang themselves with the cord of *Despair*. She fells the Pilgrim with the Axe of *Weariness*; he is only saved by his staff and wallet. She prevents his approach to the Hedge of Penitence.

pp. 229–255. (ii.) *Pride* comes, riding on an old woman, *Flattery*. Pride has the horn of *Haughtiness* (Fierté) and *Cruelty*; the bellows of *Vain Glory*; the trumpet of *Vaunting*; the spurs of *Disobedience* and *Rebellion*; the stick of *Obstinacy*; the cloak of *Hypocrisy*. *Flattery* describes herself. She is the cousin of *Treason*, the eldest daughter of *Falsehood*, the nurse of *Iniquity*. She carries the mirror of *Flattering Agreement*.

pp. 255–273. (iii.) *Envy* comes on all fours, carrying her daughters *Treason* and *Detraction*. Envy has two swords projecting from her eyes—"Grief-for-others'-joy" and "Joy-for-others'-grief."

Treason carries a mask, a box of ointment and a knife.

Detraction has a sword with a hook with which she cuts off ears and serves them up to her mother, Envy.

Envy, Treason and Detraction attack the Pilgrim and throw him from his horse, *Good Name*.

pp. 273–278. (iv.) *Anger* hastens to join in the assault on the Pilgrim, she has two stones, *Spite* and *Contrition*, the saw of *Hatred*, and is girt with the falchion of *Murder*.

pp. 278–281. *Memory* in vain urges the Pilgrim to put on his armour. He rises by the help of his staff and goes on his way, hungry but not daring to eat the Bread in his wallet.

The road leads to a dark and terrible wood.

Book III, pp. 282–317. (v.) *Avarice* (or Covetousness) shows the Pilgrim a

number of chessmen trying to pull down a Church and explains the spectacle. Then she describes herself. She has *six hands*:—(1) *Rapine* with griffin's nails; (2) *Cut-Purse* or *Larceny*, also with griffin's nails; (3) *Usury*, with a file and a balance with which she weighs the zodiac (*i. e. Interest*); (4) *Begging*, with a wallet; (5) *Simony* with a crook; (6) *Deceit* or *Cheating*, which rests either on Avarice's *thigh*, *Lying*, or on her *tongue*, *Perjury*. Avarice was lamed in trying to escape from *Truth* and *Equity*. She has a *hump of property*, which can only be removed by *Poverty the Physician*. She carries an *idol* (Mahomet), *money*, which she tries to make the Pilgrim adore.

(vi.) *Gluttony* appears with *Luxuria*, who wounds the Pilgrim. *Gluttony*, the mother of the Epicuri, carries a pierced sack. She takes the Pilgrim by the throat, but releases him that he may question Luxuria. pp. 317–327.

(vii.) *Luxuria* (Venus) rides the pig *Desire*, and has a mask, *Disguise*. pp. 327–331.

All the Seven Deadly Sins attack the Pilgrim, overthrow and wound him and take away his staff. p. 332.

He bewails his neglect of Penitence and the loss of his staff. Grace restores his staff, counsels him to pray to the Virgin Mary and gives him a manuscript containing an ABC prayer which he uses. Helped by Grace, the Pilgrim rises to his feet, and the Seven Deadly Sins are put to flight. Grace shows him a bath, filled by tears running from an eye set in a rock—the hard heart of man. He bathes therein, and goes on his way, praying to the pommels of his staff. He finds a passage through the hedge. He meets many hindrances (unnamed), and finally comes to a stormy sea, wherein he sees men and women. Satan fishes therein and lays cords across the path. The Pilgrim sees *Heresy*, who carries a faggot to show that she will be burnt; she tries to take the Pilgrim's wallet, but he defends himself with his staff. *Grace* appears pp. 332–351. pp. 351–356. Book V, pp. 357–360. pp. 360–362. pp. 362–368.

and explains to the Pilgrim that the Sea is the world; the various attitudes of the men and women show their religious state; Satan tries to gain their souls in subtle ways.

