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CHRYSTIS KIRK OF THE GRENE: A Critical Edition

by

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to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

This Master's thesis is a critical edition of an anonymous Middle Scots comic poem of twenty-three stanzas, commonly known as "Chrystis Kirk of the Grene". The goal of this edition was to approximate the (probably) early fifteenth-century original work by examining extant witnesses and evaluating the relative authority of their texts. The authoritative witnesses available for this preparation spanned nearly two centuries of transmission (1568-1724). The separation of the oldest of the documents from a putative date of origin by more than a century argued against either a diplomatic edition or critical edition based on a designated "best-text". Consequently, a (conservatively) eclectic method was adopted: manuscript witnesses were transcribed; a copy-, or base text was selected on the basis of age, inclusiveness, and linguistic quality; the readings of the other witnesses were collated against those of the copy-text; where variants were demonstrably more authoritative (more likely to have been present in the ur-text), the copy-text was emended. The edited text was presented with expanded abbreviations, slightly modernized orthography, and editorial punctuation. The text is preceded by an extensive introduction in which the probable author and date of composition -- the poem's language, genre, narrative, and

influence -- the physical and textual states of the witnesses -- and the editorial principles of this edition -- are considered. Following the text are apparati, critical notes, a selective glossary, the bibliography and two appendices. Substantive and (linguistic) accidental variants were separated into two apparati. All emendations are discussed fully in the notes. The appendices contain, respectively, a discussion of the poem's satire and historical context, and two non-original stanzas common to several of the witnesses.

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Preface

At some point in the fifteenth century a Lowland Scots poet sat down to compose an alliterative burlesque which has come to be known as "Chrystis Kirk of the Green". The original text of this poem has been obscured over the subsequent three centuries, as have its date of composition and the author's identity. However, while the subject of authorship has excited nearly 150 years of generally unresolved scholarly debate (for details see Geddie 110-11), the question of the original text has generated little parallel study. This poem has been widely anthologized since its enthusiastic eighteenth-century repopularisation by Scots antiquarians (see Geddie lxiii;Watson 172); however, it has generally been reprinted in textually corrupt forms. Deriving from a (largely English) broadside tradition, the versions of "Chrystis Kirk of the Grene" (henceforth "Chrystis") available in many older collections of Scottish literature exhibit varying degrees of stanzaic simplification, anglicized orthography, modernized punctuation, and spurious addition. From an examination of seven manuscript witnesses (ranging from 1568 to the mid-seventeenth century), three seventeenth-century broadsides, and two textually superior printed versions from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, I have attempted to establish in this critical edition a text that

approximates the original Scots poem.

The text was established using eclectic procedures that involved the collation of manuscript and printed variants against a designated "copy-text" (Bannatyne Ms ff.99-101). Variant readings were evaluated on the basis of internal evidence. Where substantive variants were indifferent, the copy-text was followed; where variants were demonstrably more original, the copy-text was emended. A full record of the collation of "substantive", or textually significant, variants is provided in the primary critical apparatus, following the text; a secondary apparatus, containing collated orthographic "accidentals" has been included in this edition to provide a linguistic record of the work's transmission. Notes, both textual and explanatory, also follow the text. Based on the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue, a selective Middle Scots glossary completes this edition. This presentation of collated data, and general and specific explanations of editorial decisions should explain how I established this text.

The text, apparati, notes, and glossary are preceded by a historical, literary and textual introduction to "Chrystis". The historical examination of this work establishes a probable date of composition. The question of authorship and date draws any study of "Chrystis" into the long-lived debate over James I's literary accomplishments;

evidence points, albeit equivocally, to composition by that monarch in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

McClelland warns that the presentation of literary criticism in a critical edition runs the risk of "subverting" the text with an a priori fragmentation of the text into language, imagery, etc; the editor thereby limits the autonomy of the reader (209). Bearing this in mind, this introduction serves to summarize both the poem's conventions (linguistic and generic) and its narrative, without, I hope, further appropriating the prerogatives of the literary critic. "Chrystis" is the narrative of a peasant festival day, employing metre and a shifting narrating focus to create the effect of a whirling country dance. Falling into the traditional Scots register of "low-life" vernacular humor, it is the earliest example of an enduring sub-genre, characterized by bewildering, slapstick crowd-scenes. Further, "Chrystis" is one of a number of vernacular burlesques of traditional courtly verse. Primarily comic, "Chrystis" is also a satiric work, exposing rural social pretensions as well as courtly literary conventions; Appendix I presents a consideration of the poem's mode and relation to its fifteenth-century milieu.

As evidenced by frequent reprinting and imitation throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (CBMEL 655), "Chrystis" remained popular long after many other

Middle Scots comic works had been forgotten, buried away in a few manuscript collections (on this remarkable vitality, see MacLaine, "The 'Christis.." 117 ff). This continuing popularity resulted in concommitant textual corruption during three centuries of transmission. The changing reception of "Chrystis" from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as its audience shifted from some few upper-class Scots to a wider English public, is reflected by the witnesses; Middle Scots manuscript collections give way to textually anglicized broadsides. A detailed description of these witnesses -- including, as far as possible, physical state, date, conditions of production, and, in the case collections, the nature of other works presented with this poem -- is included in this edition's introduction. A stemma based on correspondences between variants serves to illustrate the history of the text's transmission.

List of Abbreviations and Short Titles

a.	adjective.
A	Bannatyne Manuscript.
adv.	adverb.
Alex.	"The Buik of Alexander; or the Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conqueror Alexander the Great." (1438).
Alex. [Taym]	Taymouth Castle Manuscript of "The Buik of Alexander.." (1499).
aph.	aphetic form of.
b1	"A merrie Ballad, Called Christs Kirk on the Green". brs. (1643)
b2	"A ballad of a country wedding." brs. (1660).
b3	"Christs Kirk on the Green." brs. (1663)
B	Maitland Folio Manuscript.
Barb.	John Barbour (1320?-95): "The Bruce." (1375).
Bell.	John Bellenden, tr. "Livy's History of Rome" (1533).
BL	British Library.
Bodl.	The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Boece	Hector Boece "The History and Chronicles of Scotland.." (1530). Tr. John Bellenden.
brs.	broadside.
C	Laing Maunscript III.501. (c1640).
CBEL	The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.
Chrystis	"Chrystis Kirk of the Grene." (a1550).
C.Mundi	"Cursor Mundi." (a1300),
Colk. S.	"Colkelbie's Sow." (a1500).
comp.	comparative.
conj.	conjunction.
D	Ashmole Manuscript 36,37.
dat.	dative.
DOST	Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.
Doug.Aen.	Gavin Douglas (1475?-1522): "The Aeneid of Virgil translated into Scottish verse; by Gawin Douglas." (c1513).
---.K.Hart	"King Hart." (c1505).
---.Pal.Hon.	"The Palice of Honour." (1501).
Du	Dutch.
Dunb.Ane	William Dunbar (1460?-1520?): "Ane Ballat of Oure Lady." (c.1500?).
---.Bal.	"The Ballad of Lord Bernard Steward, Lord of Aubigny." (c.1500?).
---.Com.	"Complaint to the King aganis Mure." (c.1500?).
---.Dre.	"The Dreme." (c.1500?).

---.Dun.	"Dunbar's Complaint to the King." (c.1500?).
---.Fen.	"Fenyeit Freir of Tungland." (1500-20).
---.Flyt.	"The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie."(1500-1505).
---.G.Tar.	"The Golden Targe." (c.1508).
---.My heid	"My heid did yak yesternicht," (c.1500?).
---.Sir T.	"Of Sir Thomas Norray." (c.1500?).
---.Thi.	"This nycht in my sleip I wes agast.." (c.1500?).
---.Tre.	"The Tretis of the Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo." (c.1508).
---. Wow.	"The Wowing of the King quhen he wes in Dumfermeling.: (c.1500?).
E	Lansdowne Manuscript 740.
EETS	Early English Text Society.
emE	Early Modern English.
esp.	especially.
F	Additional Manuscript 30,371.
F.Best.	"The Talis of the Fyve Bestes." (c1500).
fig.	figuratively.
fr.	from.
Fr.B.	"The Freiris of Berwick." (a1540; attributed to Dunbar).
freq.	frequently.
G	Sloane Manuscript 4869.
Gael.	Gaelic.
Gol.Gaw.	"The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawain." (1476).
Hay	Gilbert of the Hay's Prose Manuscripts. (1456). Vol.I. "The Buke of the Law of Armys".
Henr.Fab.	Robert Henryson (1425?-1506?): "The Fabillis."
---.Gar.	"The Garmont of Gude Ladeis.".
---.Rob.Mak.	"Robene and Makyne."
Howl.	Sir Richard Holland. "The Buke of the Howlat" (c1450).
infin.	infinitive.
intr.	intransitive.
JSD	Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary.
J.Stew.	(c1590) <u>The Poems of John Stewart of Baldyneis</u>. STS II,5.
Kenn.	Walter Kennedy. "The Flyting" (1508).
Kingis	"The Kingis Quair", (a1436).
L	Latin.
Lanc.	"Lancelot of the Laik" (c1500).
Leg.S.	"Legends of the Saints" (a1400).
Lynds.Dre.	David Lyndsay (1490-1555): "The Dreme." (1528).

---.Just.	"The Justing betwix James Watsoun and Jhone Barbour." (1539).
---.Sat.	"Ane Pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis in Commendatioun of Vertew and Vituperation of Vyce." (a1535).
---.Sq.M.	"The Historie of Squire Meldrum." (1550).
---.T.Pap.	"The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo." (1530).
Mal.	Thomas Malory (15th C): "Le Morte D'Arthur".
MDu	Middle Dutch.
ME	Middle English.
MF	Middle French.
MLG	Middle Lower German.
Mont.	Alexander Montgomerie (1540?-1610?): "The Flyting between Montgomerie and [Patrick Hume of] Polwart." (1585).
ms(s)	manuscript(s).
MSc	Middle Scots.
n.	noun.
N.Mid.ME.	Northern Midlands dialect of ME.
Norw.	Norwegian.
OE	Old English (Anglo-Saxon).
OED	Oxford English Dictionary.
OF	Old French.
ON	Old Norse.
ONF	Old Norman French.
p1	"Polemmo-Middinia..." 4to. (1691).
p2	"Christ's Kirk on the Green, in Three Cantos." Ed. Allan Ramsay. 4to. (1721).
Peblis	"Peblis to the Play". (a1550).
pl.	plural.
Pol.M.	"Polemo-Middinia inter Vitarvam et Nibernam." (attributed to William Drummond of Hawthornden, 1585-1649).
Polw.	"The Flyting between Montgomerie and Polwart." (1585).
ppl.a.	participial adjective.
prep.	preposition.
pt.	preterite.
pron.	pronoun.
Rat.R.	"Ratis Raving." (c1450).
Rauf C.	"Taill of Rauf Coilyear", (1475).
R.Curs.	"The Cursing of Sir Johine Rowlis upoun the steilaris of his fowlis." (c1500).
Sc.	Scots.
Scand.	Scandinavian.
s.c.man	"The Selie Court Man" (a1568).
Seven.S.	Rolland. "The Seven Sages." (1560).

S.Mid.ME	Southern Midlands dialect of ME.
STS	Scottish Text Society.
Stew.	"The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, a metrical Version of Hector Boece; by William Stewart." (1535).
super.	superlative.
Symmie	"Symmie and his Bruder." (a1540).
tr.	transitive.
Troy B.	"Die Fragmentis des Trojanerkrieges" (c1400).
v.	verb.
var.	variant.
vbl.n.	verbal noun.
v.p.	verb, present participle.
v.pp.	verb, past participle.
Wall.	'Blind Harry' (?-1493); "The Actes and Deids of the Illustre and Vallyeant Campion Schir William Wallace" (c1475).
Wynt.	Andrew Wyntoun (fl.c.1395-1424); "Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland" (c1420).

Authorship and Date

"Chrystis Kirk.." has been attributed to both James I (1406-37) and James V (1513-42) of Scotland. Based on dubious evidence, both external and internal, the debate over authorship raged throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, enlisting such influencial critics as Bishop Percy, W.W.Skeat and T.H. Henderson (Geddie 110-11). While the issue has not yet been settled, evidence argues strongly for the earlier monarch.

Generally, the authorship debate has been concerned with "Chrystis" and its companion piece, "Peblis to the Play", as footnotes to the issue of author and date of composition of "The Kingis Quair". The sole manuscript exemplar of "Kingis" (Bodl. Selden Ms B.24) directly ascribes that poem to James I; however, dated from the period 1489-1505, Selden is separated by approximately sixty years from James' reign. The relevance of this attribution to "Chrystis" is to be found in an indirect reference made by the historian, John Major, in his De Gestis Scotorum, published some eighty years after the monarch's death (1521; Nicholson 585-6). In detailing the achievements of the monarch, Major notes the composition of an "artificiosum libellum de regina dum erat captus composuit, antequam eam in conjugem duceret" (cited Irving 134-5), a reasonable description of "Kingis". Also

noted are "Yas Sen", a poem of elaborate meter, and the jocular "At Beltayne", a likely reference to "Peblis", which opens with "At Beltane quhen ..." (Henderson, Scottish ... 104;Eyre-Todd 83). "Chystis" and "Peblis" are similar in "style, tone, meter, language, content" (Ridley 962); moreover, the former specifically alludes to "Peblis" (1.4). These data suggest that "Yas Sen" may be a corrupt reference to "Chrystis"'s first line: "Wes nevir ... nor sene" (Lawson lii). The second piece of external evidence is provided by the earliest and perhaps most authoritative extant witness of "Chrystis", the Bannatyne Manuscript, which directly attributes the work to James I. In summary, then, the evidence is as follows: James I was the probable author of "The Kingis Quair" (based upon both the Selden ascription and also a variety of internal, biographical references; see McDiarmid, Kingis.. 38-44); the "reliable" Major (Henderson, Scottish.. 108) corroborates this belief in noting three works written by the king, one of which is probably "The Kingis Quair"; of the other two works Major notes, one seems to be "Peblis"; if this is the case, the internal similarities between "Peblis" and "Chrystis" suggest that the title of the other mentioned work, "Yas Sen" may be a reference to the first line of "Chrystis"; Bannatyne's ascription corroborates this chain of supposition.

Undeniably, the argument presented by this external

evidence rests on a number of assumptions: that Major's commentary is accurate, that "At Beltayn" refers to "Peblis", that "Chrystis"'s similarity to "Peblis" is sufficient to point to a common origin, and that the Bannatyne attribution is independent of Major's testimony. A careful and accurate historian, Major attributes a work that is almost certainly "Kingis" to a monarch who predated him by at most three decades (Major being roughly fifty at the publication of his De Gestis..); that these works should have been attributed to James V, a child of six at the time of Major's publication, seems unlikely (Henderson, Scottish.. 96). However, the assumption that "Peblis" is the work to which Major also refers is less certain, Beltane being a popular peasant celebration (Lawson xlix). The Bannatyne evidence is also questionable, as Bannatyne, "careless of attributions" (MacQueen 203), certainly erred in a dedication to James V, rather than IV (Henderson, Scottis.. 106). However, this is insufficient evidence to indict the Bannatyne attribution; a mistaken dedication is an error of less magnitude than one of authorship (Ibid). Examined together, the external evidence in support of James I is mutually supportive.

External evidence in support of James V as author is considerably less solid. Deriving exclusively from a remark in 1627 by the historian, Dempster, that praises James V as a gifted poet and author of a "poem on the rustic sports of

Falkirk", a dubious reference to "Chrystis Kirk..", this attribution may be little more than the confusion of one royal author for another (Irving 144-5). The attribution achieved rapid currency: Laing Ms (1640); a 1663 broadside (hedging with "Composed (as is supposed) by King James the fifth"); and Gibson's 1691 edition accept James V as author. No evidence beyond Dempster's questionable assertion supports this authorship and the consequent composition date in the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

In the context of Middle Scots poetry, "anonymity is the general rule and biography based on internal evidence ...is to be viewed with suspicion because of its subjective character" (Kinghorn, Middle Scots.. 1). A number of arguments based on just such internal evidence have attempted to demonstrate that James I did not write "Chrystis Kirk..". However, suggestions that, for example, the monarch would not have been familiar with the vernacular or with peasant customs, or that he was too "moral" an artist to have written such a ribald poem, have been convincingky refuted by Henderson (108-11). Indeed, vernacular comedy was one of the standard genres of Middle Scots courtly verse; by the sixteenth century, "nearly every writer of court verse could turn out vigorous folk verse" (MacKenzie 33-4).

Attempts to date a text, based on internal evidence provided by witnesses separated by over a century from the

putative date of composition, is questionable. Analyses of "Chrystis Kirk.." to determine its date of composition run afoul of the orthographic and dialectal flexibility of Middle Scots. The absence of the indefinite article "ane" in the Bannatyne text indicates a date prior to 1500, yet the use of -s, rather than -is suggests a later date (Smith xxxii-iv). Both the Bannatyne and Maitland manuscripts preserve the earlier distinction of gerund and present participle by inflection ("dansing", "stoppand", "rysand" ll.2,51,56), characteristic of pre-sixteenth-century texts. However, both employ sixteenth-century forms of the relative pronoun ("Quha" and "Quhilk", respectively 1.91); inexplicably, the later family of witnesses employ the earlier form, "that". Dating based on these data would at least suggest considerable textual corruption in all the witnesses. However, the late fifteenth to early sixteenth century was a period of grammatical flexibility; both obsolete and novel forms were available to satisfy both authorial idiosyncrasy and prosody (Agutter 20). While this evidence points with certainty away from "Chrystis Kirk.."'s composition by James V in the sixteenth-century, it points slightly less unequivocally toward James I.

Nevertheless, contradictory and generally unsubstantiated references continue to appear. Ridley briefly notes that "Peblis" and "Chrystis Kirk.." are later works than

"Kingis" (962). Speirs places the two works in the sixteenth century, thereby implicitly accepting attribution to James V (The Scots.. 97). Grant uncritically extolls James V as author (304), while MacKenzie suggests that James V's authorship is "not improbable" (44). Most puzzling, however, is Watson's assertion that "recent critical opinion favours a now unknown author for these pieces, from a time closer to the end of the fifteenth century" (33); that view is presented without citation, and presumably drawn from a bibliography not greatly different from my own. In the absence of further evidence, Bannatyne's attribution of "Chrystis Kirk.." to James I and a composition date in first half of the fifteenth century should be cautiously accepted.

Chrystis Kirk of the Grene:

Language

The language of "Chrystis" is a descendant of Old English known as "Middle Scots"; while related to, and with a lexicon in part derived from, Middle English, this was a language linguistically and politically separate (Aitken, "Scottish Speech.." 87). The first linguistic colonization of Scotland was the fifth-century introduction of Irish Gaelic to the North-West of the country (MacQueen 237). Soon after, c.650, Anglo-Saxon incursions from Northumbria into South-East Scotland began a similar process (Agutter 13); by 950 a Northern variant of Old English had become the dominant tongue in this region (Murison 3-6). The predominance of this language -- refered to as "early Scots" or "early Northern Middle English" (Aitken, "Scottish Speech.." 87; Smith xiii) -- was further strengthened by the settlement of defeated Anglo-Saxon aristocrats after 1066 (Murison, "The Historical.." 6). Deriving from much the same source, this developing Middle Scots was syntactically similar to Southern Middle English; however, historical differences resulted in increasing linguistic separation.

Although, unlike Middle English, this early Scots was largely unaffected by Norman French influences, it subsequently received a variety of different foreign elements. The Baliol Alliance of 1295 between Scotland and France

resulted in the introduction of French influences to the Scots lexicon; similarly, Dutch and Flemish elements from an influx of immigrant craftsmen (c.1450), and Latin elements from a strong tradition of ecclesiastic scholarship, found their way into early Scots (Murison, "The Historical..." 7; Ibid, "The Dutch.." 161; Smith lxi). Peppered with continental borrowings, by 1350 this was the language of the politically dominant region of Scotland.

Originally known as "Inglis" -- as distinct from the northern Gaelic (later called "Erse" or Irish) -- this language came to be known as "Scottis", an independent national tongue, distinct from the language of the aggressors to the South (Smith xvii;....). Middle Scots flourished as a literary, legal, and spoken language for roughly two hundred years (c1350-1550; while earlier scholars felt that Middle Scots was an exclusively literary language, later work suggests that it was also widely spoken. On MSc as a literary language, see Smith xi;Wood xxxi. On MSc as spoken, see Agutter 15,22;Aitken, "Variation.." 177;Spiers The Scots... 13). As "Scots became more and more restricted in use and scope, having lost spiritual status at the Reformation [c.1560], social status at the Union of the Crowns [1603], and political status with the Parliamentary Union [1707]" (Murison, "The Historical.." 9), this brief flowering came to a close. Sustained by popular culture during the seventeenth

century, Scots became the language of "ballad, folksong...and comic verse" (Ibid 11); the subsequent eighteenth-century literary revival of Scots only served to entrench this generic restriction.

In orthography, accidence, and lexicon, "Chrystis Kirk.." illustrates many of the characteristic features of Middle Scots. The presence of long vowels is signalled with i or y: laitis 12;taikle 93;haild 217 (Smith xviii). Where Southern forms exhibit long-o, the MSc equivalents characteristically employ long-a (eg. l.147, banis;Ibid xx). The letter b is frequently omitted when combined with m: rummil 152; lammis 198 (Ibid xxi). Where ME forms might employ t, th, the older spelling d,dd is retained (particularly in conjunction with r): erd 112; muder 226 (Ibid xxii). Initial qu in combination with h is used rather than the Southern hw, wh: Quhill 134; Quhen 136 (Ibid xxv). The older id, yd ending of the past participle and its adjective is characteristically represented as -it, -yt: abasit 111;hangit 223 (Ibid xxvi). S- of early Scots, or early Northern Middle English, changed in both phonology and orthography to sch-: for example scho for Southern seo (she; Ibid xxvii). Medial y (written u) was an orthographic convention, lost in pronunciation (Ibid xxviii); thus, revell 61 is approximately a monosyllable. Similarly, medial l was often lost in pronunciation; the later form goudin (175; see

C, et al) is a reflection of this pronunciation. The elision of both medial v and l was particularly characteristic of the less courtly "low style" in verse (Agutter 18). Unbirsed (147) is an example of metathesis of r, common in Northern dialects (Smith xxx).

Similarly, the poem displays characteristic Middle Scots accidence. Particularly in the early texts, plural nouns are designated by -is; the syllabic value of this inflection depended on the demands of the metre (eg. ll.8,51, 186; Smith xxxi). Until the sixteenth century, the present participle and the gerund are separately indicated by -and and -ing; as in later ME, these both came to be identified by -ing (Agutter 19). The preterite and past participle are inflected by -it rather than the Southern -ed (Ibid 19). Where earlier texts used ane, an/a -- ane becomes both indefinite article and numeral during the sixteenth-century; though inconsistently, A follows the earlier practice (eg. ll.91,93; Smith xxxiii). The use of quha as the relative pronoun replaced that, at, or omission by the sixteenth century (Agutter 21). Tha and thir are the plural forms for that and this; while thir is commonly used, tha is often neglected (Smith xxxiv-v). The modern as...as construction is rendered als...as, deriving from early Scots alswa...alswa (l.128; Ibid xxxviii). Till is consistently used as the equivalent of to (l.61); while this form generally acts both

as a simple preposition and in combination with the infinitive, "Chrystis" displays some anomalous use of to, which may reflect sixteenth-century scribal practise rather than serve to date the work (ll.162,204; Ibid xxxviii; see Authorship and Date). Both and and gif serve as if (cf. ll. 67; Ibid xxxix).

The lexicon of "Chrystis" shows little evidence of French or Latin influence, deriving largely from Old English and Scandinavian (see Glossary). Characterized by considerable use of voiced and breathed stops, these words convey "noisy, violent, or generally unpleasant effects" (Aitken, "The Language.." 48). For example, from Anglo-Saxon, there are rerde, gait,tug; from Scandinavian, lug, smaik, skar, scraip. Additional non-Romance influences appear in ers and fy (Gaelic). The etymology of several words characteristic of this Scots low-comic register is not entirely clear; while Aitken notes the derivation of hurcheoun and loun as Gaelic and low Dutch respectively (Ibid 48), OED notes the former as derived from Old Norman French, and loun of "obscure origin". Many elements of this lexicon have generic implications; of uncertain origin, glaiks (first recorded in "Chrystis") became common to subsequent vernacular comedy; similarly, smaiks is commonly found in verse flytings (compositions of extravagant abuse; Aitken, "The Language.." 40-2). Further, "Chrystis" makes use of the

poetic diction of the "Alliterative Revival" (c.1350-later fifteenth century); such words as bern, red, freik, ettle -- again, of OE and Scandinavian derivation -- had come to be the particular markers of the corpus of Northern alliterative works (Turville-Petre 6,73,83). Perhaps the only evidence of specific Romance influence on the poem is the Latin noun-adjective construction, archer heynd (92; Smith xli); the hint of Romance poetic diction that this construction suggests is counteracted by the use of heynd, a word characteristic of Northern alliterative verse.

Similarly, "Chrystis Kirk.." contains a number of stock alliterative collocations (see also, Glossary). Such phrases as "Ane bent a bow" (71) and "To ...erd... duschit doun" (112) are common in rhyming alliterative verse (Oakden 317-22). Frequently found in the works of the northern revival are phrases constructed with an infinitive, preceded by an alliterating word: "...janglours to jummill" (156), "..Robene Roy...to revell", "...the cheikis ..to cheir him", "..ten cum .. to tak" (61,75,183; Ibid 382). The use of conventional simile is characteristic of the later alliterative works; the "Chrystis" poet draws parodic attention to this practice by using two such figures in the description of Gillie: "As ony rose her rude wes reid,/Hir lyre wes lyk the lillie," (23-4; Ibid 399). Originally, these collocations gained currency as a convenient response

to the exigencies of a strict alliterative scheme, in which alliteration was used to link the two halves of each line and signal the first three of four stressed syllables (Turville-Petre 52). The later, rhyming alliterative works exhibit an increasingly loose scheme: any of the stressed syllables may alliterate and entire lines may be linked by shared alliteration (Oakden 392; Turville-Petre 62). "Chrystis" displays just such 'looseness'; stanza one, for example, employs a haphazard pattern of seven initial consonants: NSxS/DND/NxxG/PxP/WWxW/CxD/CCWC/xCG (x represents a non-alliterating stress). While some forty lines of the poem do not alliterate internally, of these only six do not alliterate with other lines in the stanza. The poem does not employ these stock phrases in order to satisfy strict formal requirements, but as deliberate evocations of conventional alliterative practice.

Additionally, the "Chrystis" poet demonstrates a willingness to coin new words and to use pre-existing words in new ways. Such neologisms include "baff" and "friggis" (111,132); in other instances, "Chrystis" is the first recorded Scots use of English terms, ie. "lug" as an intransitive verb (66). Predominately of Teutonic or Scandinavian origin, these may well have been common colloquialisms. The meanings of several words are extended: "brig" (bridge; 134) is used figuratively to denote pros-

trate combatants; the noun "lug" becomes a verb for pulling on the ears (66); "pais" (to weigh; 115) describes wives dealing with a fallen hero like so many groceries. The "Chrystis" poet was a conscious stylist -- manipulating old forms for satiric effect and extending the comic vernacular lexicon.

Genre

"Chrystis" belongs to a body of Middle Scots "low-life" vernacular works. These fantastic, comic, and vituperative works are distinctively Scots -- eschewing Chaucerian metre, elaborate rhetorical syntax, and aureate diction (MacKay 26;Aitken, "The Older.." 23). The language of this genre is characteristically

> ...vulgar and ribald ...[with] colloquial overtones, mono- or disyllabic rather than poly-, predominantly northern or Scottish in provenance ... un-Latinate ... the opposite of the courtly ... kinds of older Scottish verse. Aitken, "The Older.." 43.

