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L. A. J. R. Houwen

The Seven Deeds of Honour and Their Crowns:
Lydgate and a Late Fifteenth-Century
Scots Chivalric Treatise

Almost two decades have passed since something from British Library, Harley MS 6149 was last published. This was Diane Bornstein's edition of the Scots prose Vegetius which was published in this same journal.¹ Until I started work on this manuscript a few years ago it had been virtually ignored.²

The text presented here has never been edited before. It is a curious little piece that deals with (Roman) wreaths of honor. It was probably written around 1494 by the Scottish scribe and Kintyre Pursuivant, Adam Loutfut. There is little or no evidence that points in the direction of it being a translation, although it is difficult to base any firm conclusions on such a short text. The text, however, does show remarkable similarities to a section in Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.

Harley MS 6149 (H), also known as the Loutfut Manuscript, is a quarto volume, containing 174 leaves, partly vellum, partly paper (2 or 3 vellum leaves regularly follow six or eight paper), measuring 215 by 265mm. It is written in at least three hands, but one, that of Adam Loutfut, appears to be

¹Diane Bornstein, ed., "The Scottish Prose Version of Vegetius' *De re militari*," *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 8 (1970-71), 174-83.

²My edition of the heraldic bestiary, *The Deidis of Armorie*, will be published by the Scottish Text Society. See also my "A Scots Translation of a Middle French Bestiary," *SSL*, 26 (1991), 207-17.

responsible for most of it (about 135 leaves).³ From the Latin colophon on folio 44 we learn that this part of the manuscript was copied by Loutfut for the Marchmont Herald, William Cumming of Inverallochy in September 1494.⁴ In another colophon (f.78), which introduces a treatise which was either subsequently cut out of the manuscript or never written, it is stated that the treatise was translated from French into 'Scottis' at the command of William Cumming of Inverallochy "by his obedient son in the office of arms, Kintyre Pursuivant."⁵ It seems likely that Loutfut and the Kintyre Pursuivant are one and the same.⁶

About Loutfut we know not much more than the manuscript tells us. The name "Loutfut" does turn up a few times in the records, but it has not been possible to link Adam with any of the Loutfuts referred to there, although some of these appear to be linked with Aberdeenshire. Appropriately for the translator of a Norman French text, the name Loutfut goes back to Levetot or Luvetot in Normandy.⁷

The career of Loutfut's colleague and superior Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy (in Aberdeenshire) is much better documented.⁸ The manu-

³The three hands occur as follows: ff. 1-44, 78 and 83 to the end are in Loutfut's hand, unless of course Loutfut did not actually write the colophon on f. 44; hand two is responsible for ff. 44-59^v, and the third hand for ff. 60-77 and 79-82.

⁴"Explicit iste liber honorabili armigero Willelmo cummyn de Inuerellochy alias Marchemond heraldo per [manum] Adam loutfut Anno domini mo cccco nonagesimo quarto mensis nones Septembris" (in the MS *liber* . . . *per* is obliterated with red ink).

⁵Note that he refers to his own language as "Scots." This is the first recorded use of it; earlier writers had always used the term "Inglis" and it was commonly assumed Gavin Douglas was the first to use the term "Scots."

⁶In Sir Francis James Grant, *Court of the Lord Lyon. List of His Majesty's Officers of Arms and Other Officials with Genealogical Notes 1318-1945*, Scottish Record Society, 148 (1945), 6, under the year 1494, Loutfut is the first of the Kintyre Pursuivants listed. Grant, however, bases himself on F. J. Furnivall, ed., *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* . . . , EETS, ES, 8 (1869), xvii. This coincides with the first reference to the Kintyre Pursuivant in the Treasurer's Accounts (i, 237, 1494).

⁷See George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland, their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York, 1946), p. 440, *Louttet*, *Louttit*, etc.