pp. 368–374. *Youth*, winged, greets the Pilgrim. She is described. She flies with the Pilgrim over the sea, makes him feel the perils of Cyrtes (self-will); Charibdis (worldliness); Scilla (adversity); Bitalassus (?[1] Di-thalassos = between two seas) (prosperity); Syrena (worldly pleasures).

pp. 374–388. *Tribulation* comes over the sea. She has the hammer of *Persecution*, the pincers of *Distress* and *Anguish*, the apron of *Shame*, and bears commissions from God and from Satan. She attacks the Pilgrim; he falls into the sea, and is only saved from drowning by his staff. Tribulation still attacks him, but leads him to *Grace*, who upbraids him for leaving her. She will lead him by a shorter way than that through the hedge of *Penitence*, but he will still

pp. 388–394. find the tools of Penitence. He consents. They enter the *Ship of Religion*. Grace is Pilot, the Cross is the mast, the Holy Spirit the wind. If the Pilgrim wishes to go quickly to Jerusalem he must enter either Clugny or Citeaux, castles on the ship. At the entrance to one of these Castles is the *Porter, Fear of God*, who bears a Club, the *Vengeance of God*, or *Fear of the Pains of Hell*, with which he strikes the Pilgrim.

pp. 394–405. *Description of the Castle.* The Pilgrim went first to the Hostelry, where *Charity* served. In the Church were: *Obedience* with cords, the Prioress; *Discipline* with the File of *Reprehension* and the shield of *Prudence*; *Voluntary Poverty*, naked, except for the gambison of *Patience; Chastity*, Chatelaine of the Castle, who makes the beds in the dorter, wears the gauntlets of *Continence*, and has a stick with which she repulses Venus; *Lesson* or *Study*, followed by the Holy Spirit, a white dove, carries the food

[1] *Cf.* E.E.T.S. Extra Series XCII., Miss Locock's Notes on Lydgate's Translation.

of Holy Scripture; *Abstinence*, wearing the Gorget of *Soberness*, has charge of the refectory, where the dead (benefactors) feed the living. *Prayer*, winged with the auger of *Perseverance* to pierce the heavens, is in the Chapel; *Latria* (worship) plays on musical instruments continually.

The Pilgrim is bound by *Obedience*. Later *Infirmity*, pp. 405–428. with a bed on her head, and *Old Age* with crutches come to the Pilgrim as Death's Messengers.

They set upon him and stretch him on the bed.

Misericordia (Mercy), with the pap of *Pity* comes to him. She drags him by her cord to the infirmary. Then he is attacked by *Death* with her scythe and coffin but is comforted by Grace.

As he is about to die, the dreamer awakes.

Noticeable Features.

I. *Form.* The Dream-setting is used.

II. *Allegory.*

(1) *Personifications.*

(i.) *Characterisation.* All the personifications are feminine; their personal appearance, dress and accessories are described. They usually give a detailed account of their history and habits, explaining their attributes. Various relationships are noted.

(2) *Allegorical Action.*

The pilgrimage through this life to Paradise.

(3) *Allegorical Devices.*

(i.) *Dress and accessories of the personifications.* The dress, with the exception of the cloak of Hypocrisy worn by Pride, is symbolic only in its suitability to the character; but most of the personifications have symbolical accessories, which are noted in the analysis. An example of De Guileville's excessive and awkward use of these accessories is the broom in the mouth of Penitence, which causes the Pilgrim a momentary misgiving.

(ii.) *Steeds.* (*a*) Pride rides on the old woman, Flattery. (*b*) Envy carries her daughters Treason and Detraction. (*c*) The Pilgrim has a horse "Good Name" with four feet (1) Honour, (2) Freedom, (3) Lawful Birth, (4) Sanity.

(iii.) *Implements* used by the Founders of Religious Orders to help their followers over the walls of Jerusalem :— S. Augustine uses wings, S. Benedict the ladder with the twelve degrees of Humility, S. Francis a knotted cord.

(iv.) *Dwellings.* (*a*) The only dwellings mentioned are the *House of Grace* which is described as a Church hanging between earth and heaven, and the *Castle* or *Monastery* which the Pilgrim enters in the *Ship of Religion.* There is no detailed description of allegorical significance. (*b*) The *Body* is represented as a *House* with six gates—the five senses by which evil enters, and the mouth through which it is purged by Penitence.