"Chrystis" is one of the two oldest surviving examples of a traditional Scottish sub-genre of "low-life" works (see Influence ff.). Extending from their probable origin in the fifteenth century, through Robert Burns' "Holy Fair" in the eighteenth, to Garioch's "Embro to the Ploy" in the twentieth century, this group shares common elements of style and subject:

> ...a pervasive sense of the absurd and the outrageous... the list of rogues...the burlesque dance and tournament...the keen interest in scenes of crowded activity...
> Kratzmann 157,164.

Conforming to this description, "Chrystis" overturns romantic expectations with the absurd picture of a group of beautiful girls squealing like goats (18). Whimsically comic scenes of near-fatal violence contribute to a sense of the fantastic. In a world where the accidental slaying of a priest demonstrates an archer's incompetence (116), even the most sanctified subjects can be outraged. Ranging from the gawky Jok, his legs "lyk twa rokkis" (38), and the flatulant boor, Stevin (57), to the murderous Lowry (103), "Chrystis" is well-supplied with rogues. In its scenes of "crowded activity", spilling over with battling tradesmen, shrieking wives, improvised weapons of various kinds, and the rocking church-bell, this poem is one of the best examples of the sub-genre's predilection for busy canvases.

In lexicon, versification, and subject matter, "Chrystis" evokes the characteristics of alliterative romance. Considerable comic and satiric effect derives from its burlesque treatment of this genre. The combination of "low-life" vernacular verse and Northern alliterative poetry is a discordance that signals parody (Aitken, "The Language.." 20); though the lexicons of both alliterative

romance and Scots low comedy derive primarily from Anglo-Saxon, they are employed antithetically. Used to satisfy alliterative requirements for a variety of synonyms, the distinctively Northern lexicon of the "Alliterative Revival" was particularly well-suited to the sound-effects of "battle-scene [and] ... of feasts" (Turville-Petre 27), the aristocratic pastimes of romance. Scots "low-life" verse employs much the same language to focus attention upon the rustic quality of its subjects. Largely derived from Old English, this lexicon is dominated by words of contumely and noise (Aitken, "The Language.." 39). The sound effects that evoke the clamour of battle in such heroic romances as "Golagros and Gawain" are equally, and bathetically, effective in conveying the fighting in "Chrystis"'s most alliterative stanza:

> Thus thai faught upone fold, with ane fel fair,
> Quhill athir berne in that breth bokit in blude;..
> Athir berne braithly bet with ane bright brand;
> On fute freschly thai frekis feghtin thai fang.
> Gol.Gaw. 570-1, 626-7.

> With forkis and flailis thay leit grit flappis
> And flang togidder lyk friggis
> With bowgaris of barnis thay beft blew kappis
> Quhill thay of bernis maid briggis...
> Chrystis 131-4.

Such lines as "He ettled the bern in at the breist,/The bolt flew our the byre" (123-4) evoke the romance traditions of alliterative verse with ettled, and bern -- only to parody these traditions with slapstick comedy.

Just as the vocabulary of the poem deliberately suggests alliterative romance, only to "ground" such associations with its colloquial diction, so does the verse form contrast elements of an art tradition, probably never designed for oral presentation, with those of a popular one that originated with oral tradition (Turville-Petre 38). This poem employs a ten-line "bob-wheel" stanza in which a pattern of rhythmic motion, ever-interrupted and resumed, results in a sense of a ceaseless dance. This stanza begins with an octave of alternating iambic tetrameters and tri-meters. This is followed by the "bob", a predominantly disyllabic tag-phrase, and the concluding, slightly variant "wheel" refrain. These terms were first used to describe stanza-forms characteristic of the later Alliterative Revival. By the end of the fourteenth century, the fashion for alliterative verse had extended from Northern England into Scotland, where it characteristically took the form of rhyming stanzas of thirteen lines, of which eight were alternately rhyming tetrameters, followed by the bob and a wheel comprised of four alternately rhymed trimeters (Turville-Petre 35,62). A late variation on this pattern, the "Chrystis" stanza has much the same metrical effect: "the forward movement of the narrative is kept up by the alliterating rhymes of the long lines; the "bob" line introduces a new rhyme and a very noticeable pause in the

rhythm" (Ibid 63). However, the "Chrystis" poet has both shortened the bob-wheel for a more abrupt pause in the rhythm of the series of octaves and altered the rhythmic effect within the octave. The rhythm of "Chrystis"'s alternating tetrameters and trimeters is identical to the popular ballad stanza, with its sung or danced regularity (Thrall, et al 43). However, the combination of the verse-forms of romance and ballad need not imply burlesque; in drawing upon the rhythm and idiom of ballad, "Chrystis" is preceded by Barbour's heroic chronicle, "The Bruce" (Henderson, "The Ballad..." 263; Nicholson 275).

Popular taste in mediaeval romance admitted two sorts of narrative: "the love-story telling the ardours and endurances of love" and tales of knightly adventures (Bennett 126). From its outset, "Chrystis" promises both categories: unparalleled "dansing..deray/... [and] wooers" (1-5). Immediately, however, the rustic nature of these adventures asserts itself with heroines designated "kitteis" (7), squealing like "gaitis" (18). Many of the works of the Alliterative Revival are romance narratives, dealing with aristocratic protagonists' adventures in fantastic settings; these include "such masterpieces as ...the Wars of Alexander, the Morte Arthure, and Gawain and the Green Knight" (Craigie "The Scottish.." 224). In contrast, Scots "low-life" vernacular works "relate how certain grotesque or rustic or

working-class characters have preposterous... adventures ... in a homely, parochial setting" (Aitken,"The Language.." 39). "Chrystis" evokes the former only to "bring it down to earth by [association] with the homeliest and most domestic of persons, settings and objects" (Ibid 23).

This combination of the language, verse-form, and subjects of alliterative romance for the purposes of burlesque implies an audience familiar with the genre. Riddy describes "Rauf Coilyear" as "a literary game... [which depends] on the reader's familiarity with alliterative romance conventions"; this stands equally well for "Chrystis" (49). Turville-Petre suggests that, since in England an aristocratic court would have little interest in vernacular works in a non-central dialect, such an audience was probably composed of the minor Northern nobility, gentry, clergy, and burgesses (42-6). However, the situation was probably different in Scotland, where the Northern dialect of alliterative verse was also the local dialect of the court. (That Scots aristocrats were comfortable with the vernacular is attested by the Croyden charter (1412) written by James I himself; this land-grant is written in MSc, not French or Latin. McDiarmid, Kingis.. 44). By the late fourteenth century in England, the romance audience was no longer the heterogeneous festival crowd of earlier centuries, but had become "small and select" (Bennett 131). The courtly

fifteenth-century Scots audience of "Chrystis" was probably equally select. While the physical comedy of "Chrystis" would appeal to a heterogeneous audience, its generic burlesque relied on an audience aware of the conventions of such alliterative romances as "Sir Gawain and the Green Knight" (1375-1400) and "Golagros and Gawain" (late fifteenth century).

The verse form of "Chrystis" suggests that occasions for its consumption were public, however select. Like traditional romance, "Chrystis" opens with lines designed to interest a potential audience; the poet is about to talk about such dancing and fighting as was never before heard in Scotland (1-2). Similarly traditional are the narratorial asides scattered throughout the text: "...as I wene", "God wait yif..", "I can nocht tell..", "Sa wes the will of God, trow I" (5, 68, 78, 85). That these oral devices were employed as self-conscious references to courtly romance does not deny their continuing and comic utility in the presentation of this burlesque work. Public presentation of "Chrystis" would make comic use of such a traditional form of performance. There is some suggestion that the poem may have been sung; at the least, it draws on two traditional verse forms that may have been sung rather than recited. Bennett suggests that the "bob-wheel" of the later, rhyming alliterative poems might have been given some sort of musical

rendering, the change in medium serving to highlight its summary function in such works as "Sir Gawain.." (124). Similarly, the ballad-like regularity of the rhyming stanza readily lends itself to "rhetorical intonation", if not actual song (Ibid).

"Chrystis" is by no means the only Middle Scots work to parody traditional courtly verse conventions using the characteristic versification of the Alliterative Revival. "Rauf Coilyear" employs a thirteen-line stanza in which the octave and bob has been replaced by nine alternately rhymed, alliterative lines to parody chivalric notions of heroism and courtesy (Kinsley, "Medieval.." 10;Watson 49). Dunbar's unrhymed alliterative "Tretis of the Twa Mariit Wemen and the Wedo" has been described as a "grand linguistic joke" (Kinsley, Dunbar.. xv) in which the language and setting of the courtly dream vision give way to the disjunctive picture of "thre gay ladeis" (18) coarsely discussing sexuality and marriage in the vernacular's crude vocabulary (Turville-Petre 120). Such treatments must have been popular; by the end of the fifteenth century, alliterative verse in Scotland had been restricted to "ribaldry, satire...invective...and obscenity" (Ibid 117-9).

Literary Qualities

"Chrystis" is a comic poem of at twenty-three ten-line

stanzas in the Lowland Scots vernacular. It presents a bewildering variety of scenes, characters, and events loosely connected by a common context: a country festival at Christ's Kirk's village green. The narrative introduces the festival context, initial courtings and dancing, increasingly widespread inebriation, and a final brawling conclusion. "Chrystis" relies on the exuberant vernacular, an undulant metrical rhythm, and a narrative focus that regularly shifts in both distance and object to evoke the repetitive whirling excitement of a peasant dance. However, the linear narrative progression -- meeting, dancing, fighting, parting -- is undermined by the repetitive dancelike patterning of artistic focus and metrical effects.

The metrical effects of the "bob-wheel" stanza conjure an allegretto step-dance interrupted and resumed. Spiers has described the "Sir Gawain.." verse-form as "..stanzaic paragraphs each concluding with a quartet of short rhymed lines [releasing] the reader momentarily before he is again caught up into the rhythmic energy of the succeeding paragraph" (Middle., 224). With "paragraphs" of eight, rather than eighteen, lines, and the momentary release an abbreviated two-line bob-wheel, so much faster is the pace of "Chrystis".

From the outset of each stanza the reader is steadily impelled forward by the chant-like regularity of the octave.

The use of predominantly mono- and di-syllabic words, frequently bound together by alliteration both within and between lines, lends a drumming quality to the initial four couplets. The use of short, alliterative, and lexically homely words is almost hypnotic in its regularity: "Titt up a taikle withouttin tary/ That torment so him teynd" (93-4).

After each eight regular smoothly-paced lines, the staccato "bob" is the verbal equivalent of a dancer's stumble; the dimeter tag interrupts the rhythm of the octave, arrestingthe established four-beat/three-beat pattern. We return to the pattern in line 10 with the expected iambic trimeter. The generally invariant stanzaic closure, "At Chrystis kirk of the grene", serves to deny any sense of spatial progress in the metaphor of the dance. At the end of each ten lines, we find ourselves in our original position, ready to begin another set. The folkdance circularity of the stanza opposes the directed movement of the narrative.

In its repetitive simplicity, rhyme, too, contributes to the back-and-forth dancing quality of the poem. The scheme -- abababababcd -- is sustained by considerable lexical ingenuity: rhyme is seldom strained (the worst instance occurs in stanza seven: "revell/.. Javell/.. Cavell/ ... nevell" 61,-3,-5,-7); only two rhymes are repeated of which the second two are homonyms ("...reid" 23,151; "..preist" 56,115). The simplicity of the octave's rhyming pattern, maintained without the disruptive repetition of individual words, echoes the dance-like quality of the "bob-wheel" stanza; the use of only two rhyming pairs per octave anticipates its regular "see-saw" rhythm.

Repeatedly varying in distance and subject throughout the work, poetic focus in "Chrystis" joins the metric effects of rhythm and rhyme to effect a similar sense of impeded forward progress, of circular patterning. The opening lines operate at the greatest distance from the events of the festival, as the narrator summarises the festival: at this country fete, "on ane day" more "dancing and deray" was had than ever before in Scotland (5,2). However, in the first of a series of abrupt shifts in focal distance, this mediating voice vanishes and we are at the fair: "Thair come our kitteis.." (6).

This first reduction in distance takes us to the level of generalised desciption. Undifferentiated "lassis licht of laitis" are decked out in peasant finery, squealing at masculine contact (12,17-8). Narrative focus continues to narrow as we are introduced to Gillie -- a peasant heroine who disdains one lover for another in the face of familial opposition (22-40).

As distance remains constant, there is shift in subject as attention is directed to a different specific character at the fair: Thome Lular, the minstrel (41). This shift -- both specific and generic, from Gillie to Thome, wooing to dancing -- facilitates the linear temporal progress of "Chrytis Kirk..", from initial courting to the final melee.

However, this shift is also an interruption of the narrative expectations raised by the movement, in the first four stanzas, from initial summary and generalised courting to a specific wooing. Gillie never reappears. This interruption of a teasing movement backward and forward is characteristic of the poem's cyclic, dancing quality.

The shift in focus from wooing to dancing is paradoxically both circular and linear. While representing the temporal progress of the day, as the dance gets under way, the seemingly abrupt introduction of the minstrel and his skills returns us to the initial narratorial summary. Yet, by recalling the earlier passages, the introduction of Thome Lutar and "dancing" again promises the "deray" to follow.

In the following lines (51 ff.), distance between narrator/observer and subject remains minimal while our attention is drawn to a series of different characters. The description of Stevin, a loutish dancer, by implication inebriated, functions as an implicit link between dancing and the subsequent fray (51-9). The fight begins with the introduction of Robene Roy who falls to fighting with Jok over Downy, possibly one of the "kitties" of the opening (60-9). In an apparently random fashion, the narratorial lens shifts between individual subjects: Gillie, Stevin, Robene Roy. This shift is a reprise of the wooing, dancing, and

deray promised at the outset.

From line 71 to the poem's conclusion, although there are no more broad shifts in subject, the narrative resumes its teasing dynamism. Parallel to the temporal progress of the day, "Chrystis" concludes the wooing and dancing as the entire community joins in the wholesale affray. Still, that narrative progress remains subject to the rhythmic forward and backward patterning of focal distance.

The fight, begun with Robene and Jok's hair-pulling (68), rapidly escalates to archery. Viewed from a greater distance, the combatants are no longer identified as individuals; they have become generic: "Ane bent a bow...The toder...a friend of his..." (71,74,81). This conveys a larger picture; the fight is becoming less a personal disagreement than a communal activity.

However, this is followed by another reduction in narrative distance, as "Ane haisty hensure callit Hary" joins the combatants (91). Next, at the same close focus, we meet Lowry, "as ane lyoun" , attempting to pierce another at the breast (101-3). There is a brief stasis (111 ff.) in which (apparently, though not specifically named) Lowry flees "out of the toun" (114), terrified by the result of his archery. This latest reduction in distance participates in both the "in-and-out" dancelike pattern of poetic focus and also the progress of the narrative. The introduction of new

individuals within the specific context of the archers' contest demonstrates that the fight has expanded beyond "ane" and "the toder" (possibly Robene and Jok), as others are drawn into the fray.

Again distance begins to increase with the introduction of an unnamed "yaip yung man" (121). This new retreat from the preceding close focus signals a partial narrative closure. The presentation of another, less differentiated, protagonist signals the conclusion of the archery portion of the melee; dismayed at having "slane a preist" by mistake (115), he casts his bow and quiver aside. So, apparently, do the rest of the community, as the fight devolves into considerably more physical drubbings for the remaining ten stanzas.

This initial half of the work functions as an elaborate mise-en-scene in which the framing narratorial introduction, the picture of gaily arrayed peasants, the romance, the dancing, the drinking, and the archery-contest serve to establish the context for the final, grand free-for-all. Signalling the transition from preceding events to the fabulous brawl itself, narratorial distance continues to increase (131 ff.). Unnamed and undifferentiated, the battling figures have been reduced to "thay" and "the wyffis" (131,134,137). At the same distance which presented the initial picture of the peasant lasses setting out for the

fair, we are offered a Breughel-esque scene of scufflings with farm-implements, heads cracked with barn-rafters, matrons shrieking, whirling thatching-poles, stones flying, retreatings and advances (131-44).

Once again, however, the sense of an orderly linear progression to the conclusion is undercut by the repeating poetic pattern. Expectations that -- characters introduced, scene established, and preceding circumstances described -- the poem will conclude smoothly with the consequent brawl at the same level of abstraction with which it began are denied by yet another contraction of the narratorial lens. From the wide-angled scene of faceless, howling combatants we return, in mid-stanza, to "the menstral" retreating "with unbirsed banes" (145-7). However, this is not a complete return to the minimal narratorial distance with which Thome Lutar was introduced: here the reference is generic rather than specific, by occupation rather than name. Still, in structure and plot, the reduction in focal distance and return to a character introduced some ninety lines earlier serve further to interrupt the narrative's progress.

Scope continues to diminish with the introduction of yet another individual, Heich Hucheoun, wielding a hazel switch (151). This latest reduction in focus to the level of least abstraction counteracts the sense of acceleration conveyed by the preceding bewildering crowd scene. Through lines 51-129,

the brawl gathers momentum as more villagers become embroiled; after a series of individual, seemingly sequential altercations -- from Robene Roy and Jok, to the "yaip yung man" -- the expanding focus exposes us to an undifferentiated multitude involved in numerous intermingled fights. This resultant sense of ever-increasing action is brought to a halt as we focus on a single, named individual. Not only does the reduction in distance exclude all but a single character, thereby obscuring the wholesale activity of the communal melee, but also, like Gillie in the opening passages, this character occupies twenty lines as he dashes into the brawl only to lose the tip of his thumb and to retreat "out of all pleid" (167). Unlike the fleeting glances accorded such other individuals as Stevin and Hary, this expenditure of two stanzas on a single character and a single dramatic incident slows the broad narrative progress of the poem.

However, this pause is but temporary; characterization retreats to generic labels as the "toun soutar" and the "millar" are introduced (171,181). In brief narrative flashes both are presented as unfortunate heroes: the "soutar", or cobbler, is bloodied and chased for "sevin myll" in defense of his beautiful wife (173-8), while the "manly" millar succumbs to treacherous ambush (171,175-8). The quicksilver shift between these characters recalls the rapid

movement of the crowd scenes. Subsequently there is further sense of acceleration as the number of characters captured by the widening narratorial lens increases.

The penultimate thirty lines of "Chrystis" are presented at yet further remove, for the characters are even less differentiated than the nameless preceding tradesmen. At line 191 the number of characters increases as we are introduced first to two battling "heidismen" (191) then an unspecified number of "feymen" (193) who beat one another on the mouth with barrow staves (194-6). Similarly unspecified in number and identity are the "wyvis" and "cairlis" of stanza twenty-one, flocking to the field and beating one another to the violent tolling of the church bell (201-8).

The last lines to operate at the considerable focal distance of scene painting, with numerous nameless actors and a whirling variety of actions, are perhaps the most removed -- with the exception of the narrator's overt self-identification ("as I wene", 5) and narrative summary -- from the immediate events on the green. An unidentified "thay", exhausted by fighting, are overcome by fresh combatants (211,213-4,217-8); weary and defeated, "thay" might be the preceding "cairlis", the "wyffis", or indeed any of the villagers involved in the brawl during the last thirteen stanzas.

This would be a natural place to close the poem: the

wooing, dancing, archery, and drubbings have concluded in a picture of collapsed contestants, undone not by opponents but by their own ineffectual exertions; narratorial distance has returned to the level of generalised description with which the work began. However, the circular patterning of "Chrystis Kirk.." continues to assert its influence. At the close of stanza twenty-two, the introduction of "freschmen" -- "dang[ing] ... doun" their weary predecessors (218) -- seems to promise a resumption of the melee. So, too, does the final shift in narratorial distance.

However, this last reduction in distance is not unequivocal. Though part of the in-and-out pattern of narratorial focus that has structured this work, this is a harsher and seemingly final transition. In describing an unidentified and exhausted multitude, fallen "lyk flawchtir failis" (216), the narrating voice of the preceding stanza had retreated to the focal distance from which the peasant girls of the beginning were observed. The transition from this position to that of the final passage marks the last, and most abrupt, of the narrative shifts. The preceding transitions between greatest and least descriptive distance had been buffered either by connecting phrases or passages of intermediate distance: between the distant description of "thir damysellis" (11) and the immediate introduction of Gillie, there was explicit identification of Gillie as one of

"thir madynis" (21); between the frenetic crowd scene of stanza thirteen and the close introduction of Heich Hucheoun there came a mediating reference to the individual, though unnamed, menstral. Yet, in the final stanza, only implicit connections may be drawn between the "freschmen" (217), unspecific in name and number, and the last of the identified characters, the belligerent Dik (221).

This sudden reduction coordinates with explicit and comic formulae to signal the conclusion of the poem. From the outset of this last and most dramatic "close-up", we are led to expect closure: "When all wes done.." (221). Within the overall comedy of the poem, this stanza acts as the "punch-line"; as a final, concrete summary of all the inept heroes we have met, Dik comes forth to the fight after it has concluded and wallops his wife and mother, "for he durst ding nane udir" (228).

Throughout the poem the repeating patterns of narrative focus counteract the linear progress of the narrative. Just as the last wide-angled scene left us with the picture of fresh fighters, as ready as their predecessors to join a brawl, the reduction in focal distance recalls all the preceding shifts, descending to individual description only to pull back to greater narrative distance. At the conclusion of "Chrystis" there is a sense that, while the participants may change, the circular, repeating dance that is this

festival poem will continue to retrace itself -- the line of dancers now contracting, now expanding.

Influence

As the more popular of the two oldest surviving members of a sub-genre of Scots comic poetry, "Chrystis" has influenced a large body of Scots poems extending from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. MacLaine has comprehensively surveyed this sub-genre, which includes works by poets from Henryson and Dunbar to Fergusson and Burns ("The 'Christis Kirk' Tradition.."). "Chrystis"'s influence has been not merely generic, suggesting gently-satiric treatments of rustic manners in a characteristic verse form (Ibid 117), but also specific; for example, several of these works allude to "Chrystis Kirk.." directly. From Lyndsay's "Justing.." (1538) to Mayne's "Siller Gunn" (1777), Scots poets have acknowledged their debt with clear borrowings:

> "Was never sene sic justing in no landes"
> ("Justing.." 4).
> "Was ne'er sic tumult and disorder"
> ("The Siller Gunn" III.35.2).

Sixteenth-century poems within this tradition are of particular interest in respect to the question of "Chrystis Kirk.."'s provenance and reputation. Perhaps the earliest work influenced by "Chrystis" is an anonymous ecclesiastic satire, in the characteristic stanza, entitled "Symmie and

his Bruder" (found only in A). Henderson suggests that this work may be roughly coeval (Scottish... 112); however, a preponderance of shared rhyme-words suggests direct derivation. "Chrystis"'s seventh stanza (revell:Javell:Cavell: nevell, 61,-3,-5,-7) is echoed by "Symmie"'s eighth (levall: Javell:nevell:cavell, 71,-3,-5,-7); similarly, waist:gaist: laist:chest (172,-4,-6,-8) reappears in "Symmie"'s fourteenth (laist:maist:waist:gaist, 131,-3,-5,-7). Additionally, "Symmie" makes use of phrases from the older work: "Thocht thay war wicht.." (Symmie 11; cf. 155); "Thay comptit nocht.." (Symmie 23; cf. 36). Though the direction of indebtedness is not absolutely certain, it seems unlikely that "Chrystis" was the derivative. "Symmie" refers to other "stor[ies]... of ...Robene Hude/ Nor yit of Wallace.." (1-3); if this is a reference to Blind Harry's "Wallace", this work must be dated after 1480. This also suggests that "Symmie" derives from "Chrystis". While "Symmie" does not contribute to the question of the date of "Chrystis", it does attest to its early popularity.

Equally influenced by "Chrystis", Lyndsay's mock-tournament, "Justing.." (1538), serves to establish an upper limit for the date of the earlier work's composition. In addition to the line quoted above, this poem makes use of other phrases and rhyme-words from the anonymous work:

...thou thinkis my leggis lyk rokkis
...thy braunis be lyk twa barrow-trammis,
Than ran thay to, lyk rammis. (27, 33-4)

Apparently, Skeat saw this as evidence that "Chrystis Kirk.." derived from Lyndsay's work, which means that Bannatyne relegated a work no more than thirty years old to an earlier century (cited Henderson, Scottish... 107). Were this date correct, the ascription to James I must have been intended as James V; which then suggests the unlikely alternatives that either the monarch directly imitated a pre-existing work by a popular poet or that Lyndsay incorporated lines from a contemporary, and royal, author. If Bannatyne's testimony is entirely disregarded, and "Chrystis" is the derivative work, then its anonymous author echoed not only Lyndsay's "Justing..", but also his "Satyre.." (1540) and "Squyer Meldrum.." (1550) -- in both specific phrase ("Into Scotland wes nevar hard nor sene", "Satyre" 3722; "...sa rudlie on thame ruschit/ That to the eirth thay duschit" "Meldrum" 654) and general lexicon (see Glossary). The echoes in the former work all occur in sections of rustic slapstick comedy (MacLaine, "The 'Christis.. 114); "Meldrum" is a genial mock-romance, dealing with the adventures of a famous Fife laird (Henderson, Scottish... 230). It is far more reasonable to suppose that, by the mid-sixteenth century, "Chrystis" was an old and popular work, sufficiently well-known to invite

direct allusion.

From the later sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the sub-genre remained a living part of the Scots poetic tradition. The mock-tournament motif, suggested by "Chrystis"'s archery contest (ll.71-130), was increasingly combined with its satire on rustic manners (MacLaine, "The 'Christis.." 111). That satire also expanded to include urban manners, political abuses, and religious hypocrisy (Ibid 117, 172, 244). The characteristic metre, too, remained viable, changing to suit its audience: the insistent alliteration was gradually lost; the rhyme-scheme opened up to three and four rhymes in the octave; the bob-wheel was simplified to the dimeter line found in the later family of "Chrystis" witnesses (Ibid 115, 167, 174, 179).

"Chrystis" continued to influence works within the tradition, not simply as a progenitor of the sub-genre but also as a direct source. This is hardly surprising; unlike "Peblis", which was not printed until 1783 (Geddie 100), "Chrystis" was printed in at least fifteen editions between 1643 and 1748 (Ibid 95). In two of the earliest of these, it was presented with Drummond's maccaronic "Polemo-Middinia" (1684, 1691). Although this poem eschews the characteristic bob-wheel stanza, it clearly participates in the tradition; a mock-heroic battle fought between pitchfork-weilding ploughmen and kitchen-wenches from two farms satirizes not

only its rustic protagonists but also elevated literary conventions. Unlike the earlier work, however, the conventions satirized are no longer those of alliterative romance but of classical epic, as the poet invokes nymphs from "highissima monta Fifaea (1). Allusion to "Chrystis" occurs throughout this work: here is a hero "qui gillatis pulchris ante alios dansare solebat" (32; "Gillie" has become a generic feminine title), "Tom Taylor" is also here (43; a character from the first of the additional "Chrystis" stanzas), with coal-drawers "girnantes" (81; cf. "Chrystis" 141); finally, as the battle reaches its slapstick conclusion, an aggrieved voice "Barlaphumle clamat" (171).

Allan Ramsay's editorial involvement with the poem probably resulted from a desire to publish his own "Chrystis" cantos, the first written in 1715, three years before his initial edition of the poem (MacLaine, Allan... 16). Having appeared as the first poem in Watson's Choice Collection (1706), the first of the eighteenth-century collections of the older Scots poetry, "Chrystis" evidently enjoyed a continuing popularity into the early years of that century, which probably stimulated Ramsay's efforts. His cantos continue the goings-on at Christ's Kirk, with many of the same characters, further battlings and dancings, a wedding and still more revelry. Relative to the earlier poem, Ramsay's cantos are notable for their increasingly crude

physical comedy ("..Robin spew'd in's ain Wife's Lap..", III.163). Still, these efforts suggest an audience not unfamiliar with the original, interested in a continuation of the narrative; the popularity of the enterprise is attested by the publication of five editions between 1716 and 1722 (Martin, A Bibliography.. 7).