⁸For Cumming (or Comyn/Cumyn) see both Furnivall, *Queene Elizabethes Achademy* and the excellent article, summing up the evidence from the records, by Sir Thomas Innes, "Sir William Cumming of Inverallochy, Lord Lyon King of Arms, 1512-1519," *The Juridical Review*, 55 (1943), 24-38, to which I am heavily indebted.

script makes it clear he held the office of Marchmont Herald in the year 1494. In fact he had been appointed to it before 6 April 1494, when he was granted the fee-land of Easter Colessie in succession to Ross Herald, and succeeded as Laird of Inverallochy in, or before, 1499.⁹ He was knighted in 1507, at which time he probably became Lyon-Depute. In 1507 Cumming organized the most celebrated tournament in Scottish history (it was repeated in 1508) for James IV. This "*Emprise du Chevalier Sauvage à la Dame Noire* offered a challenge to all comers for five weeks in a field near the castle at Edinburgh. . ."¹⁰ This is the tournament celebrated by Dunbar in his "Ane Blak Moir,"¹¹ In October of 1512 Lord Lyon Henry Thomson died and Sir William became the next Lyon King of Arms. Apart from holding the office of Lyon, Cumming was a distinguished lawyer with an extensive practice, who counted some important magnates among his clientele, including the Earl of Eroll, Burnett of Leys, Rose of Kilravock, &c.¹² Sir William cumming died in August 1519.

Three later copies of Harley 6149 are extant, all of which differ slightly from the original.¹³ The earliest and most faithful of these is Queen's College, Oxford, MS 161 (Q), which seems to date from around 1500.¹⁴ It was copied by a M. R. Andersoun. The next is the so-called Scrymgeour MS (NLS, Adv. 31.5.2), copied in the first half of the sixteenth century by John

⁹Innes, "Cumming," p. 26, who refers to the *Exchequer Rolls*, X, 448 and the *Register of the Privy Seal*.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 308.

¹¹James Kinsley, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Oxford, 1979), p. 106.

¹²Innes, "Cumming," p. 30.

¹³Felicity Riddy is, as far as I know, the first to point to the fact that all these manuscripts differ slightly from the original, in Jean-Jacques Blanchot and Claude Graf, eds., *Actes du 2e colloque de langue et de littérature écossaises (moyen âge et renaissance)* (Strasbourg, 1978), p. 62, note 13. In addition to these three manuscripts there is the Thomson Manuscript (NLS, Adv. 31.7.22) from the first half of the sixteenth century, which, on ff.1-2^v, contains the first 67 lines of one of the treatises in the Harley MS. It is not certain whether these lines are a copy of Harley 6149 or an independent translation. For a description and discussion of the various witnesses see Houwen, *Deidis of Armorie*, pp. xxxv-lxxxvi.

¹⁴Henry N. MacCracken, "Vegetius in English," in *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of G. L. Kittredge, Presented on the Completion of his Twenty-Fifth Year of Teaching in Harvard University, June 1913* (Boston and London, 1913), pp. 389-403, (p. 402).

Scrymgeour of Myres (Fife), Master of the King's Works. The last is the Lindsay MS (NLS, Adv. 31.3.20), owned by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the Lord Lyon from 1591 to 1620.

Depending on the type of division made, the manuscript contains some 19 items, most of them in Scots, the remainder in Latin. All of these cover heraldic or chivalric subjects. Most are or contain copies of well-known works, some of which are of recent date. In fact Harley 6149 is an unrepresentative heraldic manuscript. It appears to be a carefully chosen collection of some of the better-known heraldic and chivalric texts. The emphasis of these texts falls in three main areas. First, treatises covering the history of the office of arms. Second, those that deal with the various forms of chivalric encounters, with treatises on single combat as well as on battles and tournaments. Finally, treatises on ceremonials. Thus it appears that the manuscript presents quite a good and complete picture of heraldic activities in the later Middle Ages. Not only do the texts cover virtually all those tasks a herald or pursuivant might possibly have been expected to perform, they are also very up to date and comprise nearly all the medieval classics on heraldry and chivalry (*Boke of St Albans*, Upton's *Officio Militari*, Bartolus' *Tractatus*, and Vegetius' *De re militari*).¹⁵ The only text conspicuous through its absence is De Bado Aureo's *Tractatus de armis*, but even this treatise is not entirely lacking, since it has been used for some of the animal descriptions in the *Deidis of Armorie*.