(v.) *Food.* (*a*) Detraction serves her mother, Envy, with the ears of those who listen to her. (*b*) Study bears the food of Holy Scripture along the cloister.

(vi.) *Documents.* (*a*) The *Charter* of Charity. (*b*) The *Commission* of Reason. (*c*) The two *commissions* of Tribulation.

(vii.) *Mirror,* in which the first Vision of Jerusalem is seen.

(viii.) *Symbolical significance* given to *Church Vestments,* etc. (*a*) The Bishop's Mitre and Crosier. (*b*) The Tonsure.

(ix.) *Attitudes of* (*a*) *Men and Women in the Sea of Life* : (1) those who have only their feet sticking up are weighed down by the sack of Avarice, (2) those who are upright are "not of this world," (3) those whose feet and legs are entangled think of earthly things, (4) those with bandages over their eyes are blinded by vanity.

(*b*) The Pilgrim ; he is unable to swim because his hands

have not been stretched out in giving nor his feet on pilgrimages.

(x.) *Introduction of the Spectacle of Chessmen attacking a Castle,* signifying the attacks of Kings and Nobles upon the possessions of the Church.

III. The *purpose* of the poem is *didactic.*

Satire is introduced on—

(i.) *Special Districts.* Covetousness was nourished at Chaours, and her hand Cut-Purse is a Poitevineresse.

(ii.) *Special Classes of Society.* (1) *Reason* upbraids the Bishops for not defending the Church. (2) *Avarice,* in expounding the spectacle of the Chessmen, satirises the extortions of Kings and Nobles and the cowardice of Bishops. Here allegory is subordinated to satire, for the indignation displayed is out of place in the speech of Avarice. Avarice also remarks that she has supplanted Liberality in the King's Favour. The account of Avarice's hand of Simony, and the hand of Deceit which works false miracles in Churches is a satire on the Clergy.

IV. *Free Use of Illustration. e. g.*

(1) Each of the Deadly Sins begins by giving an account of her power over the sinners of the Old Testament.

(2) The deceitfulness of Satan is illustrated by the legend of his appearing to a monk as a saint.

(3) The fable of the fox and crow is related to show the result of pride.

(4) A graphic sketch of contemporary life—the methods of selling adopted by wood-cutters—is introduced into the account of Avarice's hand of Usury.

(5) A grammatical illustration is used by Reason when she wishes to explain to the Pilgrim that he has been given a sheathed sword and sealed keys because he has no subjects. She says— Stürzinger "Pèl. de Vie Humaine," pp. 41–43.

> "Bien voy que tu n'as pas apris
> Predicament ad aliquid."

The " predicament " depends on something else; thus God was not called " Lord " before the creation of man, because He was not a Lord until He had servants. This passage presents a striking parallel to the most curious illustration in " Piers Plowman," which only occurs in the C. Text—the comparison of " Mede " and Mercede to direct and indirect relations. There also the relation of God and man is expressed in grammatical terms—

C. IV. 335-409.

C. IV. 356, 357, 365-367.

> " God, the grounde of al, a graciouse antecedent
> And man ys relatif rect yf he be ryht trewe . . .
> . . . Indirect thyng ys as he so coveited
> Alle kynne kynde to knowe and to folwe
> With-oute case to cacche to and come to bothe numbres."

V. *Explanation of the Allegory.*

Grâce-Dieu and Reason constantly point out to the Pilgrim the significance of what he sees. Every personification whom he meets explains the meaning of her attribute.

The Second Recension of De Guileville's Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine

Introd. II.

The following passages from Miss Locock's Introduction to " The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man " (E. E. T. S., Part III.) give such alterations in the second recension as are important for a comparison with " Piers Plowman." Miss Locock's classification and numbering are retained for convenience of reference.

A.

" The actual *additions* of arguments, episodes, characters or other elements "—

1. " The extension of the Prologue by the discourse on dreams and the introduction of autobiographical details in the account of the loss and rewriting of the poem and in the envoy to the poem."