"Chrystis"'s influence extended into the nineteenth century in the work of John Mayne. First published in 1777, his "Siller Gunn" is a characteristic work in the tradition, detailing hurly-burly scenes of yet another archery contest and festival from a detached, satirical point of view (MacLaine, "The 'Christis.." 234). Like Lyndsay and Ramsay before him, Mayne acknowledges his direct debt to the anonymous mediaeval work (see above).

While "Siller Gunn" is perhaps the latest work to specifically allude to "Chrystis", the generic influence of this Middle Scots poem has continued into the twentieth century in Garioch's "Embro to the Ploy", a work which alludes to the refrain of "Chrystis"' companion-piece, "At Peblis to the play..". Cast in a variant of the "Chrystis Kirk.." stanza (in which the octave's rhyme-scheme is relaxed to ababcbcb), this satire of Scots "culture" in Edinburgh during the Summer Festival has the characteristic rapid-shifting between scenes, its character-sketches of places as well as people: "The Auld High Schule...Epworth Haa...

Cougait Kate,/ Nae-neb Nellie" (41,61,125-6). Garioch satirizes his city with a traditionalist's eye (Wood 340), emphasizing the ancient Scots metre with a return to alliteration:

> In simmer, when aa sorts foregether
> in Embro to the ploy,
> fowk seek out friens to hae a blether
> or faes they'd fain annoy; (1-4).

Garioch's work promises the continuing popularity of both the genre and its two earliest members.

Witness Description and Transmission History

"Chrystis" appears in two sixteenth-century manuscript collections and in a wide variety of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century versions, both manuscript and printed; its enduring popularity throughout this period has resulted in considerable textual corruption. This edition is based on witnesses displaying varying degrees of authority, ranging from the strongly authoritative sixteenth-century versions to an probably conflated eighteenth-century edition (see Relationship of Witnesses). In general, however, the seven manuscript and five printed witnesses offer versions of the text that fall into two general families, as regards stanza form, order, and inclusion. The later, generally less authoritative, family displays a truncated stanza (lacking the two-line "bob-wheel"), omits lines 71-80 (stanza eight), and includes two probably non-original stanzas (see Appendix II) and several minor variations.

The earliest of the witnesses is the 1568 Bannatyne Manuscript (Adv.MS.1.1.6: A), so named after its compiler and scribe, George Bannatyne. During an outbreak of plague in Edinburgh, Bannatyne copied over four hundred Scots works, both Middle Scots and contemporary, many of which are unique copies (Fox and Ringler ix). Bannatyne collected these poems and acted as editor, organizing his material, gleaned from

manuscript "copies awld mankit and mutillait" (p.59, "The wryttar to the reidaris" l.7), into five categories on the basis of content. "Chrystis" is included in the third section, "Ballatis Mirry and Uther Solatius Consaittis", a selection of works that "require man to recognize his folly but at the same time offer him the consolation of laughter" (Hughes and Ramson x). Other works included in this section are Dunbar's "devilish parody of the Office for the Dead" (Kinsley, Dunbar... xvi), the fantastic "Dance of the Seven Deidly Sins", and the "uproarious" vernacular farce, "The Wyf of Auchtirmwchty" (Henderson 289). The inclusion of "Chrystis" as a comic emblem of mankind's (rather than peasants') disorder (Hughes and Ransom 33) indicates that Bannatyne may have missed its literary burlesque and social satire. However, the range of the "Mirry Balletis" offers a striking parallel to Aitken's description of the generic character of Scots vernacular comedy: vituperative, grotesque, satiric ("The Language.." 23,32,39); Bannatyne's editorial practice offers a useful index of "Chrystis"'s relation to the Middle Scots comic corpus.

A was available in Fox and Ringler's excellent facsimile edition which clearly revealed Bannatyne's scribal practise: consistently careful and legible, employing standard contractions and palaeography. A's script uses forms characteristic of "secretary hand", the "basic [script] for

normal purposes", which had become recognizably distinct from other cursive hands by the mid-1520'S (Simpson 14-5). While he generally "crowded his poems tightly together" (Fox and Ringler xvi), he presented "Chrystis" with ample space between the stanzas. Common abbreviations for internal and terminal m, n (a superscript bar) were consistently employed. Terminal superscript t was used to represent both -cht and -ith (eg. ll.29,30). Yogh appears for vocalic y (eg. yaip l.121). Terminal s appears in two forms, one of which was indistinguishable from terminal x (eg. "danss... bendis...aix ...smaix" ll.48,53,200,202). Generally, however, the physical form of "Chrystis" in this witness was reliable, with few obvious transcriptional errors (eg. dittography l.143) and only one interlinear correction (insertion of "did" l.41).

Arguably as authoritative as A is the Maitland Folio (Pepys 2553; B), another comprehensive collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scots literature, transcribed for Sir Richard Maitland by "a variety" of scribes during the period 1570-85 (Craigie 2,6). "Chrystis" is found in the first of two main portions of the Folio. The other works included in this section display a wide generic range, from Dunbar's courtly dream-vision, "The Golden Targe", to Douglas' homiletic "Conscience". Interestingly, "Chrystis" is placed between two works of the low style: the

anonymous, vernacular "The Freiris of Berwick", perhaps the only Scots fabliau -- and Dunbar's macaronic contumely, "The Testament of Master Andro Kennedy". Evidently the Maitland compiler felt that "Chrystis"'s flatulent dancers, incontinent heroes, and burly wives belong in a context of philandering friars fallen into muck ("Freiris.." 532) and irreverent funeral services, gay with bagpipes and revelry ("Testament.." 101-14).

Access to B was limited to a microfilm copy of "Chrystis", pages 129-35. The bulk of the manuscript, including "Chrystis", is written in a single "strong Roman" hand (Pinkerton, cited Craigie 15). Although less crowded than A, B is generally less regular and careful: the size of both miniscules and majuscules varies considerably; capitalization is inconsistent; lines are not straight, frequently drifting toward the lower right. A variety of transcriptional errors is also evident: "Hei" for "he" (57); "crhystis" for "chrystis" (99); "maid him" inserted before "stude him" (121); "bakbag" for "bag" (129). However, the scribe evidently proofread his work; some mistakes are crossed out with corrections added (eg. ll. 16,22,73). Additionally, catchwords are present following pp. 130,32,34 ("all auld", "Quhill thay", "ffor fantness"). Much the same system of contractions appears in B as A; capital <u>f</u> is represented by <u>ff</u>, (an orthographic convention for the

majuscule, Smith xxiii); yogh appears for y in ll.23 and 182; thorn infrequently appears for initial th- (eg. 1.37). The physical quality of this witness is poor; badly faded ink (Craigie, The Maitland.. 2) and water damage (particularly at the bottom of p.129, 1.40) impeded transcription. Kinghorn claims that the text of **B is superior to A** (Middle Scots.. 58); questioning a prevalent assumption that "[A] is, in general, textually superior to [B]", Bawcutt suggests that Bannatyne was a less careful copyist than the Maitland scribe (84). However, the relative abundance of transcriptional errors in B's "Chrystis" at least suggests a less careful transcription, hence more likely to introduce involuntary scribal errors.

Like A, B belongs to the older family of "Chrystis" versions (the other members of the lineage being Addl.30 and Ramsay's 1721 quarto, both derived largely from A). Orthography and stanza form and order suggest their close relation. However, significant differences exist. Not only are lines 21-30/31-40 and 41-50/51-60 reversed in B, but B contains an authoritative stanza absent in A (see Editorial Principles). This stanza is retained, in addition to two clearly spurious ones, by the later family of witnesses.

Laing.III.501, (C) a seventeenth-century transcript "designated on the spine 'Scullery Accounts 1628-[]8'", belongs to the second family of witnesses (Templeton 127).

The prosaic title provides apt warning of the physical quality of this witness. Access to the manuscript in photofacsimile emphasized the blurred, cramped, and careless hand of the scribe; whether quill or penmanship was to blame, C is often nearly illegible. In addition to extensive use of standard contractions, space was conserved by consistent use of the ampersand and the rare use of majuscules. C contains considerable scribal error: dittography in the ascription ("..James the the fifth") and line 13 ("of the of the strates"); omission of words, letters, and couplets (eg. 1.15,122-3,149); transposition of the third and fourth couplets of stanza fourteen (135-8). Nevertheless, C is a significant witness as the earliest exemplar (c.1640) of the later family of "Chrystis" (Templeton 129):

> The Laing recension...contains 24 stanzas, omitting Bannatyne and Maitland stanza 8 but including Maitland stanza 12, and has two new stanzas, 22 and 23. The stanzas in Laing are not in the same order as in either of the other manuscripts [see Table of Stanza Order]...the "bob and wheel" has been shortened to four syllables, with the omission in every case of the words "at christis kirk on the grene" ...many words have been replaced, or the line containing them re-cast... Templeton 128

These characteristics, including the idiosyncratic stanza order, are generally shared by the remaining three manuscripts and four printed witnesses. Ashmole 36 (D), another seventeenth-century member of the later "Chrystis"

recension, employs a decorative cursive hand with elaborate flourishes and an absence of contractions. The manuscript is in poor condition: its pages of varying lengths (28cm and 17cm), torn and folded, extensively water-stained, and evidently misbound. The correct folio order is 63, 66, 64. F. 64, is shorter by 11cm and narrower by 1cm than the preceding page; f.65 is also of reduced dimensions, and blank, being extensively stained. A later hand has numbered the sheets, adding the direction "see.66f." at the top of 64r. The stanza order in this witness is altered from C: lines 91-100/101-110, and 171-180/211-220 are reversed; only the first of the two spurious stanzas has been included (see Table of Stanza Order). A later, far less decorative hand has supplied explanatory glosses. Dubious words are underlined with definitions added either interlinearly or marginally. Where a gloss has provided new information, it has been noted (see Glossary); generally, however, these marginalia display ignorance of the Scots lexicon and a tendency to reduce the range of connotation. For example, "Rafell" (l.12), the satiric reference to peasants clad in doeskin, is glossed as "coarse stuff". These glosses are not infrequently wrong: the noun "leets" ("laitis" 12; manner, demeanor, etc.) is explained with the adjective "nimble"; "Lincon" ("lynkome" 15; from Lincoln green cloth, see note 15) is glossed "linsey wolsey"; "pleade" ("pleid" 167;

strife, contention) has been explained by a contextual guess, as "reach". The later hand has also made corrections, crossing out and replacing words thought to be in error. Interestingly, one such correction is an attribution of the poem to "James the fourth", where "first" has been crossed out. Unfortunately, the corrective strikes and quality of the photofacsimile have prevented determination of many original entries (eg. "scrumped" 1.19; "laste" 1.150). Offering structure and readings varying from C, this manuscript has unfortunately suffered over time.

In striking contrast to the sorry condition of D is its contemporary, Lansdowne 740 (E). Collected in a series of six folio sheets, E presents "Chrystis" in a careful and regular hand. The manuscript has suffered only slight damage, with minimal water-staining at the bottom margin. Although the quality of the photofacsimile prevents certainty, it seems likely that the scribe lined his paper: consistently, two and one half stanzas are centred on each page, with margins of 3cm and 1 1/2 line separations between the stanzas; lines of verse remain equidistant; alternate lines are inset by approximately 1cm. Scribal practice is professional and consistent throughout: all lines begin with capitals, letter formation displays only standard alternate forms, ie. long s at initial and medial positions, and short s terminally), and proper names are capitalized.

Contractions are limited to superscript r for -ur, qd for quod, and superscript th for -ith. The hand changes gradually, following line 101, from a neat, workmanlike and upright script to a larger, heavier, flourished and slanted one, with simpler capitals. It is not unlikely that a single scribe, tiring, was interrupted and returned to his work at this point; idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation argue a single copyist. The scribe habitually added a superfluous terminal e to both third person pronouns; "day" of the refrain is rendered "daie" throughout. Punctuation is minimal, with periods at stanza ends and scant use of commas. However, commas and parentheses are used interchangeably to separate such narratorial tags as "(as I weene)" and "...god, trow I," (ll.5,77).

Additional 30,371. (F), the last of the manuscript copies of "Chrystis" noted by Fox and Ringler in their edition of A (xxviii), is a 1724 transcript, prefaced "N.B. By reason of so many incorrect readings the different readings are subjoined in notes at the bottom of the page." The basis for this witness is A; the variants it notes derive primarily from B. At the bottoms of pages, the copyist notes both variant readings and also differences of stanza order and inclusion; eg. at the base of folio 7r, "God wait Ban. MS. L.C.'Men said'". The designation "L.C." is puzzling; however, these recorded variants consistently agree

with Maitland. Where the text of F differs from A, transcriptional errors, not different authority, appear responsible; for example, "..there came out Kitteis.." is a mistaken reading of "..our.." (l.7). Carelesness is also responsible for the omission of lines 15-6; a similar omission of lines 105-6 is corrected in the notes.

Of more interest than F's text, which does little beyond confirming readings from A, is the circumstance of its transcription. The B alternative to ll.7,8 is noted, followed by "B. Gibson Oxf.1691", an obvious reference to Edmund Gibson's "precocious" edition appended to "Polemmo-Middinia.." (Edwards 38). This name again appears following another B variant for l.85. At the end of the work, following ascription to James I:

> N.B. I forgot to mention that in [B]
> there is a re[ading orde]red erroneously be-
> foir " A yaip yung lad" & - beginning thus
> "The buff sua bousterouslie" &c. B. Gibson.

This reference is followed by a reference to this Gibson:

> B. Gibson has inserted another beginning.
> The bridegroom brought a pint of ale &c ...

The text and the notes of this witness are in the same hand. Evidently this anonymous editor, concerned by textual degradation of "Chrystis", has based his text on A, in comparison with Gibson's 1691 transcription. Oddly, the readings attributed by inference to this 1691 version are

generally consistent with B, not Gibson: both the F variant and B read "kirtill"-- Gibson reads "Gown" 1.8. While F is a generally faithful transcript of A, this suggests that variant readings may have resulted from silent conflation of B and Gibson's 1691 printed version.

The last manuscript witness to "Chrystis", one not previously cited by either Fox and Ringler or CBEL, is a another seventeenth-century transcription, part of the British Museum's Sloane collection, Sloane 1489 (G); the physical and textual quality of this witness suggests that it is the sort of copy that prompted the F scribe's desire to present a corrected text. G is strikingly cramped, filling each of three pages within ruled margins of less than 1cm on the outer edges, by compressing each stanza into four lines. The absence of descriptive data for this collection, and the extremely poor quality of the photofacsimile, prevents further physical description of the manuscript and its additional contents.

This exemplar follows the stanza order of the later recension, with three interesting changes. All other witnesses recognize lines 221-30 -- with the initial "When all was done...", and the dry, comic punch-line (228) -- as the final stanza of the poem. The incorporatiom of the two non-authorial stanzas, which refer to an otherwise unrelated wedding party, results in the interruption of the general

fray (witnesses C,E,b1-3,p1). The G copyist has solved the problem of this disjunction by inserting lines 221-30 following line 170, and concluding with the otherwise disruptive wedding passages. Additionally, two clearly nonauthorial stanzas have been inserted following lines 140 and 220 respectively. Metrically incompetent, composed of phrases and characters extracted from the original stanzas, these puerile attempts to imitate, and thereby participate in, the work at least bespeak the continuing popularity and vitality of "Chrystis Kirk..". In addition to the altered stanza order and insertion of new material, G varies drastically at lines 161-70 and 221-30. It seems likely that the basis for this copy was deficient, either by damage or loss, in these stanzas. They appear to have been supplied from memory; generally accurate as to subject and word choice, they exhibit the scrambled order and phrase of a memorial text. Line order in 161-70, relative to other witnesses: 1,2,3,4,5,8,7,6; line 221 is a conflation of the original 221-2, and consequently longer; line 227 turns the noun "paiks" into a transitive verb: "But he..paked them", thereby exchanging a prosaic drubbing for its indirect idiom.

"Chrystis"'s popularity during the seventeenth century is attested to by the circulation of broadsides, of which three are extant (Geddie 95-6). The 1643 "A merrie Ballad, Called, Christs Kirk on the Green." (b1), 1660 "Ballad of a

Countrey Wedding" (b2; attributed to James V), and the 1663 "Christs Kirk on the Green" (b3; also attributed to James V), display much the same text. Variants are generally accidental, attributable to compositorial style: b1's compositor prefers -ie and additional -e to -y and single -e, and habitually punctuates with colons, rather than commas (eg. "The far fayrer it set him:/ Whyle hee was past.." ll.166-7). While b1 and b2 capitalize both the initial letter of every line and a variety of common nouns throughout the text, b3 capitalizes only the first line of each couplet and only such nouns as refer to individual characters or objects (eg. "Lillie", "Jevell", "stanes", "mice" ll.22,57, 120,129). Still, the absence of substantial textual variation in these and subsequent witnesses is evidence of the "linguistic stability" that results from the passage of a manuscript text into print (Chaytor 34).

In 1691 Edmund Gibson appended a version of the later family of "Chrystis" to the second edition of "Polemo-Middinia..." (p1), a seventeenth-century Latin-Scots maccaronic work in the same tradition (MacLaine, "The 'Christis Kirk' .." 119-20). Edwards has praised Gibson's attempt to edit the text, while noting its failings: "authoritative-seeming" and "innovative", with its black letter text and explanatory notes, its text is nevertheless "extensively distanced from any putative Scottish original"

(39). This exemplar served as the basis for Watson's subsequent Choice Collection (1706).

In 1718 Allan Ramsay, an Edinburgh wigmaker and burgess, printed an edition of "Chrystis" based on Watson's collection; to this he added his own second canto in which he elaborated upon the suspect wedding motif. By 1722 he had printed five editions of this poem and written an additional canto (Martin, Allan.. 7). Ramsay had discovered A by 1724, the text of which he printed in his collection of older Scots works, The Evergreen. However, it is his 1721 edition (p2), "taken from an old Manuscript Collection...written 150 years ago", that is of interest here. Since Ramsay's first edition of the poem was derived from the p1 text (via Watson), its authority cannot be greater and may well be less; however, derived from an unidentified manuscript copy of roughly the same period as A and B, p2 might well present unique original readings.

The text of the poem is readily accessible in this quarto edition: with the exception of the first page (on which the introductory editorial reference is subjoined to a decorative title and the first four lines of the poem), each page of this edition presents two generously-spaced stanzas, with glosses at the bottom. Generally, these explanatory notes are accurate. However, there are a few notable exceptions with amusing results: unaware that "wedder"

designated a legal forfeiture for failing to practise archery, Ramsay suggests that Lowry has wagered a "Wedder", or neutered ram, (104; see note 104); similarly ignorant that a "fiddir" could indicate a multitude (of people, foes..), Ramsay has Dick coming forth to "cut down a Fidder, or Load of Wood", an explanation suggested by the metaphoric, "with an Aix/...to fell a Fiddir" (221-2). This edition is professional in appearance, with catchwords on every page, line numbers at four-line intervals, and both pagination and signatures ("N" p.97; "N2" p.99; "O" p.105). Proper names are consistently italicized, and both nouns and initial letters (of lines) are capitalized.

Relationship of Witnesses

Occasionally a text's history of transmission can help to determine relative textual authority; the witness demonstrably closest in line of descent to the postulated original is most authoritative. The relation between texts is determined by shared common error and chronology (Williams and Abbot 56). The latter element favored A and B as most authoritative; classification on the basis of relative textual corruption corroborated this. However, while useful in suggesting the relationships between witnesses, the construction of a stemma for "Chrystis" is no guarantee of any particular witness's originality; clear evidence of

conflation in at least two of the texts, and the considerable separation of even the oldest of the witnesses from a putative original, impugn the designation of any single witness as more authoritative than any other (see Editorial Principles). Still, recension is a useful descriptive tool in examining "Chrystis"'s later transmission.

Initial examination of the witnesses suggested two lines of descent. The first, containing A, B, and F, displays a ten-line, "bob-wheel" stanza and closely similar stanza order. The second is characterized by a nine-line variant stanza, scrambled order, the absence of stanza eight ("Ane bent a bow.." 71-80), and the inclusion of two ques-tionable stanzas (see Appendix II). The latter includes C, D, E, G, b1, b2, b3, and p1.

P2 appears to be a hybrid of the two lines, with the shortened stanza form, a (partially) scrambled order and one of the two additional stanzas, yet it retains stanza eight.

P2 appears to be a hybrid of the two lines, with the shortened stanza form, a (partially) scrambled order and one of the two additional stanzas, yet it retains stanza eight. It is not unlikely that this witness derived loosely from the first lineage, conflated with the second. While the stanzaic form of this witness is that of the later family, missing the "bob-wheel" tag and refrain, the stanza content and order is influenced by the older versions. While lines 71-80 (VIII) have reappeared, the first suspect stanza has been retained. Stanzaic order is a conflation of the two families (see Table of Stanza Order, following). The removal of the the second additional stanza may have resulted from Ramsay's desire to reserve its topic (a wedding) for his own cantos. In matters of word choice, this edition generally conforms to the older tradition, though anglicized in orthography and dialect (eg. "Kirtles" for "kirtillis" l.8; "these" for "thir" l.19). It is not unlikely that Ramsay had discovered A prior to 1724 and used it as the basis of p2 -- obliquely acknowledged as "an old Manuscript Collection...written 150 Years ago.." -- and silently conflated with a second family text. This sort of editorial licence was characteristic of Ramsay (Kinghorn and Law 131-4;MacLaine, Allan... 132;Martin, Allan... 102-8).

Similarly F, though primarily derived from A, was clearly prepared in comparison with both B and p1 in an

anonymous attempt to edit the text. Thus contaminated, the textual evidence of F and p2 cannot be used to infer stemmatic relationships. On the basis of this preliminary examination, then, A and B constitute one line of descent; C, D, E, G, b1, b2, b3, and p1 another.

The initial separation of "Chrystis"'s witnesses into two families is supported by differences in individual readings. The later family unanimously attests to an alternate version of line 107: "Bot swa his fortoun wes and hap" becomes "He skaped sa sick wes his hap". Similarly, the original "..full weill he preivit" has changed into "... he wisely preivit" (146), a reading in which the adjectival sense of the satiric adverb "weill" has been reduced to "wisely". Where the first group of witnesses reads "Sevin myll quhill he wes chest", the second's reading is the prosaic "While he a myle wes chast" (178).

This division of the witnesses into two clear families is complicated by the inclusion of stanza twelve ("The baff.." 111-20) in all witnesses but A and F. The most straightforward explanation is that this stanza is original, lost in the transcription of A or one of its direct ancestors; evidence of scribal omission supports this explanation (see Editorial Principles). This suggests that A is at one more remove from the "ur-text" than B, and therefore more likely to contain textual corruption.

However, although it seems to follow that readings shared between B and the second family are more probably original than those exclusive to A, such shared substantive readings were frequently inferior.

Many such readings were inferior on the basis of both sense and metre. A's generic group of girls (7) becomes a single "our kittie", thus reducing the scope of the initial scene and preventing a smooth reduction in authorial distance from the introductory festival scene to the first identified character (7-22). The B reading begins with a single girl, expands to several lasses, and contracts, again, to Gillie (7, 12, 22). Similarly, the A reading, "Fow yellow, yellow.../But she of lufe..." (25-6), becomes B's awkward "Bot.../And...". This suggests that yellow hair, while unusual in combination with rosy cheeks and lily-white skin, is coordinate with silliness in love. In line 33, the B reading changes the A intransitive "luvit" to a transitive verb with the addition of the direct object, "hir". This not only necessitates an awkward ellision ('lufft' her') to satisfy the measure, but reduces the satiric impact of Jok's reappearance some thirty lines later, fighting over a different woman (63). A suggests an indiscriminate desire to love, regardless of object, later confirmed by the subsequent dispute over Downy, thus emphasizing the satiric treatment of the 'unrequited' lover. Further, B reads "Lutar" for A's

"Lular" (41); this change simplifies the original name's connotations of caterwauling, contradicting the description of his playing as "schill" (43).

Alternatively, B's transposition of stanzas three and four, five and six might indicate that, relative to A (or rather its ancestor prior to the omission of lines 111-20, stanza twelve), it is at least one generation from the original. However, readings shared between A and the later family of witnesses, as in the preceding case, were not consistently preferable. Apart from scribal license taken with prepositions and conjunctions (3,4,12,58,93..), B exhibits some exclusive substantive readings that may well be original. Where both A and the later witnesses include the emphatic "Thocht all hir kin had sworn her deid" (27), B reads the apparently equivalent Scots idiom, "...hir kin suld have ben deid" (note 27). Similarly, B's "toun soutar in breif..." (171, "breif" meaning anger) has probably led, in one line of transmission, to A's easier "in greif" and, in the other, to "black sutar of Braith", the obscure emotion becoming a place-name. The initial examination of "Chrystis Kirk.." witnesses indicated that while A was at least one generation removed from the original, at the step in transmission in which lines 111-20 were omitted, B is also distanced from the original in that the second two stanza pairs were transposed.

Examples of eighteenth-century editorial practice, p2 and F, also reveal conflation at the level of specific variants. In p2 this conflation was arbitrary and creative -- combining readings from the two families and inserting entirely new variants. For example, while following the earlier readings at line 107, this witness agrees with the later at 146 and 178. In stanza six Ramsay has combined both families: p2 follows second family variants in lines 53 and 56, and the earlier versions of line 57. Ramsay's editorial license has also resulted in a variety of deliberate variants. Where all exempla, of both families, read "lance" (42, "denoting the ... lively strokes of a musician.." JSD 320), Ramsay has accomodated his English audience by exchanging the Scots word for an easier reading: "dance", both less alliterative and less descriptive of a minstrell. The comic vulgarity evident in Ramsay's "Chrystis Kirk.." cantos (in which he posits "Tam Luttar" "pish[ing]...in his ain twa Shoon" I.119-20, and "Robin spew[ing] in's ain Wife's Lap" II.163) has prompted elaboration at line 117; the original "...with thre routis thay raisit him" becomes the more explicit "...Routs on's Arse they...".

Differences between specific readings of F and its primary source, A, confirm similar contamination. With the exception of A and B, the "Chrystis" witnesses present altered lineation in which lines 164 and 166 have been

transposed. F agrees with the second family of witnesses in inserting "thair" into line 45, thereby, arguably, improving the measure by shifting the stress to the first syllable of "Lychtfute". Apparently, the F scribe was aware of some later version of the second family; at line 184 he has adopted the reading "powes", agreeing with b1, b2 and p1. Similarly, this witness agrees with B in both line 145, reading "wan" for "was", and also 229, adopting the later text's bob-line.

The second family of transmission is also divided. While all members exhibit both a scrambled stanza (see Table I) and the addition of the "By this Tom..." stanza (see Appendix III. i.), all but D include still more shifts in order and the addition of yet another stanza. Evidently, D is earlier than C, E, b1, b2, b3, and p1 -- thus, by the logic of recension, more authoritative, b2 has lost stanza fifteen ("Thay girnit and lait.." 141 ff.), and consequently represents another remove, beyond C et al, from the original. This is confirmed by b2's occasionally wayward variants; for example, the readings "dressing", "squeak'd", "Lusty", and "flegge" (2,18,91,102) are exclusive to b2 and cannot be attributed to mechanical error. G is the most corrupt of these witnesses, and probably the last transmitted. In addition to the two order-shifts and the two spurious stanzas, G exhibits further changes in stanza order and two

more stanzas (see Description of Witnesses).