The *Seven Deeds of Honour* presented here precedes a Latin note on war of less than half a page and follows on *Pe Coronacioun of pe Emperour*, a Scots treatise dealing with the various types of investitures, starting with the coronation of the emperor and working down the list of ranks with kings, dukes, marquises, and so on. It is the one treatise that cannot be easily classified. Its subject, wreaths or crowns of honor, is one that was quite significant in classical times but there is little evidence to suggest that this also held true of the medieval period, although the subject apparently came back into fashion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, due, no doubt, to the renewed interest in the classics. In this era such works as Thomas Blount's *Glossographia*, Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny and Livy, and Sir Thomas Brown's *Garden of Cyrus* saw the light of day and all of these contain references to the various types of crowns.¹⁶ Whatever the significance of crowns in daily medieval life, our author clearly looked upon this treatise as

¹⁵It also compares favorably with NLS, Adv. 31.6.5, which belonged to John Meldrum, Cumming's successor to the office of Marchmont Herald, in that the latter manuscript only contains copies of Bartolus' *De insigniis et armis* and Upton's *Studio militari*.

¹⁶See the relevant entries in the *OED* under the various names of crowns.

a didactic rather than an expository work, which is "to gif euery noble man occasioun to laubour and excers þaim in cheualry."

Wreaths and crowns derive from the magical and apotropaic significance of the circle and certain plants.¹⁷ In antiquity they adorned deities, temples and—later—priests, whose crowns were of the plant sacred to the god to whom they were sacrificing (the laurel crown, for instance, was associated with Apollo), or of a plant to which magical properties were ascribed. Pliny describes their history as follows:

In olden times indeed no Civic Wreath was presented save to a deity . . . afterwards persons performing sacrifices in honour of the gods assumed crowns . . . most recently of all they were also brought into use in ritual competitions . . . and from this has arisen the custom of also bestowing wreaths on victorious generals about to go in a triumphal procession . . . and also subsequently the practice of presenting wreaths at the games. [*Natural History*, ed. & tr. H. Rackham (London, 1945), Vol. 4, XVI.9-10. Cf. also XXI.11.]

As an apotropaic symbol the wreath lasts to this day in the form of funeral wreaths; previously it was also in use at birthdays and at banquets and other festive events when the guests crowned themselves with a wreath.¹⁸

But it is with Roman military crowns that the following treatise is concerned. In addition to a share in the booty and occasional donatives, the Roman Princeps bestowed upon his officers and soldiers various decorations, most of which were of little value save as *insignia honorum*.¹⁹ Among these *insignia* crowns were awarded as decorations for particular valorous deeds though Parkes notes that, "at an early date in the Principate the original significance of the various distinctions was lost sight of, and they were bestowed upon soldiers in virtue of the rank they were holding" and were worn on dress parades and festivals.²⁰

¹⁷For the following discussion of crowns, their history and symbolism, I am particularly indebted to the following: G. Wissowa, ed., *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 2.6 (Stuttgart, 1937); K. Ziegler & W. Sontheimer, *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1964); H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Oxford, 1928); N. G. L. Hammond & H. H. Scullard, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford, 1970); and G. Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology Folklore and Symbols*, 3 vols. (New York, 1961).

¹⁸Compare the custom of wearing festive hats at parties.

¹⁹For a discussion of the Roman system of decorations see Parker, *Roman Legions*, pp. 228-32.

²⁰Parker, *Roman Legions*, p. 231.