There is, as has been shown, a discourse on dreams in " Piers Plowman," with which it is interesting to compare

this passage. The autobiographical passage gives a precedent for the author's remodelling of a poem after twenty-five years, which is not unimportant in view of the present controversy about the authorship of the different versions of "Piers Plowman."

6. The Testament of Jesus Christ, committed to the care of Charity, is enlarged. The greater importance thus given to the Testament is interesting in view of the Testaments and Charters found in "Piers Plowman." Verard, XVII., back.

7. "The dialogue between Grâce-Dieu and the Pilgrim concerning the five senses and the transfer of eyes to ears." The Senses are here regarded not merely as gates, as in Penitence's sermon in the first recension, but as porters and messengers. This personification is found in "Piers Plowman" in the account of the Castle of Caro. Verard, XXII.

12. The interview of the Pilgrim with Mortification of the Body, and the description of the Wheel of Lust. Mortification speaks of his body as a castle, and the senses as openings which he formerly left unguarded. Now he protects them by the sign of the Cross. Verard, XLVI.

This again suggests the Castle of Caro described in "Piers Plowman."

13. "The Pilgrim's Conversation with Venus concerning the 'Romance of the Rose.'" Verard, LI. fol.

This is interesting, as it shows the influence which the "Roman de la Rose" had upon De Guileville, and also his estimate of it as belonging to "Old Venus."

16. The account of the five perils of the sea is elaborated.

Fortune and her Wheel represent Charybdis; Astrology and her scholars, Cyrtes; Sorcery, with her face Physiognomy and her hand Chiromancy, Bythalassus; Conspiracy and her hounds, Scylla; Worldly Gladness, with his revolving tower, Sirena. Verard, LXVII. back fol. Verard, LXXX. fol. Verard, LXXXIV. back fol.

The long discussions with Fortune and Astrology are Verard, LXXXVI. back fol.

especially interesting to students of "Piers Plowman." "Fortune" appears in the B. and C. Texts; Astrology is not personified, but is condemned in the B. Text, much as the Pilgrim condemns it in the Pèlerinage. This passage is omitted in the C. Text, which later adds a few lines which seem to indicate a belief in astrology.

B. X. 207-213.

C. XV. 30-32.

Verard, XCV. fol.

18. "The assault of Envy and her daughters and Scylla on the convent." In this passage additional descriptions of Envy and her daughters are given.

19. "The Pilgrim's visit to convents, where he sees many abuses."

Verard, XCVIII. fol.

This includes Grâce-Dieu's account of the allegorical materials with which the monastery, representing the Benedictine rule, was built up, which may be compared with the account of "Unity" in "Piers Plowman."

B.

"Amplification and elaboration of incidents and ideas" —"marked throughout the whole poem."

Verard, fol. LIII. back fol.

4. Sloth has two ropes, Sloth and Negligence, and five cords—(1) Hope of Long Life, (2) Foolish Fear (*i. e.* of going to confession), (3) Shame, (4) Hypocrisy, (5) Despair—instead of four cords only.

C.

Omissions and abbreviations in the second version.

Several omissions are noticed, but there are none of any great importance from the point of view of a comparison with "Piers Plowman.'

D.

"Differences in the sequence of episodes which occur in both versions and certain differences of detail"; this is not important for the present comparison.

Analysis of Le Salut D'Enfer.

(Jongleurs et Trouvères . . . des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles, pp. 43–45.)

I. *Greetings* from Hell.

II. *A Description* of Hell.

At the banquet held there he food consists of sinners; there is a warm fire made of false monks and abbots, and the guests are served by false stewards. Some of the Religious Orders are among the damned souls in Hell. Envy guards the door of Hell, and Luxuria is much honoured there by clerks, monks, templars, priests and knights.

III. *A Pardon* is offered which shall bring men to Hell.

Analysis of De Dame Guile.

(Jongleurs et Trouvères . . . des XIII^{e} et XIV^{e} siècles, pp. 63–68.)

The poem opens with an account of the power of Guile in various countries, which is followed by a detailed description of her appearance and dress. All men wear her livery except Loyalty, who mourns that she is therefore obliged to go naked. The poem closes with a denunciation of the folly of preferring Guile to Loyalty.

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