An examination of poem and stanza structure suggested certain divisions within the later family, which were confirmed and modified by individual variants. An early second family witness, D evidenced some readings shared with the first family, independent of C,E, and other second-family witnesses. In lines 213-4, D agrees with the probably original "wer" and "mangit", rather than the later variants, "grew" and "wearied". D and b1 share readings at l. 213; D and E at 214. This suggests that E and b1, while later than D, derive from an earlier point in the text's transmission than other second-family witnesses. Where the older family reads "yif", D reads "ther", an early second-family variant that subsequently segued into C's "that" (68). D was probably not a direct precursor to C et al: D presents independent readings in lines 96,98, where all other witnesses agree; where A "culd" has become, in the later second-family versions, "can", D reads "did" (105). Variants of line 215 suggest still further modifications of the second-family recension. The copy-text reading, "For fantness tha forfochin fools", is first slightly altered in two second-family groups: in b1 and b2, "fantness" becomes "tyrdness" -- in C, D, E, "fyrdness"; however, in G, b3, and p1, the line has been substancially altered to read "For those forfochten tyrd..".

On the basis on these comparisons, several observations may be made. While A and B are the least distanced from the original poem, they are both at least one generation removed from a common ancestor. F and p2 are demonstrably conflated editions, both primarily based on A in conjunction with B and/or some member of the second line of textual transmission. Of the later family of witnesses, D seems to be the least distanced from the original; C and E are slightly more distanced; b1 and b2 further still; and b3, p1 and G latest in the line of transmission from the original work. For the purposes of designating more and less "authoritative" witnesses, however, this description is misleading. Although this rough stemma both serves to clarify the relationships between the witnesses and suggests that readings shared between A and B should be most often original, and that, similarly, D readings should be superior to variants found in C, E, etc. -- recension cannot adequately account for a century of transmission for which there are no extant witnesses.

Editorial Principles

The primary goal of textual criticism, the study of the transmission of texts in order to explain variations between their versions, is the preparation of a "critical edition". The critical edition is a "sound text" approximating the author's original (Williams and Abbot 9). The editor first assembles those variant witnesses "sufficiently similar to be said variants of a single work" (Peckham 127), assessing them on the basis of such criteria as dialectal quality, inclusiveness, etc. in order to select a base or "copy" text (Greg 26). These witnesses are transcribed and recorded in order to collate textual variants against the copy-text which is emended when an alternative reading seems less likely to have been acquired during transmission than that of the copy-text. The emended text is then presented with a textual and historical introduction, a list of emendations, textual notes which discuss editorial decisions, a full apparatus detailing the variants and whatever supporting material -- glossary, literary notes, appendices -- may be appropriate.

The authority on which emendation is based can be "authorial intention" where such can be demonstrated (by holograph manuscripts, authorial production instructions, evident authorial revisions, etc.). In the absence of such demonstration, "authorial intent" is a tenuous source of authority. For anonymous verse, the authorial text is "an

unrealizable ideal" (Pearsall 100). However, an edited text, in which the "sole source of authority is the variants themselves, ... [whose] authority, that is, originality, will probably be determined most often by indentification of the variant likliest to have given rise to the others", is realizable through emendation (Kane 115).

Extant witnesses of "Chrystis" fall into two distinct families (see Witness Description) of which the oldest is seemingly more authoritative. This family is represented by manuscripts that are both physically and linguistically older than the other witnesses, and less anglicized (a tendency attributable to the political changes begun in the seventeenth century, see Language). However, while the two independently derived members of this family (A and B) may be more original than other witnesses, there is no evidence that -- a priori -- favours their readings. The oldest witness is distanced from the likely date of composition by over a century. Furthermore, the tendency to prefer manuscript to printed readings is particularly unjustified in the case of Middle Scots works in which manuscript witnesses may be distanced from their original by lost printed intermediaries (Fox, "Manuscripts and.." 157-8). Both extant manuscript versions of "The Buke of the Howlat" are copies of a sixteenth-century printed edition that no longer exists (Craigie, "The Scottish.." 225); such witnesses are no more

likely to exhibit originality than any printed source. Similarly, both manuscripts of Henryson's "Testament of Cresseid" derive from prints (Fox, The Poems.. xxix). This may well have been the case with A, if not B. Bannatyne is known to have copied some poems from printed sources (particularly Chaucer's, of which presumably earlier (manuscript) copies would have been less accessible than those of similar Scots works. Ibid xxxvii). Similarly, the construction of a tentative stemma serves only to express the interrelations of the various "Chrystis" witnesses. Rather than guaranteeing the originality of any single witness, it simply confirms that there are two families of textual transmission, the earliest of which is nevertheless distanced from a putative original. Apparently unrelated and reliable texts may share errant readings -- while a late, textually corrupt broadside may yet retain an original one. The text was emended only when the evidence at each crux supported such decisions; all such are discussed (see Notes).

A copy-text serves three purposes: as a standard against which variants may be collated; as a source of accidental readings; and as a means of deciding between otherwise indifferent substantive readings. Any reasonably inclusive witness will serve the first purpose. However, in the matter of accidental variants (chiefly orthographic) and indifferent substantives, the choice of copy-text

substancialy affects the resultant edition. Here the choice falls between the two earliest and most dialectally Scots witnesses (A and B) of which the earlier, hence possibly less corrupt, was selected (Tanselle, "Recent... " 64).

This decision involved two texts of comparable authority existing in collateral, rather than ancestral relation to one another, neither one of which is more obviously original than the other. Though generally an earlier witness is more likely to represent its original in accidental variants, Bannatyne is less than fifty years Maitland's senior. The choice of copy-text was ultimately pragmatic: a preliminary examination of substantive variants between A and B in the first three stanzas suggested that A readings are generally more original (roughly 5:1; eg. 33. luvit] luffit hir B, as discussed above). Assuming that this finding would hold for the rest of the text, A was chosen as copy-text in the interest of economy in the first apparatus and the textual notes.

This does not represent any distinction between the authority of the two witnesses; indeed, there is some indication that A is rather less reliable. Where Bannatyne's sources have been determined, it appears that he was a willful copyist, introducing variant readings approximately four times as frequently as other scribes transmitting the same works (Fox, The Poems.. xxxvii). Bawcutt has detected

several instances in poems by Dunbar represented in both A and B where the latter's reading, both harder and more apt, is probably original (86-7). With specific regard to "Chrystis", A (or an ancestor) has omitted a stanza that is probably original. On the other hand, B seems to present a greater number of mechanical errors (e.g. 120,121,127), including stanza-transposition at lines 21-30/31-40, 41-50/51-60. The effect of this transposition on the narrative argues against its originality: the introduction of Gillie is preceded by the story of her love-affair, the introduction of the minstrel and the dance-motif by a depiction of the first of the dancers. That neither A nor B is clearly authoritative does not impugn editing; the evidence presented by a pre-established copy-text should never replace the necessity for careful editorial judgement (Greg 29).

Cautious acceptance of A's orthography and grammar, in the absence of obvious error, is not editorial abdication to "the tyranny of the copy-text" (Greg 26). Editorial necessity and the nature of manuscript culture in general and written Middle Scots in particular, support this acceptance. Chaytor emphasizes the differences between our literary prejudices and those governing the production of medieval texts: this was a period "when orthographical standards varied and grammatical accuracy was not highly esteemed" (1). This is particularly true of Middle Scots, in which

orthographic practice was governed less by date and region than scribal idiosyncrasy (Aitken, "Variation.." 182 f). Presented here is a critical edition whose formal aspect reflects Bannatyne's practice.

Emendation depends upon the determination of sources of textual variation; where scribal interference can be demonstrated, the copy-text is emended. Kane distinguishes between "mechanical" and "conscious" scribal error (117,125), while Moorman identifies such error as either "spontaneous" or "determined" (57). Both are refering to two different circumstances resulting in textual variation, the former a result of inattention, the latter of deliberate attempts to "improve" the text. Common mechanical error includes dittography, haplography, homoeoteleuton, word or letter transpositions, mistaken abbreviations, and such confusion of letters as, for example, results from minim similarities (Kane 117-24). A deliberate attempt to 'correct' or 'improve' a reading might be a response to perceived mistakes in metre, grammar, or sense (Moorman 59); generally, scribes appeared to favor "a more correct, or a more easily intelligible, or a more emphatic, or a more elegant text" (Kane 128). Still, the distinction between an original and a scribal reading can defy identification. For example, the substitution of small grammatical elements is equivocal (eg. 10. of] A;on B). Ultimately, where scribal error cannot

account for a variant reading, the editor must apply a knowledge of the work's period, genre, and style to make and defend a choice; if the choice remains indifferent, the copy-text must be accepted.

The dependence of editorial decisions on the authority of demonstrable "originality" is particularly complicated in the case of a widely known and circulated "popular" text -- which, consequently, may have been susceptible to reworking. Certainly by the seventeenth century, "Chrystis" had become, to some, a locus of participation, rather than an autonomous text: the author(s) of the additional two stanzas and the G scribe evidently thought so. Arguing that medieval textual authority was a sort of communal construct, McGann urges the reconstruction "not of an author and his intentions so much as of an author and his context" (A Critique... 84). How that context is to be reconstructed, when any variant reading introduced in the (communal) transmission of the text may be authorized, is not explained. Perhaps modern notions of textual autonomy are anachronisms that threaten the "integrity of past structures [texts]" (Robertson 77), yet these are the notions that permit editing. I faced a choice: to assume that "Chrystis" was a popular, "participatory" text, the originality of its variant readings indeterminable; or to believe that it was a popular, widely admired and

imitated work which was nevertheless transmitted with sufficient fidelity to permit edition. The first choice argued for a diplomatic, preferably facsimile, edition; I have chosen the second.

All emendations are discussed (see Notes). However, the absence of three stanzas from the copy-text, one of which I have accepted as original, should be discussed here. Stanza twelve, beginning "The baff..." (111-20) is present in all witnesses but A. This suggests that it is either authoritative, lost as recently as Bannatyne's compilation, or the work of some scribal poetaster, acquired very early in the text's transmission, in which case divergence between A and B should be considerable. It is more likely that this stanza was omitted from A as a result of mechanical error. Stanza twelve and the preceding stanza begin with visually similar words ("Than", "The" ll.101,111). The scribe, approaching stanza twelve, may have been conscious that he had already copied a stanza with such a beginning and therefore went on to the next, and quite different, opening line, "A yaip.." (121).

The inclusion of this stanza is also supported by internal literary criteria. In contrast to the two stanzas found in the later family of witnesses, stanza twelve is metrically and structurally consistent with the rest of the

work. This stanza conforms to both the abababab rhyme-scheme and tetrameter/trimeter measure of the octave -- although this measure is fulfilled by a degree of license with the syllabic value of the third person preterite rhyming words. In lines 111 and 115 these words, one singular and one plural, are monosyllables (abasit: paisit); in lines 113 and 117 they are disyllabic (preissit: raisit). Alliteration is extensive, employing mute consonant pairs b-/p-, d-/t- (voiced and breathed) both within and between lines. Not only are alliterating sounds carried across line-breaks ("..duschit doun/..dreid.." 111-2), but different consonants are closely related linguistically (...baff..boustuouslie../...preissit../ ..paisit.." 111,-3,-5).

In contrast, neither scribal error nor literary quality argues the originality of the two stanzas found in the later family of witnesses. The "By this Tom Taylowr.." stanza (i) invariably appears after stanza twenty-one ("The wyves kest up.." 201-20); in the two witnesses that do not also include the "The bridgroome.." stanza (D and p2), i is then followed by the final stanza, "Quhen all wes done.." (221-30). However, this similarity between D and p2 does not suggest that Ramsay had access either to D or to a related witness; the subject of his own cantos is a subsequent wedding, with which the second additional stanza would have conflicted. Where the "bridgroome " stanza (ii) does appear, it

invariably follows i. (This discussion ignores the testimony of G, an evidently memorial copy evidencing considerable amateur tinkering, see Witness Description.) Were one or both of these original, either mechanical circumstances led to unconscious omission or the nature of the stanzas suggested deliberate excision (Kane 128 ff).

Unlike the case of stanza twelve (ll. 111-120), the surrounding text does not support mechanical omission of either of these stanzas. It is only marginally possible that the initial similarity between l.201 and i ("The w-", "The b-") may have had some effect; although confusion between -bb- and -w- was a frequent source of scribal error, a single, initial b- could hardly masquerade as the second half of w- (Kane 120).

Nor is there aught to suggest that i and ii were deliberately omitted: neither is difficult or controversial (Kane 136-8). While i is a reworking of the final stanza, involving a doughty latecomer, "Tom Taylowr", who is overcome by a wife with a husking mallet -- ii asks us to believe that the occasion for the fracas has been the marriage of a lout attempting to force stale beer on the piper and his winking (drunken?) bride, "Bartagrase" (9).

Without evidence of scribal intervention, the originality of i and ii is dubious; their literary quality confirms such doubt. Both stanzas are lexically impoverished: i is a

pastiche of original words and phrases, ii a repetetive collection of dialectally neutral monosyllables. Five of eight rhyme-words in i appear elsewhere in the poem: "geir" (i 1), "ungerd" (195); "bell" (i 2),(207); "steir" (i 3),(71); "feir" (i 5),(73),"unafferd" (193); "fell" (i6),(203). Similarly, "the Common bell" and "to the ground he fell" (i2,6) mirror ll.207,112. I's addition of a tailor, while new to this work, was probably suggested by traditional comic battles between cobblers and tailors (cf. Dunbar's "Nixt that a turnament..."). While ii, having introduced an entirely new context, has departed from the two-rhyme octave and introduced the sort of dialogue characteristic of later members of the "Chrystis" sub-genre (ii3-4;MacLaine, "The 'Christis..'" 119). Compared with other stanzas, ii is non-alliterating and monotonous: "brid[-]" appears three times (ii 1,5,7), "drink" twice (ii 2,3), and "it" four times (ii 2,3,4,6), two of these being rhyme-words. Unlike stanza twelve, neither i nor ii can reasonably be considered authoritative.

The text is presented conservatively. Contractions were expanded, where possible in accordance with scribal usage; these are indicated by italics in the apparati. The presentation of long-s, the interchangeable i/j, u/w pairs (Williams and Abbot 71), thorn and yogh follows modern usage.

Thorn and yogh appeared only in A, B, C -- repre-senting the voiced palatal and dental spirants, which are designated in the text as y- and th-; these are indicated in the apparati by italics. Punctuation and capitalisation are editorial. Line-beginnings and proper nouns are capitalised. The decision to punctuate was supported both "in order to facillitate the modern reader's comprehension" (Jenkins 65) and to reveal my own understanding of the text. This has not always been editorial practice: Craigie's edition of B is unpunctuated, while Ramson and Hughes punctuated their selective edition of A "convention[ally]" (xi), without any further discussion. Occasionally I have altered word division to avoid confusion; this has been indicated in the text by the use of hyphens. The text was presented clearly; variant readings and notes are provided separately. Although this will result in some inconvenient flipping between the text and the list of emendations, this serves to emphasize the text (Tanselle "Some.." 45). Evidently copy-text variation in the refrain followed scribal convenience; Bannatyne frequently abbreviated the refrain with the notation "rp", (repetition). Excepting the three occasions where Bannatyne has specifically added "...that day" (20, 200, 230), this edition's refrain is printed "At Chrystis kirk of the grene". While these additions to the "wheel" do not seem to be particularly related to the sense of the

stanza, there is no reason to doubt their authority.

The presentation of collated data follows Kane's format, with slight variation (170); all witnesses to particular substantive variants are noted by sigils following that reading (the first responsible for orthography). The first entry reads: 2. dansing] dressing b2. No sigil follows the lemma, indicating that the copy-text is responsible for the form of the accepted reading, b2 for that of the variant. This entry indicates that all other witnesses attest to "dansing". The second apparatus supplies the orthographic variants: 2. dansing] danceing D;dauncing E,b1; dancing G,b3,p1-2. Where words or lines were illegible, they are represented in the apparati within round brackets; as variants of punctuation have not been recorded (only the second family of witnesses is punctuated), these should not prove confusing (Craigie, The Maitland.. Vol.1, xi). Differences in both stanza and line order, and also stanza form were disregarded for the presentation of collated data (see Witness Description). For example, the B's third stanza is collated against the copy-text fourth; transposed lines in stanza seventeen are collated accordingly: ll. 164,-6 (C, D, etc.) against ll.166,-4 (A, B; see note 164 ff). Similarly, line numbering was manipulated to enable presentation of collated data from the second family of witnesses. The nine-line stanza of the second family of

witnesses was lineated against the ten-line copy-text. The ninth line of this family consisted of the original "bob", to which "that day" was added (MacLaine, "'The Chrystis..'" 167). (In D and E, "day" was consistently spelled "daye" and "daie"; these are not included in Apparatus II.) These variants, minus the added "that day", were collated against the dimeter tags of the earlier family; the absence of the refrain in these later witnesses was disregarded. For example, the first ten lines of p2 (missing the original refrain: l.10,20,etc.) have been numbered 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,11. Individual variants omitting copy-text readings are noted in Apparatus I; e.g. 77. Bot] om. p2 indicates that all witnesses save p2 attest to this reading. The omission of entire lines is not represented in the apparatus: F omits ll.15-6; all second family witnesses omit ll.71-80; A omits ll. 111-20; b2 ll.141-50; C lacks l.157-8,205.

As noted above, this edition is provided with two apparati in order to present a fuller record of the two different sorts of variant readings. Generally, textual variants can be designated as either "substantive" or "accidental", textually meaningful or merely formal (Greg 22). A scribe or compositor is likely to adhere to a personal system for the formal elements of a text, rather

than that of his copy-text; these include orthography, punctuation, and capitalisation. Consequently, such variants -- much less meaningful than differences in word-choice, word-order, lin-eation, and other substantives -- are seldom represented in the apparatus. In "Chrystis", however, "accidental" variants of spelling illustrate the linguistic transformations of the text in response to changing literary aes-thetics over three centuries; these transformations record the effect of the changing balance of Scots-English culture and politics on an originally Middle Scots work, incrementally appropriated by a predominantly Augustan English milieu.

Generally, distinctions between accidental and substantive variants were easily made. However, one class of var-iant, not strictly orthographical, was not sufficiently meaningful to merit inclusion in the primary apparatus of collated data. These were dialectal synonyms, philologically distinct and not always separate in either region or period of use (Fox, The Poems.. xxxiii); such variants include "a/ane", "be/by", "begouth/began", "cam/come", "compt/count", "eche/ilk", "eirth/ eird", "fechtaris/fighters", "heich/hie", "sic/such", "till/to", and "quhilk/which", "quoth/quod". Somewhere between formal variants and linguistically distinct synonyms, these variant pairs are noted in the secondary apparatus.

Table of Stanza Order

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	b1	b2	b3	p1	p2
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
4	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
5	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
8	8	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	8
9	9	13	13	13	9	13	13	13	13	13	9
10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	13
11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	11	10
13	12	12	12	12	13	12	12	12	12	12	11
14	13	19	19	19	14	19	19	19	19	19	12
15	14	16	16	16	15	16	16	16	16	16	14
16	15	17	17	17	16	17	17	17	17	17	15
17	16	20	20	20	17	23	20	20	20	20	16
18	17	15	15	15	18	20	15	14	15	15	17
19	18	14	14	14	19	15	14	18	14	14	18
20	19	18	22	18	20	14	18	22	18	18	19
21	20	22	18	22	21	C	22	21	22	22	20
22	21	21	21	21	22	18	21	A	21	21	21
23	22	A	A	A	23	22	A	B	A	A	A
	23	B	23	B		D	B	23	B	B	22
		23		23		21	23		23	23	23
						A					
						B					

Table of Sigla

Advocates Ms 1.1.6 (Bannatyne), f.99-101 (1568):	A
Pepys 2553 (Maitland Folio), p.129-() (1570-85):	B
University of Edinburgh Ms La.III.501 (17th C):	C
Bodl. Ms Ashmole 36,37:	D
BL Ms Lansdowne 740, f. 40:	E
BL Ms Addit. 30, 371, ff. 6-10 (1724)	F
BM Sloane Ms 4869, f.8.:	G
"A merrie Ballad, Called, Christs Kirk on the Green". brs. (1643):	b1
"A ballad of a country wedding". brs. (1660):	b2
"Christs Kirk on the Green". brs. (1663):	b3
"Polemo-Middinia...". 4to (1691):	p1
"Christ's Kirk ...". Ed. Allan Ramsay. 4to. (1721):	p2

Text: Chrystis Kirk of the Grene

Wes nevir in Scotland hard nor sene
Sic dansing nor deray,
Nowthir at Falkland on the grene
Nor Peblis at the play,
As wes of wowaris, as I wene,
At Chrystis kirk on ane day;
Thair come our kitteis weschin clene
In thair new kirtillis of gray,
Full gay,
At Chrystis Kirk of the grene.

To dans thir damysellis thame dicht,
Thir lassis licht of laitis:
Thair gluvis wer of the rafell richt,
Thair schone wer of the straitis,
Thair kirtillis wer of lynkome licht,
Weill prest with mony plaitis;
Thay wer so nyss, quhen men thame nicht
Thay squeilit lyk ony gaitis,
So lowd,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene that day.

Off all thir madynis myld as meid

Wes nane so gympt as Gillie.
As ony rose hir rude wes reid,
Hir lyre wes lyk the lillie,
Fow yellow, yellow wes hir heid,
Bot scho of lufe wes sillie:
Thocht all hir kin had sworn hir deid
Scho wald haif bot sweit Willie
Allone,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Scho skornit Jok and skraipit at him
And murionit him with mokkis.
He wald haif luvit; scho wald nocht lat him,
For all his yellow lokkis.
He chereist hir; scho bad ga chat him:
Scho compt him nocht twa clokkis.
Sa schamefully his schort goun set him,
His lymmis wer lyk twa rokkis,
Scho said,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Thome Lular wes thair menstrall meit,
O Lord, as he cowd lanss;
He playit so schill and sang so sweit,
Quhill Towsy tuk a transs.

Auld Lychtfute thar he did forleit
And counterfutit Franss.
He him avysit as man discreit
And up the Moreiss danss
He tuk,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Than Stevin come stoppand in with stendis,
No rynk micht him arreist.
Platfute he bobbit up with bends;
For mald he maid requiest.
He lap quhill he lay on his lendis,
Bot rysand he wes preist,
Quhill that he oistit at baith the ends,
For honour of the feist
That day,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Syne Robene Roy begouth to revell
And Downy till him druggit;
"Lat be", qod Jok and cawd him, "Javell"
And be the taill him tuggit.
The kensy cleikit to the cavell,
Bot Lord, than gif thay luggit.
Thay pairtit hir manly with a nevell,

God wait gif hair wes ruggit
Betwix thame,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Ane bent a bow, sic sturt cowd steir him;
Grit skayth wes'd to haif skard him.
He chesit a flane as did affeir him;
The toder said, "dirdum-dardum".
Throw baith the cheikis he thocht to cheir him,
Or throw the erss haif chard him,
Bot be ane akerbraid it come nocht near him;
I can nocht tell quhat mard him
Thair,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

With that a freynd of his cry'd, "Fy!"
And up ane arrow drew.
He forgit it so fowriously,
The bow in flenderis flew.
Sa wes the will of God, trow I,
For had the tre bene trew --
Men said, that kend his archery,
That he had slane anew,
That day,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Ane haisty hensure callit Hary,
Quha wes ane archer heynd,
Titt up a taikle withouttin tary,
That torment so him teynd.
I wait nocht quhiddir his hand cowd vary,
Or the man wes his freynd,
For he eschaipit throw micht of Mary,
As man thet no ill meynd,
Bot gude,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Than Lowry as ane lyon lap
And sone a flane cowd fedder.
He hecht to perss him at the pap,
Thereon to wed a weddir.
He hit him on the wame a wap;
It bust lyk ony bledder.
Bot swa his fortoun wes and hap,
His dowblet wes of ledder,
And saift him,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

The baff so boustuouslie abasit him,
To the erd he duschit doun.

The tother for dreid he preissit him
And fled out of the toun.
The wyffis come furth and up thay paisit him
And fand lyff in the loun;
And with thre routis thay raisit him
And coverit him of swoune,
Again,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

A yaip yung man that stude him niest,
Lowse of a schot with ire.
He ettlit the bern in at the breist;
The bolt flew our the byre.
Ane cry'd, "Fy!": he had slane a preist,
A myll beyond ane myre.
Than bow and bag fra him he keist
And fled als ferss as fyre
Of flynt,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

With forkis and flailis thay lait grit flappis
And flang togidder lyk friggis.
With bowgaris of barnis thay beft blew kappis,
Quhill thay of bernis maid briggis.
The rerd raiss rudly with the rappis,

Quhen rungis wes layd on riggis.
The wyffis come furth with cryis and clappis,
"Lo, quhair my lyking liggis",
Quod thay,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Thay girnit and lait gird with granis;
Ilk gossep uder greivit:
Sum straik with stingis, sum gaderit stanis,
Sum fled and weill eschewit.
The menstrall wan within twa wanis;
That day full weill he preivit,
For he come hame with unbirs'd banis,
Quhair fechtaris wer mischevit
Forevir,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Heich Hucheoun with á hissill ryss
To red cam throw thame rummill;
He mudlit thame doun lyk ony myss,
He wes no baity-bummill.
Thocht he wes wicht he wes nocht wyss
With sic janglours to jummill,
For fra his thowme thay dang a sklyss,
Quhill he cry'd, "Barla-fummyll,

I am slane!",
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Quhen that he saw his blude so reid,
To fle micht no man lat him.
He wend it bene for auld done feid;
He thocht ane cry'd, "Haif at him!".
He gart his feit defend his heid,
The far sarar it set him,
Quhill he wes past out of all pleid.
He suld bene swift that gat him,
Throw speid,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

The toun sowtar in breif wes bowdin;
His wyfe hang in his waist.
His body wes with blud all browdin;
He graint lyk ony gaist.
Hir glitterand hair that wes full goldin
So hard in lufe him laist,
That for hir saik he wes not yoldin,
Sevin myll quhill he wes chest
And mair,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

The millar wes of manly mak;
To meit him wes na mowis.
Thair durst nocht ten cum him to tak,
So nowit he thair nowis.
The buschment haill about him brak
And bikkerit him with bowis.
Syne tratourly behind his bak
Thay hewit him on the howis
Behind,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Twa that wer heidmen of the heird
Ran upoun uderis lyk rammis.
Than followit feymen richt unaffeird,
Bet on with barrow-trammis,
Bot quhair thair gobbis wer ungeird
Thay gat upoun the gammis,
Quhill bludy berkit wes their beird,
As thay had wirreit lammis,
Maist lyk,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene that day.

The wyvis kest up ane hidduous yell
Quhen all thir yunkeris yokkit.
Als ferss as ony fyrflawcht fell,

Friekis to the feild thay flokkit.
Tha cairlis with clubbis cowd uder quell,
Quhill blud at breistis out-bokkit.
So rudly rang the commoun-bell,
Quhill all the stepill rokkit
For rerd,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Quhen thay had berit lyk baitit bulis
And branewod brynt in bailis,
Thay wer als meik as ony mulis
That mangit wer with mailis.
For fantness tha forfochin fulis
Fell doun lyk flawchtir failis
And freschmen come in and hail'd the dulis
And dang thame doun in dailis,
Be-dene,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene.

Quhen all wes done, Dik with ane aix
Come furth to fell a fidder.
Qod he, "Quhair ar yone hangit smaix,
Rycht now wald slane my bruder?".
His wyf bad him, "Ga hame, grit glaiks,"
And sa did Meg, his muder.

He turn'd and gaif thame bayth thair paiks,
For he durst ding nane udir,
For feir,
At Chrystis kirk of the grene that day.