Among these crowns the triumphal or laurel crown (*corona triumphalis* or *corona laurea*) ranked only second to the obsidional crown. Though formerly made of laurel leaves it came to be represented in gold and was presented to a commander in recognition of a triumph.²¹ The obsidional crown (*c. obsidionalis* or *c. graminea*) was considered the highest honor.²² It was made of grass and was granted to him who raised a siege. Aulus Gellius notes that custom required that it be made of the grass which grew in the place within which the besieged were confined (*Attic Nights*, V.6.9, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXII.8.). The reason for the highest crown of all being of grass may perhaps be explained by its association with the field-god Mars. The mural crown (*c. muralis*), so named because of its peculiar form, was awarded to the first man over the wall of a besieged town (*Attic Nights*, V.6.16.). The "croun castrious" represents the Roman *corona castrensis* or *vallarıs*. It was the reward for the first to fight his way into the enemy's camp (*Attic Nights*, V.6.17.). Likewise, the naval crown (*c. navalis, classica* or *rostrata*) was awarded to the first to board the enemy's ship; it was decorated with the beaks or prows of ships (*Attic Nights*, V.6.18.). The "croun ouall" as the text calls it, is the Roman *corona ovalis* or *myrtea*, a myrtle wreath worn for an *ovatio*, a minor form of triumph which might be granted to a general who could not claim a full triumph (*Attic Nights*, V.6.20-2, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XV.126.). The description of this crown in our text appears to be a medieval adaptation. A seventeenth-century text in the National Library of Scotland states that the "oval croun Corona ovalis . . . was given to the generall of ane army who without receaveing any wound or effusion of blood had the upper hand of his enimeis. . . "²³ Aulus Gellius explains that for such easy victories it was thought the leaves sacred to Venus were more appropriate than those of Mars (*Attic Nights*, V6.22.). The civic crown (*c. civica*) was a crown made of the leaves of the esculent oak and was awarded to a citizen for saving the life of a fellow citizen—or to a soldier for saving the life of a fellow soldier—who had slain the enemy and not given ground in battle (*Attic Nights*, V6.11-15.). Apart from the crowns referred to in the text the Romans recognized the olive crown (*c. oleaginea*), awarded those who had without taking any direct part in battle helped gain the victory, and the jeweled and golden crowns (*c. gemmatae* and *aureae*), the latter

²¹*The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, ed. and trans. John C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (London, 1927-8), V. 6.5-7.

²²Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. W. H. S. Jones (London, 1969), Vol. 6, XXII.6.

²³National Library of Scotland, Advocates Library 17.2.2, f. 46^v.

for outstanding bravery in battle (*Attic Nights*, V.6.4, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXII.6.).

It was stated above that treatises on crowns were not very common in the medieval period but did come back into fashion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There is, however, one medieval work extant which is similar to this treatise and that is one that occurs as part of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*.²⁴ The piece in question appears at the beginning of Book IV, at the start of the story celebrating the life and times of the Roman 'consul' Marcus Manlius Torquatus who, we are told, often risked his life *pro re publica* and consequently won many wreaths of honor. Ultimately, however, his pride caused his downfall when he rebelled against the governor of the city. Lydgate concludes with the remark that in the end his prowess, his crowns of gold and laurel, his strong armor and triumphs did not avail him. The reference at the beginning of the narrative to the arm-ring (*torques* in Latin) won by Marcus Manlius causes a digression of some 95 lines.²⁵ The digression first explains the nickname Torquatus and proceeds to relate how he won many crowns of gold which "for thilke tyme, for dyuers hih emprises wer . . . maad in many sondri wises."²⁶ This leads to an exposition of the various types of wreaths, starting with the triumphal and ending with the civic wreath. As Lydgate's editor points out for this treatise Lydgate did not rely on his primary source, Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* as translated and amplified by Laurent de Premierfait in his *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*.²⁷ Lydgate states his source to be "Agellius" (Aulus Gellius), although it would seem that this writer was responsible for part only of the contents. If we compare Lydgate's text with our own, it will be observed that there are some parallels but also quite a few differences. For instance, both the title and the introduction (1-29) of our piece are unique. Moreover, although Lydgate deals extensively with the life and times of Marcus Manlius he nowhere claims, as our text does, that Marcus Manlius was responsible for the institution of these seven crowns. And although Lydgate does give a list of crowns before he actually describes them, his order is slightly different (he mentions the naval before the castrensic crown) and he mentions details not found in our text. The *Seven Deeds* also notes many facts not found in

²⁴Ed. Henry Bergen, EETS, ES, 121-24 (1924-27).

²⁵IV. 225-322.

²⁶IV. 237-38.

²⁷In a note to IV. 225-322 (IV. p. 206). See also I, x.

Lydgate's text, which is not surprising since the former exceeds the latter in length by more than a third. As is to be expected, there are some parallels between the actual descriptions of the crowns and the heroic deeds associated with them in the two texts, but these are of such a general nature that I do not think they establish a clear link between the two treatises. All in all, I think we may conclude that the two texts go back to the same tradition but are not directly related to each other.

The text presented here is based on ff.124-26 of Harley 6149. Variant readings are taken from the Queen's College manuscript, the only copy of the Harley manuscript to reproduce this text, where it occurs on ff.95-96^v.

The following points have been observed with respect to the transcription. The use of capitals has been normalized so as to conform to modern usage; the same applies to the rather sparing punctuation. Asterisks are used to indicate where the manuscript has ornamental capitals. Hyphens have been introduced to connect words broken by the end of the line as well as disjoined words within it; the entries in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, the *Middle English Dictionary*, and the *Oxford English Dictionary* are followed with respect to word division.

Abbreviations have been expanded on the principle that only those letters that have not been represented are italicized; as a result, superscript letters are not printed in italics. When it was not clear just how to expand the abbreviation, the form of the expansion accords with the usual spelling of the word when it appears in full. In those cases where the word only occurs in its abbreviated form the contemporary *DOST* or *Concise Scots Dictionary (CSD)* spelling is used. Latin numerals, including the vernacular superscript abbreviations, have been maintained.

The spelling of the manuscript has largely been retained: thorns and yoghs are represented as such, the distinction between long and short *i* has not been preserved, but the distinction between *u* and *v* has. The various forms of *s* and *r* are all given as *s* and *r* respectively.

Neither the lineation nor the foliation of the manuscript is preserved. Emendations are enclosed in brackets and commented upon in the critical apparatus, as are scribal deletions and corrections.

[f. 124] Heir begynnys þe vii deidis of honour and of þair vii crownnys,
and of quhat materis þai ar maid of ande for quhat caus þai ar giffin,
&c.

[f. 124^v] *Into þis tyme quhen Rome schane and flurist into knyched
5 and honoris and had dominacion of þe maist partis of all þe warld,
quhilk wase subiectis and tributaris onto þam, throu þair gret

manhed *and* exercicioun of cheualry, and in þe tym specialy quhen
 þe noble werrou¹ Marquinssus Torqueus² wes duk *and* ledar off al
 þe Romance³ in þair gret werris and brocht enemys *and* aduersaris to
 10 subiection and obedience throu his gret wordynes *and* dedis of
 cheualry, in þis tym þis said Marquinssus be þe vniuersail counsell of
 þe mast noble and wisest þat hantit þe werris in þai dais, statut
and ordanit to gif occacioun to al noble men to auentur *and*
 iupart⁴ þair bodyis in þe honorable werris *and* exersicioun of
 15 cheualry; and princpaly in þe vii dedis of honour þat þair suld be
 giffin for þaim vii honorable crownis to quham þat þaim desseruit
 throu þair weil-doyng and manheid, the quhilk vii crownis is callit thus
 as followis: the crownne triumphall, the crownne obsedionall, the
 crownne murall, the crownne castreus, the crownne nawell, the croun
 20 ouall, the crownne seuica.⁵ And for euerilkan of þir vii dedis aforsaid
 wes ane of þir vii crownys ordanyt to be giffin for þair gret honouris.
 And quhasa þat throw his manheid wan *and* conquerit ane of þir
 crownis wes in þai dais fallow onto a gret prince. Off þe quhilk vii
 crownis the fassonis, þe werris, and for quhat caus þai war giffin, and
 25 to quhat honorable ded belangit quhat croun, sal hereftir be schawin
 to þe end, to gif euery noble man occasioun to laubour *and* excers
 þaim in cheualry quhill God, quhilk is gidar or all men, will gif þaim
 grace to wyn sic honour þat þai may haf ane of þir honorable crownis,
 Amen.

¹This spelling not recorded *OED*, *warrior*.

²*Marquinssus Torqueus*. Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, also known as Torquatus, a Roman consul and hero of a well-known legend in which he was awakened by the cackling of the sacred geese kept on the Capitol, and so was able to rally the guards and repel the Gauls from their attack in 387 B.C. (Betty Radice, *Who's Who in the Ancient World*, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 158; the story is also related by Lydgate, IV.323-78). He is also reputed to have earned a remarkable number of (civic) crowns (Lydgate, IV.234-35, Livy, VI.20, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VII.103, XVI.14); see also Wissowa, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*.

³This spelling for "Romans" not recorded *OED*, *Roman sb*¹, *MED*, *Romain*.

⁴First recorded *DOST*, *juperd(e)*, *jupert*, in the *Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes* (MS. XLIII.140) in 1531, where it also occurs in combination with *auentur*. ". . . thai suld juperde and aventour of thar lyvis."