Apparatus I: Substantive Variants

Line Collation

1 nor] or p2.

2 dansing] dressing b2. nor] and G,p1,p2.

3 at] in B. on] at B.

4 Nor] Or p1. at] to B.

7 Thair] For thar C-G,b1-3,p1;For their E. our] om. C-E,G,b1-3,p1;out F. kitteis] kittie B,C-G,b1-3,p1.

8 thair] hir B,C-E,b1-3,p1;om. F,p2. kirtillis] kirtill B;goune C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

9 Full] so C,D.

11 thir] the B,D,E,G;there b2.

12 Thir] And B;Their E. of] as C. lassis] B; lasss A. laitis] laisses C.

13 gluvis] gownes D. wer] C;wes A,E.

14 wer] C; wes A,E. of the] of the of the C.

15 wer] was E. of] of the B;om. F.

16 with] om. C.

18 squeilit] squeak'd b2.

19 so] ful B,p2.

21 thir] the C,E;thos G.

22 Wes] None b2. nane] no E;was b2.

25 fow] Bot B,C,E,G,b1-3,p1;And D.

26 bot] And B,C-E,G,b1-3,p1. wes] so B,C-E,G,b1-

3,p1.

27 had sworn hir] suld have ben B.

28 bot] non C-E,G,b1-3,p1. sweit] but C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

31 skraipit] scrumped D.

33 luvit] luffit hir B,C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

34 lokkis] B;loikkis A.

35 chat] pack b2. Scho] om. p2.

36 nocht] as C.

37 goun] Jack C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;Cloak b2. set] bet E.

38 lymmis] legs C-E,G,b1-3,p1. wer] C;wes A,B,E.

39 Scho said] or rungs C-E,(G),b1-3,p1-2.

41 lular] lutar B,D-F,b1-3,p1-2;luchell C.

42 O] good C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. as] gif B;how C,D,G,b1-3,p1-2. lanss] dance b2.

44 quhill] Till b2.

45 Auld] All B. thar] om. B. did] could C-E,G,b1,b3,p1.

47 he] And E. him avysit] B;used himself A,F,p2;huld him C,G,b1-3,p1;used him D,E. as] like D,E,G,b1-3,p1. man] a C,E,G,b2-3,p1.

48 the] B;tuk A,F.

49 he tuk] full lowd A,F;scho tuik B;He led p2.

51 stoppand] steppand B-D,F,G,b1-3,p1-2.

53 Platfute] Splayfoot G,D,b3,p1;Play,foote E;Play-foot b1-2. he] did G,b1-3, p1-2. with]∼ many C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

55 quhill] till p2.

56 Bot] and C-E,G,b1-3,p1. he] so C-E,b1,b3,b1; sore G;was b2,p2. wes] so b2,p2.

57 quhill] Then G. that] om. B-E,b1-3,p1;did G. he] did C-E,b1-3,p1.

58 for] In B;om. F.

59 that day] And danse C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;And danc'd p2.

61 Syne] Than B-E,b1-3,p1;Now G.

62 Downy] F;dwny A;dowie B;tusie C,b1-3,p1;dowsie D,E,G. druggit] A;tugged C;rugged p2.

64 and] Then D,E. him] her b2.

65 The] he B;then C,D,b1-3,p1;But G. kensy] turnit B. cleikit] and B. to] with C;him b1;up b2. the] a C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

66 Bot] God C-E,G,b1-3,p1. lord] wait C-E,G,b1-3,p1. than] if C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;and F;how b2. gif] om. C;they D,E,G,b1-3, p1;how F;as p2. thay] twa C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. luggit] Jugged C.

67 thir] hir A,E,b2;thair B;om. C,F,p2;them D; there b1,b3,p1. manly] play thane B;om. C-

E,G,b1-3,p1-2. with] upone C-E,G,b1-3,p1;on p2.

68 God] men B,D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;and C. wait] said D,E,b1;say G,b2-3,p1-2. gif] ther D, b2;that E,G,b1,b3,p1-2.

71 cowd] did p2.

72 wesd] war B;wes F.

75 throw] B;throwth A.

76 ers] chaftis B.

77 Bot] om. p2. akerbraid] myle B.

79 Thair] om. B.

81 his] thers D.

82 up] furth C-E,G,b1-3,p1. ane] an D,E,G,b3,p1-2;one b2.

83 fowriously] ferslye B,D;forcefully C,G,b1-3,p1;forcely E.

84 flenderis] flints G.

85 will] Grace D,C,E,G,b1-3,p1.

86 that] he C;who G,b1-3,p1-2. kend] knew C,G, b1-3,p1.

89 That day] om. B;belive C.

91 haisty] Lusty b2. hensure] kinsman C,E,G,b1-3,p1;kinsmen D. callit] was called b2.

92 quha] Quhilk B;that C-E,G,b1-3,p1. heynd] keene D-E,G,b1-3,p1.

93 Titt] Till F;Fit p2. taikle] Cudgell C.
with-outtin] but ony B;that was
without C.

94 That] I trow C-E,G,b1-3,p1. torment] the man
C-E,G,b1-3,p1. so] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1.
teynd] seine C.

95 cowd] did C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

96 Or] gif B,F. the] gif C;eye D;his E,G,b1-3,
p1. man] sae C;did D;foe E,G,b1-3,p1.
wes] faile D. his] om. D. freynd]
betweene D.

97 For] Bot B,C,G,b1-3,p1;om. D;And E. throw]
the B,p2;by the C-E,G,b1-3,p1. micht]
michtis B,C,F,b3,p1.

98 as] For D. man] men C;he D;one G,b3,p1-2.
no] nothing G,b1-3,p1. ill] evill
B;thang C; did D;om. G,b1-3,p1.
meynd] meines C;meane D.

99 bot] that B. gud] tyme B.

101 as] lik C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

102 flane] flegge b2. cowd] cam C;did D;can
E,F,G,b1,b3,p1-2;gan b2.

106 It] And yt B.

107 bot] he C-E,G,b1-3,p1. swa] lo B;skaped
C,D,G,b1,b3,p1;chaped E;escaped b2.

his] as B;sa C-E,G,b1-3,p1. fortoun] sick C-E,G,b1-3,p1. and] his C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

108 wes] B;~maid A,p2.

109 And saift him] full fyn C-E,G,b1-3,p1; Sav'd him p2.

111 boustuouslie] B;boystrously C,D,b2-3,p1-2.

112 To] B;that C-E,G,b1-3,p1;He p2. the] B;he C-E,G,b1-3,p1;to p2. erd] B;to the C,G;to D,E,b1-3,p1;the p2. he] B;ertht C-E,G,b1-2,p2;th'eird b3,p1.

113 The] B;That E. tother] B;uther C;rest of them D;other of them E;other man G,b1-3, p1; tither Man p2. for] B;so b2. dreid] B;dead C,D,G,b1-3,p1-2;death E. he] B;than C-E,b1,b3,p1;there G,p2. preis-sit] B;left C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

115 thay] B;the b2. paisit] B;reft C-E,G,b1-3, p1-2.

117 And] B;Then C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. thre] B;their b2. routis] B; their E,G,b1-3,p1;routs on's Arse p2.

118 him] B; out C-E,G,b2-3,p1-2.

119 agane] B;fra hand C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

121 man] lad F. that] (maid him) B. neist] by C.

122 Lowse] lousit B.p2;soon C,G,b1-3,p1;he D,E. of] bent C-E,G,b1-3,p1;aff F,p2. a] ane B;his C,G,b1-3,p1. schot] bow C-E,G,b1-3,p1. with] in C,D,G,b1-3,p1.

124 he] om. C;And D,E,G,b1-3,p1. ettlit] Called C. the] his E. in] evin B;de(e)ne G. at] in B.

125 Ane] And b1,b3,p1;He b2. fy] that B;Fle b2. had] hes F,p2.

126 ane] the C-E,G,b1-3,p1;a p2.

127 Than] both C-E,G,b1-3,p1. bag] bakbag B.

128 ferss] fast C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

129 of] frome C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

131 thay] than C,E,G,b1-3,p1. lait] layd D;lent F,p2. grit] om. C;they E,G,b1-3,p1. flappis] Slaps p2.

131 flang] flew C-E,G,b1-3,p1. lyk] with B-E, G,b1-3,p1.

133 bowgaris] Kebbers b2. thay] the E. beft] birst B;(hit) C;pearc'd D,b1-3,p1; prest E,G.

134 thay] of C-E,G,b1-3,p1. of] thar C,G,b1, b3,p1;bearnes D,E;the b2. bernis] they D,E. maid] thay made C,G,b1-3,p1-2.

135 reird] rair C-E,b1-3,p1. thar] B;the A,C,F,p2.

136 rungis] rugs G,b2. wer] C;wes A,B.

137 The] then C,D,b1.

138 Lo] sie C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

139 quod thay] ∿scho B;full low C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

141 lait] glowred C,D,G,b1,b3,p1. gird] all C,D, G,b1,b3,p1. with] at C,E,G,b1,b3,p1; attaines D. granis] times C;om. D; anes E,G,b1,b3,p1.

143 straik] straikit B,G,b1,b3,p1;staikid C;strude D;flaicked E.

144 fled] feld G. weill eschewit] B;evill mischevit A;sum relived C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;ill F.

145 The] thair C-E,G,b1,b3,p1. wan] B;was A;used C-E,G,b1,b3,p1. within] quiet C-E,G, b1,b3,p1. twa] ane B;meinis C-E, G,b1,b3,p1.

146 full] he C-E,G,b1-3,p1. weill] wisely C-E,G, b1,b3,p1-2.

149 for-evir] full ill D,C,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2.

151 Heich] then C-E,G,b1-3,p1. Hucheoun] hurchon C,D.

152 cam] gan C-E,G,b1-3;them p1. thame] gan p1.

153 mudlet] maw'd p2.

154 baity-bummill] Better bumble G; bettle bummel b2.

156 sic] like E. janglours] jatouris B;jutors C,D,G,b1,b3,p1;jurors E;matters b2. jummill] Jubble C.

157 For] while C. his] B;his his A. thay] he thar C;thear E,b1-3,p1. dang] flew C,E,b1-3,p1;stroke D;skard G.

158 quhill] And G.

159 I am slane] ouris B.

161 Quhen] And G. that] when G. sa] was b3.

162 wend] trued C,G,b1-3,p1. it] ~had B-E, b1-3,p1-2.

164 he] And D. ane] thay B,D,b2;and C,E,b1,b3,p1-2;they had G. cryd] bad C-E,b1-3, p1-2.

165 gart] mad C,E,b1-3,p1;made made D;thought G. defend] shold fayle G.

166 The] So G. far] neir G. sarar] fairer C-F, b1-3,p1-2;his harte G. it] they G.

167 quhill] When G. wes] F;west A;had G. past] fled G. out] five G. of] myles G. all] thar C-E,b1-3,p1;for G. pleid] ayde G.

168 he] thay C,E,G,b1-3,p1. suld] must C,b1-3,p1. bene] be B-E,G,b1,b1,p1;run b2. swift] fast b2.

171 toun] black C-E,G,b1-3,p1. in] of C-E,G,b1-3,p1. breif] B;greif A,F,p2;Beath D; braith E,C,G,b1,b3,p1. bowdin] bounden b2.

172 in] by C-E,G,b1-3,p1;at p2.

173 with] in B-E,G,b1-3,p1. blud] bleak C-E,G,b1-3,p1. browdin] branden b2.

174 ony] a C-E,G,b1-3,p1.

175 hir] His G. wes] war B;om. C. full] so C-E, b1-3,p1.

176 So] his C,D,G,b1-2;In E;her b3,p1. hard] love C. in] fast C,G,b1-3,p1;sa fast D;so E. lufe] for C,D,G,b1-3,p1; had E. laist] B;left A.

177 That] for E. for] saik E. hir] of E;his p1. saik] hir E. he] she p1. not yoldin] unyoldin B-E,G,b1,b3,p1;soe unenden b2.

178 Sevin] while C-E,b1-3,p1-2;when G. myll] he C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. quhill] quhen B;a C-E, G,b1-3,p1-2;that F. he] myle C-E, G,b1-3,p1-2.

181 millar] milner G.

182 meit] meet with b1,b3,p1;moot b2. him] him it G,b1,b3,p1.

183 Thair] they D,F. ten cum] ransone C,b1;

tensome D,E,G,b3,p1;ten men b2. him] thare C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. to] hi(mi)tak C;him D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

184 So] He D. nowit] nobbit B;mowed C;did sa mowe D;kowde G,b3,p1;noyted p2. nowis] mowes C,D;powes F,G,b2-3,p1-2.

185 The] Until G. haill] om. G. about] on G.

186 bikkerit] bicked b2.

187 Syne] them C;Then D,E,b1-3,p1;and G. tratourly] tratoursly C,D,b1-3,p1-2;rudllye G.

188 Thay] Ane B. hewit] hacked C-E,G,b1-3,p1. On] in G. the] his b2.

191 that] the F. wer] F;wes A. heidmen] herdis men B,F,p2;heidismen C-E,G,b1,b3,p1-2.

192 ran] thay C,E,G,b1-3,p1;The D;On p2. upoun] rusht on C-E,G,b1-3,p1;ither p2. uderis] uther B-E,G,b1-3,p1;ran p2.

193 Than] Thai B,p2;the C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. followit] forsy B;uther C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. feymen] freikis B;four C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2;seeming p2. rycht] that wer C-E, b2;which were G,b1,b3,p1.

195 bot] and C-E,G,b1-3,p1. gobbis] gowis B. wer] C;wes A;they were p2. ungeird] bayth ungird B;unbegeard b2.

197 quhill] And while G. bludy] all the C,b1; that all D,E,G,b2-3,p1. berkit] blud-burne C-E,G,b1-3,p1;blood-run b2; barkn'd p2. berd] Beards p2.

201 kest] then C-E,G,b1-3,p1. up] gave C-E,G, b1-3,p1.

202 thir] the B,p2;these C-E,G,b1,p1-2;thae b3.

203 ony] flags of C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

204 freikis] When G. feild] fields G.

205 Tha] Thay B;om. D,E;The F,p2;Then G,b1-3,p1. cowd] did D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. uder] others E.

206 quhill] on D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. blud] brests D,b2,p2;brest E,G,b1,b3,p1 at] whill D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. breistis] blod D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. out-bokkit] forth bocked E.

207 commoun-bell] stepill F.

208 quhill] that C,G,b1-3,p1-2.

209 rerd] dreid C,D,G,b1-3,p1-2.

212 and] the C-E,b1-3,p1;that G. brainwod] bunfir C;benfyres D,G,b1-3,p1. byrnt] burn b2. in] like b3,p1.

213 wer] wox B,E;grew C,G,b1-3,p1. meik] mait B,D.

214 mangit] wereed C,G,b1,b3,p1;weary b2. wer] are b3.

215 fantness] fyrdness C,D,E;those G;tyrdness b1; thae b3;these p1. tha] thay B,F;Those C,b2;thir D;theis E,b1;forfoughten b3, G,p1. forfochin] forfoghed E;tyred G, b3,p1.

216 flawchtir] flachtered C,p1-2;slaughter E; flaughten G;flaughtring b1;slaughtered b3. failis] frales D;flaylls b1,b3,p1.

217 in] hame B;om. F. the] thar C-E,G,b1,b3,p1. dulis] Dods b2.

221 Quhen] Then G. all] forth G. wes] came G. done] om. G. ane] an C;a devlish G.

222 Come] and swore G. furth] he G;out p1. to] wad G.

223 Qod] Sayes G. ar] is C-E,b1;is al G. yone] this G;you b2,p1. hangit] hurson C-E, G,b1-3,p1.

224 Rycht] That p2. now] nigh G;wad p2. wald] that B-E,b1-3,p1;have p2. slane] hurt B-E,b1-3,p1;kil G.

225 hame] out G. grit] gud B,C;Gib D-F,b1-3,p1-2;and give them G. glaiks] pakes G.

227 he] But G. turnd] he G. and] went G. gaif]

in G. thame] and G. bayth] paked G.

thair] them G. paiks] om. G;pake p1.

228 ding] stryk B.

229 for feir] men said B,F;but thame C-E,G,b1-3,

p1-2.

Apparatus II: Accidental Variants

Line Collation

1 Was] Wes F. nevir] never B,D,G,b1,b3,p1;nevar C;newer E;ner'e b2;ne'er p2. hard] heard D,E,b1-3,p1-2;hearde G. sene] sone C;seen G,b1-3,p1-2.

2 Sic] Sick C;Sik E,b3;Such G,b1,p1. dansing] danceing D;dauncing E,b1;dancing G,b3,p1,p2. deray] deraye D.

3 Nowthir] nother B;nather C;Neither D,E,G,b2-3, p1;Nouthir F;Neyther b1;Nowther p2. falkland] faukland D;Faulkland b2-3; Fakland p2. grene] greine C,E;greene D,G;Green b1-3,p1-2.

4 peblis] peobles D;Pebles E;Pebillis F;Peebles G,b1,b3,p1-2. play] playe D.

5 wes] was B-E,b1-3,p1-2. wowaris] wowers C-E;wooers G,b1,b3,p1;Woers b2,p2. wene] weine C;weene D,E,G;ween b1-3,p1.

6 chryst] chrystis B;Christs C,b1-3;Christe D; Chroiste E;Christis F;(Christ) G;

Christs-kirk p1;Christ's p2. kirk] kirke D,E,. ane] a C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. day] daye D;daie E.

7 Thair] Thare F;There p2. come] cam C;came D-G,b1-3,p1-2. kitteis] kitties p2. weschin] wesching B;washine C;washen D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;weshin F. clene] cleine C;cleene D;cleane E,G;clean b1-3,p1-2.

8 kirtillis] Kirtles p2. gray] graye D;graie E.

9 full] Ful F. gay] gaye D;gaie E.

11 dans] danse B,C;dance D,G,b2-3,p1-2;daunce E,b1. damysellis] damisallis B; damesalls C;damisells D;Damisels E,b1; Damsels b2;Damosels G,b3,p1;Dameselsp2. thame] them D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. dicht] dight D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

12 Thir] Their E. lassis] B;lasses C-G,b1-3,p1-2. licht] light C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. laitis] laittis B;laitts E;laites G;laits b1, b3,p1-2;Laight's b2.

13 Thair] Thar C;Ther D;Their E,G,b1-3,p1-2;Thare F. gluvis] gloves C,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. raffell] raffall C,G,b1,b3,p1;Rafell D;

raffel F,p2;Raffle b2. rycht] richt B; right C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

14 Thair] thar C;Ther D,F;Their E,G,b1-3,p1-2. schone] shoes C,b2-3,p1;shoone D;shone E;schune F;Shooes G,b1;Shoon p2. straitis] strates C;straits D,E,b1-3,p1-2;straytes G.

15 Thair] thar C;There D;Their E,b1-3,p1-2. kirtillis] kirtels C;kirtles D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. wer] war B;var C;were D,G,b1-3,p1-2. lynkome] lincum B;lincon C,D; Lincolne E,G;Lincoln b1-3,p1;Lincomep2. licht] light D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

16 Weill] weile C;Well D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2 Wele b2. prest] press'd b2. mony] many C,D,G, b2-3,p1;manie E,b1. plaitis] plaits D, E,b1-3,p1-2;pletes C;plaites G.

17 Thay] They D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. wer] war B;were D,G,b1-3,p1-2;wear E. so] sa C,F;soe G. nyss] nyce B,D,b1;nice C,E,G,b2-3,p1-2. quhen] when C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. thame] them D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. nicht] night C-E,G,b1-2;neight b3;nigh p1.

18 Thay] They D-G,b1-3,p1-2. squeilit] squeild

B,E;squeald C,G,b1;squeld D;squelit F;
squiel'd b3;squll'd p1;squeel'd p2.
lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke F, b1.
ony] any C,G,b2-3,p1;anie E,b1.

19 chrystis] Christis F.

21 Off] of C-G,b1-3,p1-2. madynis] madinis B;
madins C;madens D;maidenis E;Mayonis
F;maydens G,b1;maidens b2-3,p1-2.
myld] mild C,b2-3,p1-2;mylde D;milde
E,G. meid] meede D;meed E,G,b1,b3,
p1;mede b2;mead p2.

22 Wes] was B-E,G,b1,b3,p1-2. nane] none G,b1,
p1. so] sa B,D,F;sae p2. gympt] gymp
B;gimpe C,D;gimp E,G,b1,b3,p1;jimp
b2,p2. gillie] gilley C;Geillie E;
Gillye G;Geilly b2;Gilly p1-2.

23 ony] any C,G,b2-3,p1;onye D;anie E,b1. ross]
rose B-G,b1-3,p1-2. hir] her D,G,b1-
3,p1-2. rude] rud C. wes] was B-G,b1-
3,p1-2. reid] reede D,E;reed G,b1;red b2-
3,p1-2.

24 hir] Her D,G,b1-3,p1-2. lyre] lire p2. wes]
was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. lyk] lik C;like
D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1. lillie] liley

C;lylly E;lyllie F;lillye G;lilly p1-2.

25 fow] Ful F;fou p2. yellow] yallow B;yallowe D; yealow G,b1. wes] was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. hir] her D,b1-3,p1-2. heid] haed C; heade D,G;head E,b1-3,p1-2.

26 bot] but p2. scho] sche B;she C,G,b2-3,p1-2;shoe D;shee E,b1. lufe] luif B;love C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. wes] was p2. sillie] silley C;syllie F;sillye G;silly b3, p1-2.

27 Thocht] thogh C,E;though D,G,b1-3,p1;tho p2. all] a' p2. hir] her D,b1-3,p1-2. kin] kyn D. sworn] sworne D,E,G. hir] her D,b1-3,p1-2. deid] ded C;deed D; dead E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

28 Scho] Sche B;she C,G,b2-3,p1-2;Shoe D;Shee E,b1. wald] wold C,G;wauld D;woulde E;would b1-3,p1. haif] have B-E,G, b1-3,p1-2. bot] but p2. sweit] sweet p2. willie] willy C,G,p1-2.

29 Allone] allane B;all ane C;Alane D,b3,p2;Alone E,G,p1;Alane F;Allone b1.

31 Scho] Sche B;she C,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;Shoe D;Shee b1. skornit] scornit B;skorned C,E;

scorned D,G,b1-3,p1-2. Jok] Jock C,E, G,b3,p1;Jocke D;Iock b1;Jocky b2;Jack p2. skraipit] scrippit B;skripet C; scrumped D;skriped E;skrapit F;skrippet G;Skripped b1,b3,p1;skirped b2.

32 murionit] morgeound B;murgeond C,E,G,b1; murgeonde D;murgeounit F;murgeon'd b2-3,p1-2. mokkis] mokes C;mocks D,E,b1-3,p1-2;mockes G.

33 he] Hee E,b1. wald] wuld C;waulde D;would E, b1-3,p1;wold G;wad p2. luvit] loo'd p2. haif] have B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. scho] sche B;she C,G,b1-3,p1-2;shoe D;shee E. wald] wud C;waulde D;would E,b1,b3,p1; wold G;woald b2;wad p2. lat] let C,E, G,b1-3,p1;latte D.

34 all] a' p2. yalow] yallow B;yellow C,E,F,b2-3,p1-2;yallowe D;yealow G,b1. lokkis] lockes C,G;locks D,E,b1-3,p1-2.

35 he] Hee b1. chereist] cherist B,C,E,F;cherishd D,b2;cherisht G,b1,b3,p1-2. hir] her D,b1-3,p1-2. scho] she C,G,b2-3,p1-2;shoe D;shee E,b1. bad] bade b1,b3, p2;bid b2,p1. ga] go C,b2-3,p1;goe

D,E,G,b1;gae p2. chat] shatte D.

36 Scho] Sche B;she C,E,G,b2-3,p1;Shoe D;Shee b1. compt] comptit B;counted C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. twa] tua B,F;two E,G,b1,p1. clokkis] clocks C-E,b1-3,p1-2;clockes G.

37 So] Sa D,F;Sae p2. schamefully] schamfullie B;schamefullie F;shamfulle C;shamefullie D;shamfullie E,b1;shamefullye G;shamefully b2-3,p1-2. schort] short C,D,b1-3,p1-2;shorte G. goun] Gown p2. set] sat B;satt C;sett C;sette D.

38 lymis] lymmis B,F. wer] C;were D,G,b1-3,p1-2. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1. twa] twoe E;tua F;two G,b1,p1. rokkis] rokis C;rocks E,F,b1-3,p1-2; rockes G.

39 Scho said] sche said B.

41 Thome] Tom C,G,b1-3,p1;Thom E;Tam F,p2. lular] Loyler G. wes] was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. thair] thar C;ther D;their E,G,b1-3,p1-2;thare F. menstrall] menstrale B;minstrell D,E,b1-3,p1;Minstrel G,p2. meit] meet D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

42 he] hee E,b1. cowd] culd B,F;could C,D,b1-3,p1;cold G;cou'd p2. lanss] lance B, D,b3,p1-2;lanse C;launce G,b1.

43 he] Hee E,b1. playit] played C;playd D,b1-3,p1-2;plaide E;playde G. so] sa D. schill] shrill C-E,G,b1-3,p1;shill p2. sang] sung G,b2. so] sa D;soe G;sae p2. sweit] sweet D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

44 quhill] while C,E,G,b3,p1-2;whill D;Quhyle F. towsy] towsie B,D,G,b1,b3;towse C; Tousie E,p1-2;Tousy F;Toosie b2. tuke] tuik B;took C,b1-3,p2;tooke E,G,p1. transs] trance B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

45 Auld] old C,E,G,b1-2,p1;Ald b3. lychtfute] lycht futtis B;lightfut C;lightfitt D;lightfoote E;lightfute F;lightfoot G,b2,p2;Light-foot b1,b3,p1. forleit] forleyt B;forleit C;forleet D,G,b1,b3, p2;forleete b2;fore-leet p1.

46 counterfutit] counterfoutted C;counterfitted D,b3;counterfooted E;counterfuttit F; counterfeited G,p1,p2;counterfayted b1; counterfeted b2. franss] france B-D,G,b1-3,p1-2;Fraunce E.

47 he] Hee b1. usd] us'd E,p1. discreit] discrait C;discreet D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2;discreete b2.

48 up] uppe D;upp E. moreiss] moreis B;moris C;Morice D,b2-3,p2;Morrice E;Marrishe G;Morries b1;Morice-dance p1. danss] dance B-E,G,b1-3,p2.

49 he tuk] he took C,b2-3,p1;he tooke D,E,G;Hee took b1.

51 than] Then C-G,b1-3,p1-2. stevin] Steene D; Steine E;Steven F,b2;Stien G,b3;Stien b1;Stephen p1;Steen p2. come] cam C, F;came D,E,b1-3,p1-2. stoppand] stop- ping E. stendis] stends C-E,G,b1-3, p1-2.

52 No] na C,b3;Noe D;Nae b2. rynk] renk B;rink C,F,b1-3,p1-2;rinke D,G;wrinck E. mycht] might C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2;micht F. arreist] arrest B,E,b1,b3,p1-2;areist C;arreast D;arreste G;arest b2

53 Platfute] platfut B,C;Plaitfute F;Plaitfoot p2. he] hee E. bobbit] bobt C;bobd D,E; bobit F;bob G,b1-3,p1-2. bends] bendis B,C,F.

54 he] hee E,b1. maid] mad C;made D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. requeist] request C,E,b1-3,p1-2;Requeste D;requiest F;requeste G.

55 he] Hee E,b1. lap] lappe D. quhill] While C,D,b2-3,p1;whill D;whyle b1. he] hee E,b1. lay] laye D;laie E. lendis] lends C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

56 Bot] But p2. rysand] rising C,E,b2-3,p1;rysing D,G,b1;risand p2. wes] was B-E,G,b1, b3,p1. preist] prest B,C,E,b1-2,p2;preast D,b3,p2;priest F;preste G.