⁵*the crownne castreus . . . seuica*. Cf. this list of crowns with the one given by Lydgate, IV.246-52, who adds details not found here, puts the naval crown before the one called castrensic, and does not mention the oval and civic crown here.

30 The vii dedis of honour *and* of þair crownis followis.

*The first is þe croun triumphale *and* is giffin wnto no[f. 125]ble men⁶
as to conquerouris þat in battell of arrest,⁷ wndir baner displayit,
þat conqueris *and* wynnys þair enemys and puttis þaim to þe flicht. Þis
croun triumphale is maid of gold⁸ and in fassoun lik to þe croun of
35 ane empriour as is heir schawyn⁹ as it accordis weill to be oneto him
þat throu his hee cheualry dois þis honorabill deid and disseruis to
haff it.

*The croun obsedionall¹⁰ is giffin wnto him þat throu his hie honour
and cheualry reskwit þaim þat ar assegit *within* wallit toun or castell,¹¹
40 þat sua fra man throu his gret honour had deliueryt his frendis þat ar
sua stad at distres *and* put to discomfitour þair enemys ande staillit
þe assegis he suld be crownit *with* þis honorable obsedionall, þe
quhilk is maid of gold and the granys¹² of it like onto þe granis of þe

⁶Lydgate, in IV.248, had already stated that it was given to knights "for ther noble fames."

⁷*battell of arrest*. It is not clear what the author had in mind. Perhaps there is a link here with Medieval Latin verb *arrestare*, which, in combination with *bellum* could signify "to withstand, face" (R. E. Latham, *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, in progress (London, 1975-), *arrestare* d). If so, it could here refer to defensive battles.

⁸*þis croun triumphale . . . gold*. Cf. Lydgate, IV.253: "The Tryumphal maked wer of gold."

⁹A reference to the painted crowns which accompany each description in the text. Although spaces are left for these illustrations in Q, they were never painted in. The crown depicted here consists of two arches rising from what are now called strawberry leaves and with the rim studded with gems. Lydgate, IV.255, actually specified this: "Set with saphris and rubies manyfold."

¹⁰First and only recorded in this text, *DOST*, (*obsid-*), *obsedionall*. Apart from replacing all thorns by *th*, *DOST* misspelled *crownne crowne* in *crownne triumphall*, quoted here.

¹¹*giffin . . . castell*. Cf. Lydgate, IV.263-65: "Youe onto princis which thoruh ther cheualrie/ Reskewed seeges and saued the partie/ Of hem that wer[e] closed streiht withynne/ Thoruh hih prowesse a crowne for to wynde."

¹²*granys*. The author appears to use grains in a technical, otherwise unrecorded, sense signifying the leaves of a crown.

cornn as heir apperis for to declair¹³ and schaw þis noble act *and* deid of honour.¹⁴

*The crownn murall¹⁵ is giffin wnto him þat is tym of assaltis throu his grett manhed *and* cheualrye enteris first apon þe wall and fechtis þair befor his fallowis,¹⁶ or quhar mynd or contermynd is maide enteris forrest þair into þe invacion of his enemys, and in thar abidis þe
50 scour, and fra a man haf done this honorable ded he sall wer a croun of greyn lawrye¹⁷ quhilk salbe maid of þis fassoun,¹⁸ þe quhilk is callit þe signe of victory *and* honour. [f.125^V]

*The croun castrious¹⁹ is giffin wnto him þat quhen ii battellis of arrest ar put into aray *and* ordinans, ilkane aganis odir, *and* approchand redy
55 to þe ionynge, þat wil appone his awyn courage *and* heich honour pas wnto horsbake or on fut pas betuix þai batellis as said is *and* do armis *with* his fallow, the victoury remanand *with* him;²⁰ and to him þat dois þis hie ded of honour is giffin þis croun castrious, þe quhilk is of

¹³*the granys . . . declair.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.260-62: "Thobsydyonal . . . deused wern, the book doth specifie,/ Croun[e]s notable wrouht lik greyn or corn."

¹⁴The illustration that accompanies this description shows a kind of ducal crown, studded with gems on the rim and with leaves of corn alternating with clover.

¹⁵First and only recorded in this text, *DOST*, *murall*.

¹⁶*him . . . fallowis.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.269-71, "hym that firste wan vpon the wal/ At any seege, and ther abood the shour/ Fihtyng allone."