57 quhill] while C,E,b2-3,p1-2;Whill D;Whyle b1. oistit] hossit B;host C,E,b3,p1;hoste D;hest, G;hoast b1-2;hostit p2. baith] bayth B;both C,E,G,b1-3,p1;baithe D. ends] endis B,F.

58 honour] honor C. feist] feast C,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;feaste D.

61 robene] robein C;robon E;Robin G,b1-3,p1-2. roy] Roye D. begowth] begouth B,F;begane C;began D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. revell] ravell E;revel G,p2.

62 dwny] dowie B;dowsie D;Dousie E;Downy F;Dousye G;Dawny p2. till] to B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

druggit] drugged D,E,G,b1-3,p1.

63 Lat] let C,D,b1-3,p1-2;Lett E. be] bee b1. qod] quod B-F,b1;quoth G,b2-3,p1-2. Jok] Johke B;Jock C,E,G,b1-3,p1;Jack p2. cawd] callit B;calt C;calld D,b1.b3,p1;cald E,G,b2;caw'd F;cau'd p2. Javell] gavell B;Jewell C,E;jevell b1-2;Jevel G,b3,p1-2.

64 be] by C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. taill] taile C,E;tale D;tayll b1;tayle G,b2;tail b3,p1-2. tuggit] tugged C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

65 kensy] kense C;kensie D-F,b1-3,p1-2;kensi G. cleikit] cleked C;cleeked D,b2;cleiked E,G,b1,b3,p1;cleekit p2. Cavell] kevell C,E,b1-3,p1;kavell D;kevel G;Cavel p2.

66 Bot] but p2. thay] thai B. luggit] lugged D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

67 Thay] Thai B;thay C,b1,p1;they D,E,G,b2-3,p2. pairtit] partit B,F;p()ed C;parted D,E, G,b1-3,p1-2. a] ane B. nevell] navell C-E;nevvel G;Navel p2.

68 hair] haire D,E,b2;hayre G;hayr b1;hair b3, p1-2. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. rug-

git] rugged C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

69 betuix] betwene B,C;betene D;Between E,G,b1-3,p1-2;betwen F. thame] them D,E,G, b1-3,p1-2.

71 bent] bend B. a] ane B. cowd] couth B;culd F. steir] steer p2.

72 grit] Great p2. skayth] scayth B;skaith F,b2. wesd] was't p2. haif] have B,p2. skard] scard B,b2;skaird F.

73 a] ane B. flane] flaine B. affeir] affear p2.

74 The toder] the tother B;th'other p2. said] seyd F.

75 baith] bayth B. cheikis] cheekis F;Cheeks p2. cheir] sheer p2. him] hym F.

76 ers] Arse p2. haif] have B,p2;heif F. chard] charde B.

77 be ane] B'ane p2. akerbraid] akirbraid F. come] cam F;came p2. nocht] na p2. neir] neer p2.

78 can nocht] can not B;canna p2. quhat] what p2. mard] marrit F;marr'd p2.

81 a] ane B,F. freynd] freind C,E;frend D,G;friend F,b1-3,p1-2. cryd] cryit B,F;cry'd D,b2-3,p1-2;cri'd E;cryde

G;cryde;b1. fy] fye D,G,b1;fie E, b2,b3.

82 arrow] arow B,F;arrowe D. drew] drewe D,E.

83 He] Hee E,b1. forgit] forgeit B,F;forged C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. sa] so B,C,E,b1, b2,b3,p1;sae p2. fowriously] furiously F.

84 bow] bowe D. flenderis] flenders B,E;flinders D,b1,b3,p1-2;flinters b2. flew] flewe D.

85 Sa] Sick C;Sic D,b2;Sike E;Such G,b1,b3,p1;Sae p2. wes] was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. trow] trowe D.

86 tre] tree D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. bene] ben E;beene G;been b1-3,p1-2. trew] trewe D;true E,G,b1,b3,p1-2;treu F.

87 said] say G;sayd b1-2,p1. archery] archerie B,b1;archere C;archerye D;archerrye G.

88 he] hee E,b1. slane] slaine C,D,G;slain F b3,p1-2;slayn b1-2. anew] a new C-E,G;enew b2.

91 Ane] An C-E,G,b1,p1. haisty] haistie B;hasty C,p1-2;hastie D,E,b1,b3;hesty F;haistye G. hensure] hensour B;hensoure F. cal-lit] called C-E,G,b1,b3,p1-2. hary] harie B,D;harrye C;Harrie E,b1;Harry

G,b2.

92 quha] Wha p2. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. ane] an C-E,G,b1-3,p1. heynd] heine C;hynd p2.

93 Titt] Tit B. up] uppe D;upp E. a] ane B,F. taikle] takill B;takle D;tuikell E;taikill F;taikel G;Taikell b1;tackell b3;tackel p1;tackle b2,p2. tary] tarye B,D;tarrie E,b1;tarrye G;tarry b2,p2.

94 torment] turment B;tormint F. so] sa F;sae p2. teynd] teene D;teind E;teen G,b2;tein b1;tien b3,p1;tynd p2.

95 wait] wate D;wot G,b1-3,p1;watna p2. not] nocht B,F. quhiddir] whidder C; whether D,E,b1-3,p1;quhidder F;whither G;whither'd p2. cowd] culd B,F;cou'd p2. wary] varie B-E,b1;vary F,b2-3,p1-2;varye G.

96 wes] was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. freynd] frend C,G;freind E;friend F,b1-3,p1-2.

97 he] hee b1. eschaipit] chapit B;eskaped C; scaped D,G,b1;chaiped E;escaped b2,b3, p1;escap'd p2. throw] throw' p2. micht] mighte D;might E,G,b1-2,p1. mary] marie B-E,b1;Marry G.

98 thet] that C,E,F,G,b1-3,p1-2. no] na B,C,F;noe D;nae p2. meynd] meines C;meane D; meand E,G,b1;meind F,b2;mean'd b3,p1-2.

99 bot] but E,G,b1-3,p1-2. gud] good C-E,b1-2,p1-2;gade F;gude b3.

101 Than] then C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. lowry] lowrie B-E;Lauryr G; Lowrie, b1;Lawrence b2;Lawrie b3,p1;Laurie p2. ane] a C- E,G,b1-3,p1-2. lyon] lyoun B;lion D,E,p1-2. lap] lappe D;lapp b2.

102 sone] soon C,b1-2,p1-2;soone D,E,G;sune b3. a] ane B. flane] flaine D,E,G;flene F;Flayn b1;flain b3,p1-2. cowd] culd B. fedder] feddir F.

103 he] Hee b1. hecht] Heght D,E,b1-2;height G,b3,p1. perss] pers B;perse C;pearce D,E,G;peirce b1-3,p1-2. pap] pape B,C;papp E,b2;pappe G.

104 Thairon] tharon C;ther on D;Thearon E;Theron F;Thereon G,b1-3,p1-2. wed] wedde D;wedd E;wad b3. a] ane B. weddir] wedder B.

105 He] Hee b1. hit] het B;hitt C. wame] wambe

B,D;womb C,E,b1-2;wombe G;waim b3;wamb p1.
a] ane B. wap] wappe D;wapp
b2;wape p1.

106 bust] busd D;burst b2;busst b3,p1;bufft p2.
lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke
b1. ony] ane B;any C,D,G,b2-3,p1;anie
E,b1. bledder] bladder E,b2-3,p1-2.

107 bot] But p2. swa] sua F;sae p2. fortoun]
fortun F;Fortune p2. wes] was B-
E,G,b1-3,p1-2. hap] happe D;happ b2.

108 dowblet] doublat B;dublet C;doublet E,b1-3,p1-
2;doublit F. wes] B;was C-E,G,b1-3, p1.
of] off D. ledder] Leather b2-
3,p1-2.

109 saift] sauft B;sav'd b2

111 boustuouslie] bousteously E;bousteouselye
G;bousteouslie b1. baff] B;buff
C,E,b1-3,p1-2;buffe D,G. so] B;sa
D;soe G;sae p2. abasit] B;abaist
D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;abased b2.

112 duschit] B;dust C;dush'd D,b2;dusht E,G,b1-
3,p1-2. doun] B;doune C;downe
D,E,G;down b1-3,p1-2.

113 tother] B;uther C.

114 fled] B;fledde D. toun] B;toune C;Towne D,E,G;town b1-3,p1-2.

115 wyffis] B;wives C-E,b3,p1-2;wyves G,b1;Wiffs b2. come] B;cam C;came D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. furth] B;foorth C,b1;forth D,E,G, b3,p1. up] B;uppe D;upp E. thay] B;they D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2.

116 fand] B;find C;found E,G,b1-3,p1. lyff] B;liffe D;life E,b2-3,p1-2;lyfe G;lyf b1. loun] B;lowne D,E,G,p1;lown b1-3,p2.

117 thre] B;three D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2. routis] routs C;roots D. thay] B;they D,G,b1-3,p1-2. raisit] B;raist C;raisd D,E,b2-3,p1-2;raysd G,b1.

118 coverit] B;cured C,E,G,b1,b3;cur'd D,b2,p1-2. swoune] B;soune C,E;sowne D;swone G; sown b1-2,p2;swoun b3;swown p1.

121 A] Ane B. yaip] yape C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;yap b2,p1. yung] young B,C,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;yong D. stude] stoud C;stood D,E,G, b1-3,p1-2. neist] neest D;niest E,F, b1,b3,p1;nyest b2.

122 Lowse] lousit B;Louse F;Loos'd p2. schot]

Shot p2. yre] Ire B,D,E,b2-3,p1-2.

123 ettlit] etlit B;etled D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. bern] berne B,b2;Bearne D;beirne E;bairne G;Bairn b1,b3,p1-2. breist] breest D;briest E,F,b1;brest b2;breast G, b3,p1-2.

124 bolt] bout B;bot C;bolte D;boult F. flew] flewe D. our] over C,E,b1;owre D;oer G;ore b2,p1;ov'r b3;o'er p2. byre] bire E,p2.

125 cryd] cryit B,F;cried C,E;cryde G,b1;cryed b2. fy] fye D;fie E;Fye b1. he] hee E,b1. had] hes F;has p2. slane] slaine D,E;slayne G;slayn b1;slain b2-3,p1-2. a] ane B. preist] prist C;Preest D; priest F,b1-3,p1-2.

126 A] ane B. myll] myle B,D,F,G,b1,b3;mile C,E,b2,p1-2. beyond] beyonde D. myre] mire E,p2.

127 Than] Then p2. bow] bowe D. bag] bagg D,b2. fra] frome C;from D,E,G,b1-3,p1;frae p2. he] hee b1. keist] caist B;keste D;kest E;kiest F,b3,p1-2.

128 fled] flid C;fledde D. als] as C-G,b1-3,p1-2.

ferss] fers B;fierst F;fierce p2. fyre] fire E,b2-3,p1-2.

129 frome] From D,E,G,b1-2,p1;fra b3;Frae p2. flynt] flint B-F,b1-3,p1-2;flinte G.

131 forkis] forks C,D,F,b1-3,p1-2;Forkes E,G. flailis] flalis B;flails C,F,b3,p1-2;flailes D,E,G;flaylls b1;Flayls b2. thay] they D,p2. lait] leit B;lett C,E;layd D;let G,b1-3,p1. flappis] flaps C-E,G,b3,p1;flapps b2.

132 togidder] togither B;together D,G,b1-3,p1-2; togeather E. lyk] like p2. friggis] friges C;frigs E,D,G,b1-3,p1-2.

133 bowgaris] bougaris B;bugers C;bowgers D;bougers E,G,b1,b3,p1-2;bougars F. barnis] barnes C-E,G;barns b1-3,p1-2. thay] thai B;they D,G,b1-3,p1-2. kappis] cappis B;caps C,D,G,b1,b3,p1-2;capps E,b2.

134 quhill] while C,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;Whill D;Quhyle F;Whyle b1. thay] they p2. bernis] bairnis C;beirnes G;Beirns b1;berns b2;bairns b3,p1-2. maid] made D,E. briggis] brigs C,D,G,b1-2,p1-2;briggs

E,b2.

135 reird] rerde B;Rierd p2. raiss] rais B,C,E,F; raise D,b3,p2;rose G,b1-2,p1. rudly] rudlie B,D,E;rudely F,b2-3,p1-2;rudelye G;rudelie b1. thar] ther D;their E,G,b1-3,p1. rappis] raps C-E,G,b1,b3, p1-2;rapps F,b2.

136 quhen] when C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. rungis] runges C;rungs D,E,b1,b3,p1-2. wer] C;were D, G,b1-3,p1-2;weare E. layd] laid C-E, b2-3,p1-2;layde G. riggis] rigs C,D, G,b1,b3,p1;riggs E,b2,p2.

137 wyffis] wives C-E,b3,p1-2;Wyves G,b1;Wiffes b2. come] Cam C,F;came D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. furth] forth D-G,b2-3,p1;foorth b1. with] wi' p2. cryis] Cries C,E;cryes D,b1-3,p1;Crys G,p2. clappis] Claps C-E,G,b1,b3,p1-2;clapps b2.

138 quhair] whar C;wher D,G;whear E;where b1-3, p1-2. lyking] liking C-E,G,b2-3,p1-2. liggis] ligges C;ligs D,F,G,b1,b3,p1; liggs E,b2,p2.

141 Thay] They D,E,G,p1-2. girnit] garnd C;girnd D,b1,b3,p1;girned E,p2;gyrnit F;geirnd G.

lait] leit B;let E,p2. granis] Grains p2.

142 ilk] eche C;Ilke E;Each G,b1,p2. gossep] gossop B,C,E,b1;gossepe D;gossip F,G,b3, p1-2. uder] uther B,C;other D, E,G, b1,b3,p1-2. grevit] grevated C;grieved d,E,b1,b3,p1;greivit F;greved G;griev'd p2.

143 Sum] Some D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2. straik] straikit B;staikid C;strak F;streiked G,b2; striked b3,p1;strake p2. stingis] stings C-G,b1,b3,p1-2;steengs D. sum] some D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2. gaderit] gadderit B;gaddered C;gathered D,E,G; gathred b1,b3;gather'd p1-2. stanis] stanes D,E,b3,p1;stainis F;stones G,b1;Stains p2.

144 Sum] Some D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2.

145 menstrall] menstrale B,C;Minstrell D,E; Menestrall F;minstrel G,p2;Menstrill b1;Minstrell b3,p1. twa] tua F.

146 weill] weil F. day] daie E. previt] preved C;prieved D,E,b1,b3,p1;preivit F;preived G;priev'd p2.

147 he] hee E,b1. come] cam C,F;came D,E,G,b1,

b3,p1-2. hame] ham C;home b1,p1. with] wi' p2. unbirsd] unbirsde B;unbrust C;unbersd D;unbirsd E;unbirst F;unbirs'd b3,p1;unbruis'd p2. banis] banes C,D;baines E;bainis F;bones G,b1; banes b3,p1;Bains p2.

148 quhair] whar C;wher D;Whear E;Where G,b1,b3,p1-2. fechtaris] fechtert C;fighters D,E, G,b1,b3,p1-2. wer] war B;wir C;were D,G,b1,b3,p1-2;wear E. mischevit] mischeved C;mischived D;mischeived E;mischeivit F;mischeifed G;mischieved b1, b3,p1;mischiev'd p2.

149 evir] ever B.

151 hucheoun] huchoun B;Hutchen E,b1,b3,p1;Hutchon F,G,p2;Hutcheon b2. a] ane B,b2;an C, D,G,b1,p2. hissill] hasale C;hasle D;hissell E;hissil F;hazel G,b2-3; hazell b1,p1;Hisil p2. ryss] rys B;rise C;ryse D,E;rice G,b3,p1-2;ryce b1-2.

152 red] ridde D;red b1. throw] through G,b1, b3,p1. thame] them D,E,G,b1-3,p2, rummill] rummell C;rumble D,G;rummil

F,p1-2;rummel b2.

153 he] Hee b1. mudlet] mudlit B,F;muddled C,G,b3;mudled D,E,b1-2,p1. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1. ony] any C,D,G,b2-3,p1;anie E,b1. myss] myse B,C;myce D,b1-2;mice E,G,b3,p1-2.

154 he] Hee b1. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. no] na B-D,F,b3,p2. baity-bummill] baty B; bitte bumble C;bety E;baity bumble G;Bettie b1,b3;bety p1.

155 Thocht] tho C,p2;Though D,E,G,b1-3;Thou p1. he] hee b1. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. wicht] wight C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. he] hee b1. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. nocht] na p2. wyss] wise C,E,b2-3,p1-2;wyse D,G,b1.

156 sic] sick C,D;such G,b1-2,p1. janglours] Jangleurs F,p2. jummill] geummill B; jumil F;jummel b2;jummil b3,p2.

157 fra] frome C;from D,E,G,b1-2,p1;frae p2. thowme] thoume B;thumbe C;thoum D; thoumb E;thumbe G;thumb b1-3,p1-2. thay] they D,p2;theye G. a] ane B. sklyss] slice C,D,G,p2;sklice E;slyce b1-3,p1.

158 quhill] while C,b2-3,p1-2.Whill D,E;Quhyle F;Whyle b1. he] hee E,b1. cryd] cryit B,F;Cryed C;cried E;cryde G,b1. barla-fummyl] barlaw fummill B;barla-fumell C;barlafumble D;barla fummill E,p2;barrlafummil F;Barla-fummil G; Barla fummill b1,p1;barlafummel b2; barla fummil b3.

159 I am slane] slaine C,E;I'm slaine D;I'm slayn b1;I'm slain b2-3,p1-2;Ime slaine G.

161 Quhen] When C-E,b1-3,p1-2. he] hee E,b1. blude] blood C,G,b1-2,p2;blod D;bloud E,b3,p1. sa] so B,C,E,G,b1-2;sae p2. reid] reed D;ried E;red G,b1-3,p1-2.

162 fle] flee D,E,b1-2,p1-2;flye G;flie b3. micht] might C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2;mycht F. no] na C,D,F,b3;noe G;nae p2. lat] latt D;let E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

163 he] Hee b1. wend] weind F;ween'd p2. bene] beine C;ben E;been G,b1-3,p1-2. auld] ald B,C,E,b3;old G,b1-2,p1. feid] feed D,G;fied E;fead b1;feud b2;feed b3,p1-2.

164 far] farr C;farre D. farar] fairer C,E,F,b2-3,p1-2;farrer D;fayrer b1. set] sat

B,C;sette D;sett E.

165 he] Hee b1. feit] feeit C;feet D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. heid] head D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

166 thocht] thoght C;thought D,E,G,b2,p1;thought, b1,b3,p1. cryd] cryit B;cryde G. haif] have B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. at] att D.

167 quhill] while C,E,b2-3,p1-2;Whill D;Quhyle F;Whyle b1. he] hee E,b1. wes] F;was B. pleid] pleade D;plied E;plead b1-3,p1-2.

168 suld] should D;shoulde E;shold G;soud p2. bene] been p2. swift] swyft B;swifte D; suift F;swifte G. gat] gatte D;gate G;got p1.

169 throw] Through E,G,b1-3,p1. speid] speed D,E, G,b1-3,p1-2.

171 toun] Town p2. sowtar] soutar B;suter C;sooter D;Sowtar E;soutir F;Souter G,p2;Sowter b1-2;Sutar b3;Sutor p1. wes] was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. bowdin] boudin B;bowden C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2;bouden F.

172 wyfe] wyf B,b1;wif C;wiffe D;wife E,b2-3,p1-2;wyff F. hang] hangue D;hung b3. waist] wast C;waiste G;waste b2.

173 body] bodie D,E,b1;bodye G. wes] was B-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. blud] blude B,F;Blood p2. all] al C; a p2. browdin] browden C-E,G,b1,b3,p1-2.

174 he] Hee b1. graint] granit B;girned C-E,G,b1-3,p1;grainit F;grain'd p2. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1. gaist] gast C;Ghaist D,b2-3,p1-2;gaiste G.

175 hir] her b1,b3,p1-2. glitterand] gitterand B;glitterang C;glittring D,G,b1; glittering E,b2-3,p1-2. wes] was D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. goldin] goudine C; gowden D,G,b1,b3,p1-2;gouden E;goudin F;goldin b2.

176 So] Sa F. lufe] luif B;Love p2. laist] B;laste D,G;lac't b2;lac'd p2.

177 hir] her D,b1-3,p2. saik] saike D;sake F,G,b1-3,p1-2. he] hee E,b1. not yoldin] not yowden p2.

178 myll] myle B,F. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. chest] chaist B,D,E,F,b1;chast C,b2-3,p1;chaiste G;chac'd p2.

179 mair] moir C;more G,b1,b3,p1.

181 millar] miller C,E,b2-3,p1-2. wes] was B-

E,G,b1-3,p1-2. manly] manlie B,D,b1; manlye G. mak] make D,E,G,b1,b3,p1-2;maik F,b2.

182 meit] meet D,E,p2. wes] was C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. na] no E,b1-3,p1;noe G;nae p2. mowis] mewes C;mouse D;mowes E,G,b1-3,p1;Mows p2.

183 Thair] ther C;Thear E;There G,b1-3,p1-2. not] na B,C,b3;no E,G,b1-2,p1;nae p2. tak] take D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

184 So] Sa F;Sae p2. nowit] nowed E,b1-2;nowitit F;noyted p2. thair] ther D;their E,b1-3,p1-2;there G. nowis] nowes E,b1.

185 buschment] buschement B;bushement C;bushment D, E,G,b1-3,p1-2. haill] haile C,E;heall D;whole b2,p1;hail b3;heal p2. brak] brake D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

186 bikkerit] bickert B;bikerd C;bikered D;bickerd E;bickerit F;bickered G,b1,b3,p1-2. with] wi' p2. bowis] bowes C-E,G,b1-3,p1;bowiss F;Bows p2.

187 Syne] Syn B,F. tratourly] tratourlie B;tratoursly C;tratorouslie D;traiterlie E;traytourlie F;trayterouslie b1; trayterously b2;traiterously b3,p1;

tratrously p2. behind] behinde D,b2;behynde G. bak] back C,E,b1-3,p1-2;backe D,G.

188 Thay] They D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;Thai F. hewit] hew'd p2. howss] howis B;howes C-E,b1-3,p1-2;howiss F;hows G.

189 behind] Behynde D;Behinde b2.

191 Twa] Twoe E;Tua F;Two G,b1,p1. wer] F;war C;were D,G,b1-3,p1-2;weare E. heird] herde B;herd C,F,b3,p1-2;heard D,G,b1-2.

192 upoun] upone B;upon F. uderis] udderis F. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1. rammis] rames C,D;ramms E,b2;Rams G,b1,b3,p1-2.

193 followit] follow'd p2. rycht] richt B,F;right p2. on-affeird] uneffeird B;unferd C; unfeard D,b1;unfierd E;unafeird F;unfear'd b2,b3,p1-2.

194 bet] Beat D,E,b1,b3,p1-2;Beate G,b2. barrow-trammis] barow B; trames C,D,G; trams E,b1,b3,p1-2; tramms b2.

195 Bot] But p2. quhair] whar C;wher D;whear E;where G,b1-3,p1-2. thair] thar C; ther D;their E,G,b1-3,p1-2. gobbis]

gobis C;gobs E,G,b1-3,p1. wer] war B;were D,G,b1-3,p1;wear E. ungeird] ungeard G,b1;ungear'd b3,p1-2.

196 Thay] Thai B;Thay C;They D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. gat] got C,G,b1,p1;gott E. upoun] upon B-D,F,G,b1-3,p1-2;uppon E. gammis] games C,D,G;gams E,b1,b3,p1-2;gamms b2.

197 quhill] while C,E,b1-3,p1-2;Whill D;Quhyle F. bludy] bludie B;bloody p2. berkit] barkit B;barkn'd p2. wes] was B,D,E, G,b1-3,p1-2. thair] thar C;ther D;their E,G,b1-3,p1-2. berd] beard D,G,b1-2,p1;beird E.

198 thay] they D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. wirreit] worreit B,F;wirried C,E;worried D,b2-3,p1-2; wurryed G;wurried b1. lammis] lambis B;lambes C,G;lames D;lambs E,b1-3,p1-2.

199 maist] most B,C,E,G,b1-2,p1;maist b3,p2. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1.

201 wyvis] wyffis B;wifes C,G;wives D,E,b3,p1-2;wyves F,b1;Wiffs b2. kest] cast B; keist p2. ane] an C,D,G,b1;a E,F,b2-3,p1-2. hiddouss] hiddwous B;hiddeouse

C;hidiouse D;hideous E-G,b2-3,p1-2;hiddeous b1.

202 quhen] when C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. thir] these C,D,b1,p1-2;theis E;thes G. yunkeris] youngkerris B;younkeours C;yankeours D; yonkers E,b2;youngeris F;Younkers G,b1; yeounkiers b3;Younkiers p1;Yonkiers p2. yokkit] yocked C,E,b1,b3;yoked D,G,p2; yokit F;yoaked b2;yocked p1.

203 als] as C,D,G,b1-3,p1-2;Alls E. ferss] fers B,F;ferse C;fearce D;feirce E;fearse G;fierce b1-3,p1-2.

204 freikis] Frecks D;frieks E,b3,p2;Freiks F,b2; Fricks p1. to] till F. feild] feeld D;field b1,b3,p1. thay] thai B;they D, E,G,b1-3,p1-2. flokkit] flokit B; flocked C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2;flockit F.

205 cairlis] carellis B;Carles D,G,p2;Carrells E;Carlis F;Karls b1;Carls b2;Karles b3;Kairles p1. clubbis] clubs D,b1-3,p1-2;Clubbs E;clubes G. cowd] culd B,F. uder] uther B;other D,G,b1-3,p1. quell] quel b1.

206 quhill] Quhyle F. blud] blude B,F. breistis]

briestis F. out-bokkit] bocked D,E,G, b1-2; boaked p2.

207 So] Sa D,F;Sae p2. rudly] rudlie B,D,E;rudelie F,b1;rudelye G;rudely b2-3,p1. commonn] commoun B;Comon C,D;Common E,G,b2-3,p1-2.

208 quhill] Whill D;While E;Quhyll F. all] a' p2. stepill] steppill B;stipell C;stiple D; Steeple E,G,b1-3,p1-2. rokkit] rocked C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2;rokit F.

209 reid] reide B;reird E.

211 Quhen] when C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. thay] thai B;they D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. berit] beirit B;bairt C;beerd D,b2;beird E,G,b1;bierd b2-3,p1. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2; lyke b1. baitit] batit B;bated C; baited D,E,b2-3,p1-2;bayted G,b1. bulis] bullis B;bules C;bulls D,E,b1-2,p1-2;b() G;buls b3.

212 brainwod] branewode B;branewood F;braine wood E;Brain-wood p2. brynt] burnt C,D,G, b3,p1;brint E;bnrnt b1. bails] balis B;bailes C-E,G;baylls b1;bails b2-3,p2.

213 Thay] Thai B,F;They D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. wer] were D,p2. als] as C,D,G,b1-3,p1-2. meik]

meeke G;meek b1-3,p1-2. ony] any C, b2-3,p1-2;anie E,b1. mulis] mules C,E,G,b1-3,p1-2;Mulles D.

214 That] thet b3. mangit] maggit B;manged D,E. wer] war B;were D,G,b1-2;weare E. mailis] malis B;mailes C,E;meales D; mayles G;Mails b1,b3,p1-2;Mayls b2.

215 fantness] fantnes B;faintness F,p1. tha] Those C,b2;thae p2. forfochin] ferfechtine F; forfoghten D;forfochtin F;forfoughten b1-2,p2. fulis] fouls C;fules D;fooles E;fules G;foolls b1;fools b2,p1-2;fules b3.