¹⁷*in thar . . . lawrye.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.272-73: "And he that myht[e] such a brunt susteene,/ Sholde of laurer were a crowne greene."

¹⁸The illustration shows a kind of ducal crown in which strawberry leaves alternate with larger laurel leaves.

¹⁹*castrious.* This form is not recorded in any dictionary of English consulted; this crown does make a single appearance in the *OED* (Suppl.), however, under the heading *castrensic* in 1840; "the emperor distributed civic, naval, and castrensic crowns to those who had most distinguished themselves." Lydgate discusses the castrensic after the naval crown.

²⁰Lydgate, IV.281-86, tells a different story when he states that this crown was received by a knight who entered into battle before all other men.

60 þis fassoun and is made all of gold *with* granis lik wnto þe sternys of þe hevin all of ane heicht in fassoun of a diademe.²¹

*The croun nawall²² is giffin wnto him þat fechtis on þe see and at enteris first into the schip of his partii²³ into his top or into his wptabile, or at is þe caus of þe wynnyng of þe enterpris, or þat dois sa hey a poynt þat it may be knawin abone al his fallowis þat he is
65 worthy to wer þis said croun nawall, the quhilk suld be maid of þis fassoun and all of gold *and* þe granys lik wnto a ruder of a schip,²⁴ quharwith he salbe crownyt þat dois þis honorabile deid.²⁵

*The croun ouall²⁶ is giffin wnto him þat fechtis in singular batell
70 *with*in barreris²⁷ and do þis armyng pair and has the victory of his partii, þe quhilk may redoun þe haill realme quharof he is born to a gret honour gif þe battell standis in þat kynd.²⁸ And for þe gret blythnes²⁹ *and* honour of þat deid he salbe crownit *with* this mast

²¹The leaves in the illustration look like five-pointed stars; *diademe*: "crown or coronet." *lik* . . . *diademe*. Cf. Lydgate, IV.287: "A sterred crowne maad lik a diadeeme."

²²The naval crown is first recorded in 1593 (*OED*, *naval*).

²³*The croun nawall* . . . *partii*. Cf. Lydgate, IV.274-78: "Nawal crownes whilom wer ordeyned/ For them that fauht[e] manli on the se,/ Whan ther shippis wer togidre cheyned,—/ He that of manhod & marcial surete/ Vpon his ennyes made first entre."

²⁴*maid* . . . *schip*. Cf. Lydgate, IV.280: "Korue lich a rother, a crowne cleer & briht."

²⁵This is what the leaves in the illustrated crown resemble.

²⁶This form not recorded *DOST*.

²⁷*with*in *barreris*. A reference to the barriers or palisades enclosing the ground where a tournament, tilting, or other martial contest or exhibition was held.

²⁸The construction with *stand* is not recorded by *DOST*, *MED*, *OED*.

²⁹*blythness*. An allusion to the etymology of this sense of the word "oval," which goes back to Latin *ovalis* "belonging to an ovation." This, in turn, goes back to Latin *ovationem* "rejoicing," from *ovare* "to exult, rejoice."

[f. 126] werlik crownn, callit þe croun ouall,³⁰ þe quhilk is of þis fassoun
and is maid of þe granis *and* lewis of marsis, þe quhilk wil langest
75 endur wnconsumyt or rottyn.³¹

*The croun seuica³² is giffin wnto him þat, in tym of batell, giff his
prince, maister, or frend be takin in handis of his enemys, þat throu
his only power *and* cheualry reskwis *and* freithis his prince or
maister as said is; ane oper þat slais his takar;³³ *and* he þat may cum
80 throw his enterprice to þis honour salbe crownyt *with* þis honorabille
croun callit the croun suica, quhilk is of þis fassoun, and is maid of þe
granis *and* lewis of þe akin tre,³⁴ quhilk is þe hardest tre of natur, for
to schaw þe hardnes *and* danger of þe doying of þis enterprice and
deid of honour,³⁵ the quhilk is þe last crownn of þe sewyn, &c.

85 Explicit.

*Heir endis þe vii deidis of honouris ande of þair sevyne crownnys,
&c.

³⁰*The croun ouall . . . ouall.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.288-94: "The crowne also which callid was Oual/ Took first name of ioie and gladnesse,/ Which kynges, princis in actis marcial/ Vsid somtyme in ther ioious noblesse/ At sodeyn skarmysshes of casuel hastynesse,/ As whan thei venquysshed proudli in bataille/ Such as ther hihnesse vnwarli wolde assaille."

³¹*and is maid . . . rottyn.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.295-98: "And for thei wern of poweer invyncible,/ Ther noble crownis coriousli wer wrouht/ Of mirtis branches, which been inpu- trible,/ Enduryng euere and corupte nouht." The myrtle was renowned for this. The illustration which accompanies this description resembles a wreath rather than a crown with what looks like vine-stalks as its leaves.

³²This form not recorded *DOST*; first recorded *OED*, *civic*, 1542.

³³*The crown seuica . . . takar.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.302-06: "Anothir crowne callid Cyuyca . . . ordeyned for them which *pro Re Publica*/ Koude in bataile reskewe a citeseyn/ And slen his enemy that was a foreyn."

³⁴Cf. Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* V.6.12, who explains that leaves of the esculent oak are used because the earliest food and means of supporting life were furnished by that oak. In the illustration the oak leaves on a kind of ducal crown alternate with acorns.

³⁵*maid . . . deid of honour.* Cf. Lydgate, IV.303, 307-08, who first notes that the civic crown is made of oak boughs "round & pleyn" and then concludes that: "Of myhti ok he sholde for manheed/ Cleyme to were a crowne upon his hed."

Variant Readings

Q = Queen's College, Oxford, MS 161

H = Harley MS 6149

8 werroure] Q werioure 9 Romance] Q romanis 10 wordynes] Q worthines
 12 statut] Q statutit 14 iupart] Q ieopardie 23 fallow] H fol *preceding*
this word crossed out quhilk] Q quhilkis 24 caus] Q causis 26 excers] H
following this word pairin cheualry *crossed out* 35 oneto] Q onto him] Q
 þame 47 and] Q assaltis *following and crossed out* 49] invacion] H a
blotted letter corrected to v 52 honour] Q honour &c 53 castrous] Q
 castrous of] Q ar 54 approchand] Q approcheing 55 courage] Q curaige
 56 on] Q one 57 remanand] Q remanis 60 diademe] Q diademe &c 61
 on] Q one 67 deid] Q deid &c 76 giff] H giffis; Q gif his 77 frend] Q
 freindis 85 Explicit] Q omitted

Glossary

Line

- 7 *manheid*: "manliness, courage."
 12 *hantit*: "practised, exercised, engaged in."
 12 *statut*: "ordained, decreed."
 13 *to gif occacioun to*: "give an opportunity, chance to."
 13 *to auentur*: "to venture."
 14 *iupart*: "to risk, venture."
 15 *þat*: "so that."
 23 *fallow onto*: "the equal of."
 32 *as*: "such as."
 32 *wndir baner displayit*: "? during combat."
 36 *hee*: "high."
 36 *cheualrye*: "knightly prowess or valour."
 38 *obsedionall*: "obsidional."
 39 *assegit*: "besieged."
 41 *staillit*: "captured by surprise."
 42 *assegis*: "besiegers."
 46 *mural*: "mural."
 48 *contermynd*: "a countermine, i.e. a subterranean excavation made by
 defenders of a fortress to intercept a mine made by the besiegers."
 49 *invacion*: "assault, attack."
 50 *scour*: "the storm of battle or combat."
 55 *þe ionynge*: "the joining of a battle, engagement, or encounter."
 61 *nawall*: "naval."

- 62 *top*: "platform at the head of the mast of a ship."
63 *wptabille*: obscure
64 *point*: a — *of armes* or a — *of werre*, i.e., "a feat of arms."
68 *ouall*: "oval."
69 *armyng*: ?"deeds of arms."
70 *redoun*: "to turn to the advantage or disadvantage of a person or community."
71 *standis in þat kind*: "is of that nature."
74 *marsis*: "myrtle plants."
75 *wnconsumyt*: "without withering."
75 *or*: "before."
75 *rottyn*: "rotting."
76 *seuica*: "civic."
78 *only*: "sole."
78 *freithis*: "liberates, sets free."
80 *enterprice*: "undertaking."

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