216 doun] doune C;downe D,E;down G,b1-3,p1-2. lyk] lik C;like D,E,G,b2-3,p1-2;lyke b1. flawchtir] flauchter B;flagchter D; flauchtir F;flatchter b2. failis] falis B;failes E,G;fails b2,p2.

217 freschmen] Fresche men B,F,C;Freshe men D; Freshmen E,G,b1-3,p1-2. come] com B;cam C,F;came D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. hail'd] halit B;hailet C;haill F;halde G;hayld b2;hal'd p2. dulis] dules C-E,G,b1,b3;dools p1-2.

218 dang] dangge D. thame] them D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2.

doun] dun C;downe D,E,G;down b1-3,p1-2.
dailis] dalis B,F;dailes C,D,E;dales G;
daills b1;dayls b2;dails b3,p1-2.

219 be-dene] bedene B,F;bedeine C,E,b1;Bedeene b2;
Bedeen b3,p2;bedaen p1.

221 Quhen] When C-E,b1-3,p1-2. all] a' p2. wes]
was C-E,b1-3,p1-2. done] doun C. dik]
dic B,F;dick C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. aix] ax
B,C,F,b1,b3,p1;axe D,G,b2.

222 Come] Cam C;Came D,E,b1-2,p1-2;Com F. furth]
forth D,E,b2-3;foorth b1. fell] fel G. a]
ane B,F. fidder] futher B,E;fudder
D,E;fuddir F;Foother G,b1-2;fother
b3,p1;Fiddir p2.

223 Qod] quoth C,b1-3,p1-2. quhair] whar C;wher
D;whear E;where G,b1-3,p1-2. ar] are
b2-3,p1-2. yone] yon B-E,b1,b3,p2.
smaix] smaikis B;smakes C,b1;smaiks
D,b3,p1-2;smaikes E;smackes G;smaicks
b2.

224 Rycht] Richt B;right C-E,G,b1-3,p1. wald] wold
G. slane] slain p2. bruder] brother B-
E,G,p1;brudir F;Brother b1-3;Brither? p2.

225 wyfe] wyf B,F,b1;wife C,E,b2-3,p1-2;wyffe D.

bad] bade C,D,b3,p1. ga] gang B;gae D,p2;Goe G,b1-2;go p1. hame] home b1;haime b3. glaiks] glaikis B;glaix F;glakes b1;Glaicks p2.

226 sa] sua B,F;so C,b1,b2,p1;soe G;sae p2. meg] Megg E. muder] mother B-E,G,b1-3,p1;mudir F;Mither p2.

227 he] Hee b1. turnd] turnit B,F. gaif] gave C-E,b1-3,p1-2. thame] them D,E,b1-3,p1- 2. bayth] both C,E,b1-2,p1;baith D,F,b3,p2. thair] their C,E,b1-3,p1-2;ther D. paiks] paikis B;paikes C; paicks E;pakes b1;pake p1.

228 he] hee E,b1. nane] na B,p1;non C;none D,E,b1-2;na b3;nae p2. udir] uther B,C;other D,E,G,b1-3,p1;ither p2.

Notes

2. dansing] dressing b2. While the b2 variant probably represents a conscious substitution, the motive for such change remains unknown. The ousted reading was not a difficult one; moreover, this alliterating phrase, "dansing nor deray" was common: "nor dancing nor deray", (Dunb.My heid.. 14); "dansying and deray" (Doug.Aen. XIII.viii.105). Hughes and Ramson suggest that this dancing motif would have immediately suggested the allegoric function of "dansing" to its contemporary audience: this dance had "some symbolic value...not simply as an account of peasant revels, but as a representation of [false] order.." (110). While such may have been Bannatyne's perception of the poem, it seems unlikely that such an overtly "popular" vernacular work would have suggested the traditionally courtly mode of allegory to its fifteenth-century audience.

nor] and G,p1,p2. Although in this case both attestation (in genetically unrelated texts) and

the sense of the alliterative construction ("nevir.. nor../..nor.." 1.1-2) support the copy-text reading, such small omissions or substitutions generally resist analysis, as unconscious scribal habit could as easily have resulted in either reading. In these cases the copy-text reading has been gratefully accepted: eg. 3. on] at B; 95. cowd] did C; 124. at] in B.

3. Falkland]. Falkland, in Fife, became a royal residence in 1455 (Chalmers 136). This line probably refers to an older, no longer surviving, work of the same genre, situated at Falkland: "Falkland on the Green" (MacLaine, "The Chrystis Kirk .." 5).

4. Peblis]. Peebles is a shire town where a spring fair, (Cf. "At Beltane.." "Peblis.." 1.1), continued to be held through the nineteenth century (Chalmers 136). As above, this probably refers to another poem in the "Chrystis" tradition, in this case "Chrystis"'s companion piece, "Peblis".

6. Chryst kirk]. Now abandoned, Christ's Kirk was a parish in Aberdeenshire, its kirkyard green the site of a yearly fair in May as late as 1824 (Chalmers 135). Village kirk-yards were traditionally an all-purpose civic space: a midden, a common pasture,

the market-place, and a meeting-place for sports and dancing (Dickinson 247).

ane]. Usage in A follows the practice prevalent prior to the sixteenth century: ane was used for the indefinite article, a/an for numerals (eg. "Ane haisty hensure ... a taikle" ll.91,93; see Language); B employs "ane" throughout.

7. kitteis] kittie B,C-G,b1-3,p1. This change of the plural to a singular noun is the result either of mechanical omission (for example, a terminal s could well have appeared to be a scribal flourish) or deliberate interference, whereby a scribe participates in the text by replacing a type or proper name with another, thus relating the poem to his own experience (Kane 137); the scribe may well have been thinking of a specific "Kitty" or "Katherine". (See also, Relationship of Witnesses). Jones notes that the designation, kitty, carried overtones of wanton, promiscuous behavior (1123); this sort of connotation is one aspect of "Chrystis"'s class-specific satire (see Appendix I).

8. kirtillis of gray]. Sumptuary laws specified gray as the color of everyday use for the peasantry (Jones

1110). In Scotland these laws were increasingly employed to combat inflation resulting from an expanding fifteenth-century economy by limiting spending on luxury clothing (Dickinson 230).

kirtillis] goun C-E,G,b1-3,p1. This is one of a large number of cruxes where the later reading is an easier (ie. less idiomatic, more general in meaning, more dialectally English..) approximate synonym.

11. thir] the B,D,E,G;there p2. Ramsay (or his unidentified 1721 exemplar) did not understand the Middle Scots usage of thir for these, modernizing "thir" as "there" (11); the B reading may be the result of a similar misunderstanding.

12. lassis] B;lasss A. The rejected reading resulted from the omission of a letter between two similar or identical letters (haplography).

laitis] laisses C. Denoting manner or demeanor, this word frequently appeared in alliterating phrases (DOST): "Noucht of latis but luffly.." (Wynt. IV.2498); "..ladlike of laitis, and light.." (Gol.Gaw. 160). The C reading has resulted from "attraction to ... letter[s] previously copied" (Kane 121): the doubled s of "lassis".

13. gluvis] gownes D. Gloves were more commonly an aristocratic item; mittens would have been appropriate for peasant girls (Jones 1112). The D reading seems to be an example of willful scribal interference: the original reading was not difficult, yet it has been replaced with a morphologically similar reading. Perhaps the notion of doeskin gowns seemed more comic, therefore preferable. It is possible that mechanical error is involved: if some intermediate reading was damaged, for example, if l had been somehow omitted, the resulting, clearly corrupt reading would have forced the scribe to find a monosyllabic plural article of clothing, beginning with g.

wer] C;wes A,E. George Bannatyne's grammatical practice with third person plural of to be was inconsistent: although he consistently used wes in the nineteen occasions of third person singular (ie. 1.41), his usage in the plural slightly favored wes over wer (6:4). Habitual rather than grammatical, this practice was emended in 11.14,38,191,195; the emendation does not standardize the copy-text in order to conform to

externally-imposed criteria, but rather favors grammatical consistency within the text.

rafell richt]. Roe fells, or doeskin, were produced for an export market, and therefore another unlikely luxury for peasant lasses (Chalmers 139).

14. wer] C;wes A,E. Cf. note 13.

straitis]. This refers to the Straits of Gibraltar, Morrocan leather goods being most desirable; this satiric exaggeration (Jones 1112) appears to have taken Chalmers in since he innocently observes, "it is absurd to suppose that the wenches of Scotland...wore shoes of morocco leather" (139).

15. lynkome licht]. Lincoln green kirtles suggest a quasi-pagan vernal celebration festival, with concomitant suggestions of fertility rituals -- "Chrystis"'s companion piece, "Peblis" also contains reference to a vernal festival, "Beltane" (Jones 1103,-9; cf.note 61). Chalmers suggests that this refers only to the material, "linsey-woolsey" (139), rather than a green cloth of Lincoln; however, the earliest recorded use of this term in Scotland dates from 1646 (DOST).

16. plaitis]. The garment refered to as a "kirtil" was probably the typical kilt, a "pleated wrap-around

skirt"; pleating was introduced for ease of movement, by damp folding of yardage, which was then clamped until dry (Cut My Coat 10). There is evidence that this garment was developed as the main garment of the Scottish peasantry "at the end of the sixteenth century" (Ibid 5); assuming some flexibility in this date, this suggests that the the poet is satirizing the modish dress of the girls.

21-30. Of all.../Allone] Sche scornit.../Sche said B. Mechanical error offers no explanation for this transposition; however, deliberate scribal interference may be at work here. In B the first stanza's "kitteis" have become "Kitty". Since "Of all.." clearly deals with a new heroine, "Gilly", it is possible that the B scribe appropriated the rejection of "Jok" (in the "Scho skornit.." stanza) for the first girl, "Kitty".

22. Wes nane] no E;none was b2. The b2 compositor, or his exemplar, took considerable licence with the poem (see Witness Description); this sort of non-substantive transposition was probably motivated by stylistic considerations (cf. 134;Kane 140).

23-4. As ony rose.../... lyk the lillie]. Chalmers notes

these as stock similes with many antecedents in the ballad and romance traditions (141-2). For example, Fair Ellinore's "lily-white hand" ("Lord Thomasine and Fair Ellinore" 1.57); like the "Chrystis Kirk.." poet, Chaucer made similarly satiric use of these conventional characteristics of a gentle protagonist in his description of Absolon: "His rode was red.." ("The Miller's Tale 209). (See Language on the use of stock simile in alliterative verse).

25. yellow]. Lighter pigmentation was a sign of gentility (Jones 1120).

27-8. Thocht all.../...sweit Willie]. A girl's choice between two lovers (only one of whom is approved by her family) is a common motif in both ballad and Mayday tradition (Jones 1121).

27. had sworn hir] suld have been B. Chalmers notes the B reading as "of old a common expression for sworn her death" (142); if so, it seems likely that this was the original phrase, deliberately altered in favor of one less idiomatic and difficult. Given the ease of the A reading, it is not improbable that both A and the second-family witnesses could have independently arrived at "had sworn her".

However, I was unable to locate corroboration for Chalmers' assertion; consequently, the copy-text reading was reluctantly retained.

31-9. Scho.../ Scho said] Off all.../Allone B. The B scribe has either corrected a mechanical omission of this stanza by this later insertion or, if the transposition of stanzas three and four was deliberate, has gone on to a new character, having attributed her love-affair to "kittie".

skraipit] scrumped D. Evidently unfamiliar with the Sc verb of mocking, the D scribe has substituted a reading of similar appearance; however, sense suffers: Gilly is now crumpling, rather than sneering at her would-be lover. Cf. 8.

34. lokkis] B;loikkis A. A's spelling probably resulted from a pen-slip, producing a slight vertical mark before the k; none of the rhyme-words evidence unconventional spelling (mokkis:clokkis:rokkis, 32,-6,-8).

37. goun] jack C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;Cloak b2. This originally referred to the fifteenth-century French fashion of very short gowns which consequently exposed a man's limbs (Jones 1113). That Gillie scorns Jok's apparel may not only reflect his spindly

legs, but also her economic pretension: sumptuary laws were attempts at national thriftiness; a short kilt may have resulted from thrifty weaving (Dickinson 230;Cut My Coat 5). Significantly, the later family of witnesses presents variants on "jack" in place of "goun"; by the end of the fifteenth century this referred specifically to a protective padded garment commonly worn by mercenaries. Possibly this variant reflects growing fear of a martial peasantry (see Appendix I).

38. lymmis] legs C-E,G,b1-3,p1. Cf. note 8.

wer] C;wes A,B,E. Cf. note 13.

41-9. Thome Lular../He tuk] Stewin../That day B. This transposition may have been the result of "eyeskip" between two stanzas with visually similar beginnings (homeoarchy between "Thome", "Than Stevin.."). If so, it appears that B is yet another generation removed from the original: at least stanzas five and six were transposed in B's exemplar, "Than" was subsequently omitted, perhaps as a result of the scribal eye being attracted to the first of three alliterating groups in the line (Kane 124). Both attestation in witnesses not

genetically related to A (the second family) and also the sense of the passages suggest that A's order is original. In the A order, the minstrel is introduced before one of the dancers dependent upon his efforts.

Lular] lutar B,D-F,b1-3,p1-2;luchell C. Although attestation in collaterally descended groups of witnesses supports "Lutar", this is much the easier reading, probably independently replacing the original reading. The "correction" of "Lular" (connoting loll,v. to caterwaul, JSD) to "Lutar", changes a "schill" (shrill) piper to a presumably mellifluous lutanist. However, this evidence is slightly equivocal, since the designation of the minstrel as an aristocratic lute-player would be consistent with the social satire of the poem. Interestingly, the relatively corrupt G also attests to the ur-reading ("Loyler"). The C reading may be a coinage implying one who laughs, a jokester (see Glossary); alternatively, the reading may have been luthell, a mis-spelled variant of luter.

43. playit...schill]. This refers to playing a bagpipe, "primarily a peasant instrument" (Jones 1117);

this reference is lost to many subsequent witnesses, in which the minstral has become a lutanist, "Thom Lutar".

45. Auld Lychtfute]. This was the name of "an old Scottish dance" (Chalmers 146).

46. Franss]. French customs, in particular dancing, were both emulated and satirized in this period. While continental trade had stimulated desire for French products and accomplishments, French-Scots association not infrequently resulted in mutual "irritation" (Donaldson 9,13); Dunbar's "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins" presents the Sins "cavorting to the latest steps from France" (Watson 62): "gallandis...kast up gamountis ... that last came out of France" (10-2).

47. him avysit] B;used him-self A,F,p2;huld him C,G,b1-3,p1;used him D,E. The A reading has been emended in favour of a more difficult variant. All readings convey a reflexive sense of behaving/preparing oneself; however, A and C carry connotations of habit, implying that the minstrell habitually acted "as man discreit". The sense of the older (first recorded c.1400) "avysit", comically suggests that Thome bethought himself to

act discreetly, then proceeded with a rowdy morris dance! Arguing against this emendation is attestation in collaterally-related witnesses (eg. A,D,E), however, the simplicity of the A reading suggests that attestation could easily be the result of convergent error (on such convergence see Patterson, 60).

48. the] B;tuk A,F. The B text reading, "the", was adopted in place of A's "tuk". The latter reading was probably a spontaneous scribal error: an eye-skip to a word of the same length, beginning with the same letter, on the next line (in the tag, "he tuk").

moreiss danss]. The "moorish dance", originally performed in blackface and associated with Mayday celebrations, was a common excuse for riotous celebration (cf. "...their revelling, and deray/ Their morisis, and sic ryot.." Douglas, cited Chalmers 147). Common throughout Europe, such dances probably originated as "seasonal pagan observances...associated with [fertility]" (Sharp and Macilwaine 11). As Jones notes, the poet was evidently aware of actual peasant life; however, he may have deliberately misunderstood that life

for satiric purposes (1107; cf. note 151).

49. He tuk] Full lowd A,F;scho tuik B;He led p2. Given the previous eye-skip error (cf. 48), the text would then read "tuk" in two lines; the new tag was a subsequent "correction". This reading may be a pastiche of the tags in the first two stanzas of the work, "Full gay", "So lowd" (9,19). The B reading contains an anomalous gender shift with the pronoun, "scho", apparently refering to "Towsy"; the emendation follows the authority of C et al, in accepting "he". The spelling "tuk" was adopted, consistent with A. However, the emended reading, "..up the morreis danss/ he tuk", is grammatically less awkward than the copy-text "...up tuk morreis danss..", alternatively suggesting that this reading resulted from a scribal desire to "smooth" the text (Kane 128).

51-9. Than Stevin../That day] Thome lutar../sche tuik B. As with 11.31-9, the B scribe has noticed and reintroduced the omitted passage (Kane 126).

53. Platfute... bendis]. Chalmers suggests that "platfute" refers to a specific Scots reel, "wherein the feet are crossed over one another" (148); this passage describes a sort of high jumping at peasant

festivities which may be of pagan origin as a form of "sexual selection" (Jones 1107).

61. Robene Roy]. This is another reference (cf. 48) to Mayday celebrations at which plays were performed featuring "the king and queen of May", Robin and Marian -- "Roy" being "king", or roi, through Anglo-Norman literary influence (Jones 1107). "Summer was brought in by the follies of an Abbot of Unreason, or by a Robin Hood...in 1508, the [Aberdeen] town council ordered all the burgesses to be 'reddy with thair arrayment maid in grene ... [with] bows, arrows..' so that they could be true 'foresters' to Robin Hood" (Dickinson 239-41).

62. Downy] F;dwny A;dowie B;tusie C,b1-3,p1;dowsie D,E,G. These variant proper names were probably substituted for the original by scribes relating the poem to their own lives (cf. 7). A corrected copy-text reading was arbitrarily accepted as original; A's omission of the vowell may simply be the result of scribal haste. Jones suggests that the use of such names as "Downy" and "Lowry", connoting craftiness, reflects the aristocratic belief that peasants were tricky and

untrustworthy; paradoxically, an accompanying prejudice held the lower classes to be dull-witted (1123).

65. The kensy cleikit] He turnit and cleikit B. Although there are several occasions where B has retained the more difficult, and probably more original reading (cf. 27,47,144), in this case the mildy abusive term, "kensy" has been replaced with an easier, more bland phrase. However, it is tempting to accept the spatially explicit B reading, in which Robene responds to Jok's tugging by turning and beating him.

66. luggit] Jugged C. A difficult neologism has been replaced in C with a newer, more facile and anglic-ized reading; the combatants are no longer pulling on each others' ears, but quaffing together.

67. Thay pairtit hir...] The pronoun hir is used in a reflexive sense: the two combatants parted themselves with a nevell, or wallop.

hir] thair B;om. C,F,p2;them D;there b1,b3,p1. The original reading may have been mistaken for "thir", or these, the t added by attraction to the preceding "pairtit". The B scribe, or a

predecessor, mistook these for their, a possesive adjective preceding the new reading, "thair play thane..". D has retained the sense of the original with the reading "them" (see above). The final variant, "there" is another attempt to interpret MSc thir.

71-9. Ane bent../Thair]. The omission of this stanza from the second family of witnesses is not readily attributable to mechanical error. Typical capital forms for S,A, and W ("Syne" 61; "Ane" 71, "With" 81) are not sufficiently similar to suggest homeoarchy. However, there is little to explain the deliberate omission of a facile and comic passage. It is only slightly possible that this omission represents a bowdlerizing of the suggestion of incontinence through terror ("I can nocht tell quhat mard him" 78). However, were this the case it might be expected that the flatulence of the preceding passage would also have been excised ("..oistit at baith the endis" 57).

71. Sic sturt..steir him;]. This is one of several comic suggestions that the combatants are being drawn into the fray almost involuntarily: aroused by

the violent quarreling of Robene and Jok, this archer joins the fight; similarly irritated by the furor, Hary draws an arrow and joins in ("That torment so him teynd" 94).

73. a flane as did affeir him;]. Puzzlingly, this line seems to suggest that "Ane" (71), to scare whom would require "grit skayth" (considerable disturbance, 72), has picked up an arrow which frightens him; this is obviously an idiomatic suggestion that he has taken up a large, dangerous-looking bolt.

74. dirdum-dardum]. Derived from dirdum,v. (riotous uproar), this phrase, much like the English hoity-toity, is a repetetive expression of contempt.

75. throw] B;throwth A. The A reading is probably the result of eyeskip either to the ending of the next word, "baith", or to the next line, in which "throw" is followed by "the". The superfluous terminal th was contracted with a superscript t. Since in A this contraction generally represents -cht, with the exception of "with", the morphology of this reading presents the opportunity for still further confusion: Hughes and Ramson have expanded the word thus, "throwcht".

76. ers] chaftis B. This crux presents two readings from equally authoritative witnesses, both of which variants could well be the result of scribal interference: A is the more emphatic, while B increases the alliteration of the line. Kane notes both of these circumstances as stimuli for deliberate error (138,-41). Consequently, the copy-text reading was cautiously retained.

77. akerbraid] myll B. Cf. 8.

91-9. Ane haisty../Bot gud] A yape../Frome flint C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. This insertion of stanza thirteen following nine is probably attributable to homeoarchy: because the next stanza to be copied also began with capital A, the scribe's eye skipped two stanzas to l.121. Noting the omitted text, the scribe then resumed at l.91, after 99.

hensure] kinsman C. Cf. 8.

92. heynd] keene D,E,G,b1-3,p1. The D reading has replaced a word characteristic of an older poetic diction (alliterative) with a newer, more anglicized synonym. Cf. 8.

93. taikle] cudgell C. Cf. 8.

96. Or the man wes his freynd] gif the~ B,F;~gif sae~ C;~eye did faile betweene D;~his foe~ E,G,b1-3,p1. The B

reading is another example of deliberate inclusion in order to render the text more explicit; the other variants are less readily explained. It is possible that the C exemplar resulted from a deliberate augmentation of both clarity and alliteration as "man" became "foe"; the C reading may derive from such a variant through confusion between initial s and f. Alternatively, C, sharing B's "gif", may have replaced "the man" with "sae" in order to improve the meter. The D reading reveals considerable scribal tinkering in which the variant line parallels the preceding "I wait nocht quhidder his hand cowd vary".

98. ill] evill B;thang C; did D;om. G,b1-3,p1. Though medial -v- between two vowells was commonly ellided in pronunciation, the A and B readings represent substantive variation; the exception, "ill" is not an ellided form of "evil" (Smith xxviii). The C reading is another example of a reading which is replaced by an easier (and less meaningful) substitute: "no ill" has become "no thing" (cf. ll. 38,77,91). The D reading represents another attempt to be more explicit (cf. note 108).

101. Lowry]. As "Downy", this name connotes untrustworthiness and dishonesty. Cf. note 62.

103. pap]. DOST notes the common use of pap in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to indicate (on a man) the site of a wound.

104. wed.. weddir]. A weddir was "a legal forfeiture for not practising archery", enacted by parliament (Chalmers 155); by attempting to shoot (Hary) with an arrow, Lowry comically wagers this forfeiture. Presumably a successful shot would obviate the weddir.

106, -9. It bust lyk ony bledder/...And saift him]. Line 106 seems to indicate that Lowry has shot his opponent in the belly ("wame") with an arrow, whereupon the stricken man has burst open with particularly nasty moistness. (This may also be a suggestion that the stricken man was carrying a bagpipe of some kind, see Glossary.) However, the tag-line asserts that his leather doublet saved him. Seemingly, this is another case of terror-inspired incontinence: the "It" that gave way is a bladder. (Cf. 78).

108. wes of] B;wes maid of A,p2. While there is little indication that "maid" was mechanically omitted,

for example through homoeoteleuton, the insertion of "maid" was probably a deliberate attempt to render the text more explicit.

111-9. The baff.../Agane]. On the inclusion of this stanza see Editorial Principles.

112. erd he duschit] B. This was a stock collocation throughout the MSc period: "till erde duschit" (Leg.S. XL.452); "to the eirth thay duschit" (Lynd.Sq.M. 654).

117. And] B;Then C-E,G,b1-3,p1-2. The B reading was not emended, although both attestation and possible mechanical error do argue for the acceptance of "Then". Although "And" may have resulted from a sort of vertical homoeoteleuton, in which the initial word, located between two identical words on preceding and following lines, was omitted, it is equally likely that the adoption of "Then" was a scribal attempt at stylistic improvement of a visually repetitive exemplar, in which three lines begin with "And". In the face of these opposing arguments, the copy-text (B) reading has been accepted.

routis] B;~their E,G,b1-3,p1;~on's Arse p2. The use of routs, or blows, to raiss somebody was not limited

to "Chrystis": "Thay rais me all with ane rout" (s.c.man 25). The E and p2 readings are examples of scribal tendencies to render texts more explicit and more emphatic, respectively (Kane 136,-8). The character of the emphasis reflects Ramsay's characteristic vulgar humor.

118. coverit] B;cured C. These variants are accidental only, the latter a phonetic spelling (cf. 61).

123. blew kappis]. Sumptuary laws permitted blue for holidays; eg. most figures in Breughel's "Peasant Dance" wear blue caps (Jones 1110).

128. als..as..]. This construction was the Middle Scots equivalent of "..as ... as.." (JSD).

ferss] fast C-E,G,b1-3,p1. Cf. 8.

134. thay of bernis maid] of thar~ thay~ C;of bearnes they D;of their~ G;of the~ b2. Cf. note 22.

bernis]. Referring to man, especially a warrior, bern was exclusive to poetry, particularly alliterative. Cf. Freik.

135. The rerd...rappis]. These words, rerd, rudly, rap were common alliterating members of MSc poetic diction (DOST): "the rerd of thame rais to the sky.." (Dunb.Fen.F. 94); "rappit on sa rudly with greit reird.." (Stew. 2339); "..rudly rap.." (Ibid

2423).

reird] rair C-E,b1-3,p1. "Rair" is the result of haplographic omission of d between two r's.

thar] B; the A. The A reading is a result of an eye-skip error; "thar" lost its terminal r before the initial r of the succeeding word. The resultant "tha" (MSc "those", cf. Language) is a scribal correction to read "the".

141-9. Thay girnit.../For evir]. B2 has omitted this stanza. Its exemplar probably followed the second-family order: stanza twenty ("Twa that.../ Maist lyk" ll.191-9), fifteen ("Thay girnit..."), fourteen ("With forkis .../Quod thay" ll.131-9). It is possible that the omission resulted from homeoarchy between "Twa" and "Thay". It may also have been omitted through deliberate pruning: while both 1643 and 1663 have printed the poem in four columns, b2 has elected to use two columns, resulting in elegant margins (in which some glosses appear) and vertical cramping. Including single line spacing between the stanzas, these columns are 116 lines in length; in order to fit twenty-three stanzas and a concluding "Finis", the compositor has been forced to split stanza twelve

("The buff..." l.111-9) between the two columns. The original twenty-four stanzas of b2's exemplar would have necessitated a different format.

144. fled] feld G. The transposition of letters was a common mechanical error. As this resulted in a plausible reading, the substitution of "feld" would resist detection and subsequent correction.

weill eschewit] B;evill mischevit A;sum relived C-E,G,b1,b3,p1;ill mischevit F,p2. Determining originality between A and B is difficult, as a mechanical transposition of letters (ewill, weill) could have occurred either way. While the B reading may have been generated by eyeskip to "weill", in roughly the same position, two lines later, it is also possible that Bannatyne or a responsible predecessor felt that the omission of one of two original "weill"s would be a stylistic improvement. Either "mischevit" or "eschewit" is then a conscious scribal correction of the first variant, retaining the original sense of doing ill deeds. Alternatively, either the A reading, "mischevit", was the result of an eyeskip down four lines to another terminal "mischevit", or the B reading an attempt to remove one of these two

originals. The decision to emend A was made hesitantly on this basis: while "mischevit" in this intransitive sense is both redundant and probably represents a later usage (1604, OED), the transitive use of "eschewit" was current in the MSc period (cf. "Chenyeis ar ay to eschew"; Dunb. Tre. 53). The third variant probably represents scribal interference; the continuation of the parallel structure, "Sum straik...sum gaderit/Sum fled... sum relived" (143-4), may have seemed more elegant.

151. Heich] then C-E,G,b1-3,p1. Frequently used to acknowledge nobility (DOST), this is a doubly satiric designation for a peasant, not merely, as Jones notes, suggesting a gangly appearance (1121). The C reading probably resulted from the "correction" of a corrupt reading with further corruption: once Hutchin had become Hedgehog, the appelation High must have seemed at fault (cf. "Hucheoun", below).

Hucheon] hurchon C,D. This was originally a reference to physical oddity: "High Hutchin" -- tall and hunched (Jones 1121). The variant reading probably resulted from confusion between medial t

and r in which some version of "hutchen" became "hurchen" or hedgehog.

hissil ryss]. Jones suggests that the use of a leafy switch as a weapon resulted from the satirist's misunderstanding of genuine peasant customs in which willow or birch rods served as emblems of fertillity (1108).

152. rummil] rumble D. This variant is accidental; b combined with m was frequently omitted in early texts. Eg. "Quhilk nummerit ane milyon.." (Doug.K.Hart 18; cf. Language).

154. baity-bummil]. This is the earliest known appearance of this epithet for a hapless, clumsy fellow, although its etymology suggests that it was not a new coinage, but rather a colloquial expression. It was popular with Lyndsay, who frequently borrowed expressions from "Chrystis" (see Influence).

157. his] B;his his A. The copy-text reading is an example of dittography.

158. barla-fummill]. Normally glossed as an exclamation similar to "Truce!", this phrase appears to have been coined, or at least borrowed from the spoken vernacular, first by the "Chrystis" poet; and

subsequently used as a deliberate echo in Drummond's "Polemo-Middinia".

159. I an slane] ouris B. B's curious tag-line eludes explanation: the word "ouris" is, if nothing else, the plural form of hour. A stretch of conjecture might suggest that Heich Hucheoun cried "Barlaw-fummill!" for hours. On the basis that the more difficult reading is more likely to have been original, this tag should perhaps be adopted; however, the absence of discernible sense argues against this. Craigie's edition of B offers no light on this reading.

164. He thocht ... at him] The far ... set him A,B,F,. The transposition of ll.164,-6 is probably the result of homeoarchy: some precursor to A and B copied line 163, then, aware that he had just completed a line beginning with "He.." skipped to the next line with a different beginning, ("The far.."). However, the formal pattern of "Chrystis" resists line omission; the skipped lines (164-5) are resumed after 166. The sense of the lines supports this emendation. It is more reasonable that Hucheoun "gart his feit defend his heid" after "ane cryd haif at him" (166,-5). Although

the reading has been adopted from C et al, the spelling is consistent with A.

166. The far...him] He thocht...at him A,B,F. Cf. 164.

sarar] fairer C-F,b1-3,p1-2. This variant resulted from a confusion between f and long s, in which the new and easier reading makes reasonable sense: rather than being sorer by his distress, he is set fairer by his escape. Chalmers mistakenly asserts that both A and B read farar (165).

167. wes] F;west A. The copy-text reading is probably a result of an eye-skip association with the succeeding word, "past".

171. toun] black C. The C reading is an example of deliberate alteration: the scribe has attempted to improve the line's alliteration (Kane 141).

sowtar]. DOST notes that "in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the word is used with depreciatory force".

breif] B;greif A,F,b2;Beath D;braith E,C,G,b1-3,p1. A was emended in favor of a more difficult reading, "breif", or anger. It is less improbable that the second-family precursor would have substituted a similar-looking place name for the difficult "breif", than that this precursor would have

independently arrived at a variant of "greif" that happened to be very similar to the B variant. D's reading is probably a simple mis-spelling of "Breath".

172. His wyf hang in his waist.]. This rather puzzling picture invites (at least) two interpretations: the most obvious is that the sowtar's wife is clinging to him for protection. However, it later appears that he is the one under attack ("..he wes chest" 178"). The more comic explanation is that the uxorious sowtar, so furiously jealous ("with blud all browdin" 173, flushed and swollen with anger), keeps his wife as close as possible, and later refuses to yield to his opponents in order to impress her (177).

176. laist] B;left A. A's "left" is unsatisfactory in both rhyme and imagery; the emendation, "laist", is both schematically apt ("waist: gaist: lest:chest" ll. 172,-4,-6,-8), and supports the image of the sowtar, literally laced by his wife's golden hair. The copy-text reading is the likely result of confusion between medial long s and f. Following the authority of this assumption, orthography is consistent with the rhyme in line 178.

185. haill]. The construction of haill following the noun, found only in verse, is characteristic of early works (DOST).

191. wer] F;wes A,B. Cf. 13.

195. wer] C;wes A;they were p2. Cf. 13.

197. commoun-bell]. The common-bell was the signal for (among other things) all burgesses to run to defence of the town (Dickinson 243).

203. fyrflawcht fell]. Denoting lightning or thunderbolts, this was a common alliterating phrase. Cf. "A gret fyrflawcht and a fell..." (Wynt. VI.429); "As fyrflacht fell.." (J.Stewart 14/78).

204. Freikis]. Denoting a man, especially a fighting man, freik is found only in poetry, particularly alliterative (see Language; DOST).

207. hail'd the dulis]. This is an expression after scoring a goal at football: "Hail the dule!" (Chalmers 175).

219. be-dene]. Meaning moreover, etc, this word occurred almost exclusively in poetry as a rime-word, frequently as a lone tag (DOST).

212. brainwod] bunfir C;benfyres D,G,b1-3,p1. The sense of the original is something like, "maddened [by the conflict] they burned [figuratively] in blazing

fury/misery" (see Glossary); however, the conjunction of the difficult "brainwod" and the metaphoric burning proved too tempting for later scribes, who have replaced the original reading with a literal bonfire.

Glossary

This Glossary consists primarily of words that are exclusive to MSc or uncommon in ME or modern English. The entry-word for verbs will generally be the infinitive or present form where such occur in the text; regularly inflected forms of nouns or verbs are not noted separately. The majority of definitions have been supplied by DOST, which is currently complete to Rou- in Part XLI. The remaining references, from rude to younker, have been supplied by OED, supplemented by Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary (JSD), the standard nineteenth-century work. Unfortunately, JSD seldom supplied specific references; consequently, where title, line number, etc. defied discovery, Jamieson's cryptic citation stands (eg. niest, super.a. ... Wynt. JSD). Unless otherwise noted, glosses in the last section are derived from OED.

Glosses represent abridged versions of the DOST entries: where DOST offered, originally, the closest ME congener (on the assumption that Middle Scots words were Middle English derivatives) and, subsequently, all available material in related

languages that might bear on the development of the word (DOST VLI.vi), I have chosen to note only general sources or, where available, specific etymons. Where DOST offers a variety of meanings, only those reasonably close to their use in "Chrystis Kirk.." have been included. Where DOST cites a variety of sources, I have included the earliest, and those others which, by reason of genre, seem relevant to this edition. The earliest recorded use of a given entry is noted as it may be pertinent to the issue of the text's date; other entries from similar works serve to illustrate to what extent lexical features of "Chrystis Kirk..." may be generic clues (the most common sources are discussed above; see Genre and Influence). Where the earliest source was generically unrelated, the date was recorded without citation; for example, DOST first records the use of raffel,n., in Edin. B.Rec. (1474); OED cites Peebles B.Rec. (1560) as the earliest recorded use of wed,v. as a wager. Occasionally "Chrystis Kirk" was the only recorded source for a given definition; this has been noted. Where only "Chrystis Kirk.." is cited, yet without this

notation, other sources were later and generically unrelated (eg. only "Chrystis Kirk.." is cited for bougars, although the word does appear in the Melrose Reg. Rec., 1675).

Some variant spellings appearing in witnesses (see Apparatus II) have been noted; the source of the variant (or a representative, in the case of several attestations) is indicated. Entries for variant readings are designated by the appropriate sigil; for example, releve,v. (144), a variant reading from C and other members of the second family of witnesses, is so noted. Line numbers without an accompanying sigil indicate A. The alphabetical arrangement equates i and voiced y.

abaysyd,v.pp. [from abais,v. -- to deprive of confidence or courage. (14th C) ME abaisse;OF] Discouraged or dismayed, cast down, taken aback. The term was "common throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries". Wall.VII.487; Doug.K.Hart 384; Barb.XIV.411;Chrystis (B) 111.

akerbraid,n. [ME acre,aker;ON] The breadth of an acre. Wall.VII.823;Chrystis 76; Alex.I.206.

avyse,v. [(c1300) ME avise, vise;OF] refl. To bethink (oneself) carefully. Leg.S. iii.556;Wynt. VIII.5296;Chrystis (B) 47.

baff,n. [Cf. OF baffe] A blow, esp. with something soft. Only Chrystis (B) 111.

bag,n. [c.1225 early ME bagge;ON bagge] 1. A money bag. 2. A bag used for other purposes; a sack. Dunb.Fly. 171;Chrystis 127.

bail,n. 1. [ME bale;OE balu] Misery, suffering, pain; "only in poetry and frequently in alliterative phrases" (DOST). 2. [Northern ME bale;ON bal] a) A flame or blaze. Barb. xvii.619. b) A fire kindled as a signal. Dougl.Aen. II.v.13. 3. In fig. use probably associated with 1. 1480;Chrystis 212.

bait,pt. [ME baite;early ME be tenn;ON] Bit, did bite. Of

bite, n. -- tr. to assail with dogs. Dunb.Com. lix.27; Chrystis 211.

banefyer,n. [(1483) Northern ME; late ME banefyre] A large fire in the open air, originally one made with the bones of animals (this use carries implications of idolatry, pagan festivals, etc). 1558;Chrystis (D) 212.

barkit,ppl.a. [ME barkid (Lydgate);fr. (c.1300) ME barken;ON] 1. Tanned. Chiefly leather. a) of sowtaris. Dunb.Bal. vii.43. b) of hide or leather Chrystis 197; Dunb.Sir T. 43. 2. Hardened as if by tanning; clotted, hardened (JSD).

barla-fummill,n. [prob. fr. MF parler;fummil is to stumble (Chalmers 164)] An exclamation requesting a truce in fighting or play. Chrystis 158;Pol.M. 164.

barrow-tram,n. [fr. ME barrow;(c.1300) early ME barewe; prob. OE] A pole or shaft of a hand barrow. Dunb. 19; Lynds.Just. 33; Chrystis 194.

batie-bummil,n. [Cf. blaitie-bum, fr. blate,a.;OF, obscure origin] A 'feckless' person. Chrystis 154. Var. batie-bum; Bummil baty, Lynds.Sat. 268.

bedene,adv. [(c.1200) ME bedene, of uncertain origin] 1.Altogether, completely, fully, continuously, forthwith. Barb.XV.108; Wynt.V.3499; Doug.Aen.

I.ii.33; Dunb.Ane 41. 2.a) In addition, as respecting persons. Gol.Gaw. 319. b) in succession, "one after another" Gol.Gaw. 29 (JSD);Chrystis 219.

beft,pt. [Northern ME beft;ON beafton; no recorded infin.] Struck with blows, beaten, buffeted. Wynt. V.1956; Dunb.Fen. 78; Chrystis 133.

beir,v. [ME beere;OE ȝebaeran] intr. To cry, roar. Wall.VII.457;Wynt.V.1916;Chrystis 212.

belive,adv. [ME belive, fr. be,prep., life dat. of lif] Most frequently belyve. With speed, quickly, immediately, at once. Barb.X.238; Dunbar.Tre. 49; Fr.B. 374; Howl. 295;Chrystis (C) 89.

bend,n. [fr. bend,v. ME;OE bendan] 1. A leap or spring. Doug.Aen. V.vi.58; Lynd.Sat. 4292; Lynd. Sq.M. 519; Chrystis 53. 2. A blow. Peblis 23.

bern,n. [ME bern(e, early ME;OE beorn] A man, esp. a fighting man; a warrior, hero. Howl. 293; Wall. IV.310; Dunb.Tre. 60; Dunb.Flyt. 210; Rauf C. 187;Chrystis 123.

bick,v. [fr. byke,n. (c.1300) Northern ME, of obsc. origin] ? To close in as in a hive. 1606;Chrystis (b2) 186.

bikker,v. [(1330) ME bikere; of obsc. origin] tr. To

assail with arrows or other missiles. Barb.IX.152; Dun.Flyt. 204; Chrystis 186. Var. bick (b2).

byre,n. [(1521) Northern emE byre;OE] A cowhouse. Henr.Fab. 2732; Rauf C. 111;Chrystis 124.

birse,v. [Var., metathesis of r: bris,v. ME;early ME brisen;OE;OF] tr. To bruise, to injure by pressure. Gol.Gaw. 870; Doug.Aen. IX.xiii.69;Chrystis 147.

bledder, n. [Common Teutonic;OE blaedre] A wind bag of a simple kind of bagpipe. a1225;Chrystis 106.

bob,v. [also emE 1611] tr. 1. To perform (a dance) with bobbing movements. Only Chrystis 53.

bok,v. [Prob. imitative. Cf. bolke (late 14th C) ME -- to belch] 1. to vomit Gol.Gaw. 2. to retch, to incline to puke (JSD);Chrystis 206.

bougars,n. [Of obsc. origin] Cross-spars of a roof. 1509; Chrystis 133.

bousteously,adv. [Northern ME bost-; bustwys; of uncertain origin] Violently, strongly, roughly, rudely. Wall.XI.84; Rauf C. 594; Doug.Aen. I.ii.53; Lyn.Sat. 1199; Chrystis 111. Var. (later) boistrously, boystrously (C).

bowden,v.pp. [Var. of boldin; cf. ME bollen, pp. pf bolle -- to swell] 1. Physically swollen. 2. Affected

by extreme grief, anger, pride. Boece I.lviii/ ii.207; Dunb.Tre. 346; Chrystis 171.

branewod,n. [of unknown origin] Wood for burning Chrystis 212 (JSD).

branewod,a. [Cf. wode,a. -- mad;OE wod] 1. Mad, in a state of insanity. Leg.S. X.117;Wynt.VII.2061. 2. Acting with fury, hurried on with the greatest impetuosity. Howl. 811;Chrystis 212.

breif,n. [Apparently a var. of brethe] Anger. Chrystis (B) 171; Seven S. 186/12.

brethe,n. [ME breth(e;ON] Anger, fury. Leg.S. I.525;Howl. 69;Gol.Gaw. 571.

brig,n. [(c.1150) Northern ME brig(g;ON;OE] A bridge over a stream or gutter. Barb. X.86;Hay I.115/17. Fig. only Chrystis 134.

browdin,ppl.a. [ME browden;OE breðdan -- to enlace] 1. Embroidered. 2. Adorned; stained (with blood). Howl. 27; Stew. 3673; Chrystis 173.

buff,n. [? Prob. imitative] A stroke, a blow. Chrystis 111 (JSD).

buff,v. [Imitative] intr. To make a soft or puffing sound. Only Chrystis 111.

buschement,n. [ME busshement, aph. embusshement] 1. The disposition of armed men in concealment. 2. A

party placed or lying in ambush. Barb.LV.414; Wall. IV.429;Chrystis 185.

can,pt. [ME can;OE can, con] Did. In poetry used to form a past tense, originally a substitution for gan, pret. of gin,v., both can and couth are used with the same preterite meaning. Barb.L.330; Henr. Fab. 257; Wall. VI.267;Chrystis 152.

carl,n. [(c.1300) ME carl;OE] 1. A man of the common class. Rauf C. 456; Doug.K.Hart 739. 2. Depreciatory use: a man or fellow, esp. one of little account. Dunb.Tre. 118; Lynd.Sat. 2791; Chrystis 205.

cavel,n. [Var. of ME kevell] A low or rough fellow. Lynd.Sat. 2863; Chrystis 65; Symmie 77.

chaft,n. [(c1300) Northern ME caft;OE] The jaw, cheek, esp. pl. chaftis. Wall. V.764; Dunb.Tre. 108; Chrystis 76; Mont. 97.

char,v. [ME charre; OE] tr. To cause to turn aside or back. Henr.Fab. 304 (A);Doug.Pal.Hon. I.168;Chrystis 156. ?Pt. chard.

chat,v. [Origin and precise meaning uncertain] Usually, "Chat thee", used in contempt. Doug.Aen. VIII.Prol.126; Chrystis 35.

cheir,v. [of unknown origin] To cut, to wound. Chrystis 75

(JSD).

cleik,v. [(14th C) Northern ME cleke;OE] Tr. To catch or snatch so as to take something from another or to oneself. Dunb.Flyt. 62;in the sense of clutching someone, only Chrystis 65.

clocks,pl.n. [emE c1570; of obscure origin] A beetle. Chrystis 36.

compt,v. [ME compte;OF compter; after L] 1. tr. To number, enumerate. 2. intr. To make a reckoning. 3. tr. (with a negative): (Not) to regard, consider, care for. Gol.Gaw. 130; Dunb.Flyt. 129; Lynd.Sq.M. 337; Chrystis 36.

dail,n. [Northern ME dale;OE dal] A part, a portion. Wynt. V.5086;Gol.Gaw 782. b) A number (of persons). Chrystis 218.

dang,pt. [Fr. ding,v.-- (c.1300) Northern ME ding(e;ON] To beat, cast or throw down. Barb. X.410; Rauf C. 915;Chrystis 157.

deray,n. [(c.1300) ME deray;OF] 1. Disturbance or disorderly action causing trouble or hurt to others. 2. Disturbance or disorder; loud noise, din, outcry. Wynt.2167; Fr.B. 201;Henr.Fab. 932; Colk.S. I.208. 3. Disorderly or noisy mirth; revelry. Dunb. 78 14; Doug.Aen.XIII.vii.

105;Chrystis 2.

dicht,n. [ME dyghte;OE] 1. tr. To array with armour, clothing; to array, dress (oneself). Barb, XIV.423; Gol.Gaw. 835; Chrystis 11. 2. To arrange or prepare, ie. for eating. Rauf C. 133,144; Fr. B. 122.

dirdum,n. [Northern ME durdan] 1. Uproar; tumultuous noise. Doug.K.Hart 877;Colk.S. I.183. 2.pl. ridicule, sneerings, scoffings (JSD).

dirdum-dardum,n. Used contemptuously. Only Chrystis 74.

drug,v. [ME drugge;(1240) vbl.n. druggunge] To draw forcibly. Dunb.Fen..70; Chrystis 61.

dule,n. [(c.1440) ME doole;Du] A goal in football.

dusch,v. [ME dusche;(14th C) dusshe; of obsc. origin] To strike or knock down with force. Barb. XVI.165; Leg.S. XL.452;Lynd.Sq.M. 654;Chrystis 112.

ettle,v.. [(c.1200) ME ettill;ON] 1. intr. To purpose or intend to do something. 2. To aim at something. Chrystis 123; Doug.Aen. V.lx.35.

fail,n. [Of obsc. origin] 1. Turf... of greater thickness than divot. Doug.Aen. XII.Prol.88. 2. A piece of turf, a sod.

fantness,n. [(c.1400) ME feyntnes] Faintness. 1567;Chrystis 215..

farar,comp.a. [ME fair(e;OE] Better, preferable, more honorable. Gol.Gaw. 1035;Stew. 4517;Chrystis 164.

fechtar,n. [(a.1400) ME feghter] One who fights (in battle or brawls). Barb. XI.102;Wynt. II.1062;Chrystis 148.

fedder,v. [(a.1340) ME feþer] tr. To fit or ornament with a feather or feathers. Chrystis 102.

feid,n. [(1300) Northern ME fede;OF] Hostility, enmity; freq. with auld. Wynt. VII.3013;Chrystis163.

feymen,n. [ME feye;OE;ON] 1. From fey,a. -- of persons, fated to die; doomed by fate. Barb. XV.45; Henr.Fab. 1760;Wall. IV.616. 2. Foemen, from fey,n. -- a foe (JSD);Chrystis 193.

fidder,n. [ME fothir;OE] 1. A cartload. 2. A number or company of persons. Lynd.Sat.Prol. 100;Chrystis 222. Var. fudder (D).

fyreflaucht,n. [Fr. fyre ME;flaucht (a.1300) ME;OE] 1. Lightning. Troy B. II.1711 2. A flash of lightning, a thunderbolt. Wynt. VI.429;Chrystis 203.

flail,n. [ME flaill(e] A thresher's flail. Barb. V.318;Chrystis (b1) 217.

flane,n. [ME flone;OE] An arrow. Henr.Fab. 757; Dun. G.Tar.

178;Chrystis 102.

flauchter-fail,n. [Fr. flaughter - a turf; Northern ME; ME flaȝt] A turf cut off with a spade. Only Chrystis 216.

flegge,n. [DOST did not cite this noun; probably from irreg. form of fletcher,n.: flegg(e)ar,n. - an arrow-maker] ?Arrow. Chrystis (b2) 102.

flenderis,pl.n. [?Scand. origin] Fragments, splinters, pieces. Alex. I.921; Dougl.Aen.XII. xii. 113;Chrystis 84.

forfochten,pp. [(1470) ME forfoughten, (c.1275) forfohte] Exhausted with fighting or effort. Wynt. III.298; Wall. VII.604;Doug.K.Hart 889;Chrystis 215.

forgeit,pt. [Fr. forge -- ? error for force] Forge, v.tr. -- To draw (an arrow); to shoot. Only Chrystis 83.

forleit,v. [ME forlete;OE] 1. tr. To forsake, neglect, abandon. 2. intr. To forget. Hay I.278; Dougl.Aen. XIII.Prol.130;Chrystis 45.

friek,n. [ME freke;OE] A bold or fighting man; a man. Leg.S. X.433; Henr.Fab.III.115;Dunb.Tre. 324.

friggis,pl.n. [? cf.Norw. frigge -- a big, coarse woman] Only Chrystis 132.

fummle,v. [(1534) emE fumble;Du] To handle. Dunb.Tre. 134. Cf. barlafummill.

gait,n. [Northern ME gayte (a1340);ON] A goat. 1424;Hen.Fab. 897;Chrystis 17.

gammis,pl.n. [Of obsc. origin] (Large) teeth; jaws. R.Curs. 18;Ken. 363;Chrystis 196.

gart,pt. [Pret. of gar,ger,v. with normal change of -er to -ar, common by fifteenth century] Gar,v. 1. tr. To cause something to be done. 1386. 2. To give instructions, to take measures. 1500. 3. To make or cause (a person or thing) to do something. Constructed with simple infin. 1443;Dunb.Flyt. 172; Ratis R. 1211;Chrystis 165.

geir,n. [usual later var. of gere,n. -- (a.1300) ME;OE] 1. Arms and armour, a weapon. Barb. V.110; Rauf C. 769;Lynd.Just. 67. 2. apparel, personal equipment. Wynt.LV.52. 3. Apparatus, implements, tackle. Barb.XVII.702;Dunb.Tre. 232;Chrystis (C) A1.

gympt,a. [Of obsc. origin] Slender, slim, graceful, dainty. Dunb.Tre. 69;Doug.VI.x.45;Chrystis 22.

gird,v. [(c.1205) ME gird(e; of obsc. origin] 1. To ride rapidly or with force. Barb.I.417. 2. a) To strike or smite; to pierce. Alex. I.1815. b)

intr. To make a stroke, deliver a blow. Usually in "leit gird". Howl. 84;Rauf C. 149;Gow.Gal. 105;Chrystis 141.

girn,v. [Northern ME gyrne;var. of ME grynne] To show the teeth in rage or bad temper; to snarl. Barb.IV.321;Doug.Pal.Hon. I.523;Chrystis 141.

glaikis,pl.n. [Of obsc. origin;cf. glaik,v. -- to look foolishly or wantonly] 1. Mocking deception, trickery. Ken. 497. 2. A contemptuous epithet applied to a foolish person. Chrystis 225;Lynd.Sat. 4390.

glitterand,ppl.a. [(14th C) ME gletir- ;ON] Glittering. Barb. VIII.231;Dunb.Tre. 517;Chrystis 175.

gob,n. [Fr. Gael. gob; (1674) Northern emE dial.] A mouth, especially a large and ugly one. Chrystis 195;Mont. 188.

gossep,n. [(15th C) ME gossop; (14th C) gossibbe;OE] A godfather or mother in relation to a child , its parents, or each other: a fellow-sponsor. Hay 26/30; Wall.VIII.1597;Chrystis 142.

grane,n. [1300 Northern ME grane, Midland ME grone;OE] A groan. Barb. XIII.35; Dunb.Thi. 81;Chrystis 141.

greive,v. [1225 ME greve;OF grever] 1. tr. To harass, injure, harm or hurt. Leg.S. III.244; Wynt.

VII.2768; Chrystis 142. 2. To wrong, to treat injustly. Wynt.VII.1214.

hail,v. [emE hayle;(1563): to call] In the phrase "to hail the dulis": apparently originally to greet the goal in football with the exclamation, "hail"; hence, to score a goal. Chrystis 217.

haill,a. [Northern ME hal(e;OE] Whole in various senses. 1. Of things, undamaged. 2. Complete, entire, total. 3. Following the noun, all, all of it (them). Leg.S. XXIX.299;Alex. II.3959;Chrystis 185.

hangit,ppl.a. [1451 ME hanged] Hanged; having a look that seems to point to the gallows (JSD). Dunb.Flyt. 187; Ken. 546;Chrystis 223.

hecht,v. [ME heghte;OE] To promise, vow, undertake. In constructions: eg. with to + infin. Barb. X. 262;Chrystis 103.

heich,a. [ME heigh;OE; uncommon before 16th C, early forms being hey, hie] 1. Of unusual upward extent; tall, lofty. Wall. V.300. 2. Of high rank or dignity; exalted, outstanding. 1434. 3. High-mided, proud, haughty, arrogant. Boece VIII.viii. 2671;Chrystis 151.

heidisman,n. [c1400 ME heddysman; cheifly Sc] A head-man;

a chief, commander, person in authority. Chrystis (B) 191.

heidman,n. [after emE headman; var. Sc heidisman,n.]

hensure,n. [?] A giddy young fellow (JSD). Lynd.Sat. 2605; Chrystis (B) 81.

herdisman,n. [1603 emE heardsman, from 14thC ME herd] A keeper of a herd; a cattleherd, or shepherd. Chrystis (F) 191.

hew,v. [ME hew(e;OE] 1. intr. To strike hard, to deliver a severe blow with a sharp weapon. Wynt. VIII.2212;Rauf C. 823;Chrystis 188. 2. tr. To cut through by striking. 3. To cut (wood); to cut down (a tree, forest) in this way.

heynd,a. [(1300) Northern ME; (c.1205) ME heende;OE; used only in verse] Skillful, dextrous, clever, expert. Howl. 631;Dunb.G.Tar. 192;Chrystis 92.

hissill,n. [1400 Northern ME hezel;OE] Hazel. Chrystis 151.

host,v. [1440 Northern/North Midlands ME host] 1. tr. To cough. 2. intr. To cough out. Also fig. Chrystis 57;Dunb.Tre. 272.

howis,pl.n. [1440 ME howe;OE;ON] A cap. Leg.S. XXXVIII. 228;Lynd.Sat. 733;Chrystis 188.

hurcheoun,n. [(1425) North Midland ME;(c.1325) ME

hirchon;ONF herichon] A hedgehog. Dunb.Flyt. 179;Dunb.Tre. 107;Chrystis (C) 151.

jack,n. [1375 ME iacke;OF] A jerkin or doublet of defense. 1456;Chrystis (C) 37.

janglour,n. [1303 ME jangler] One who grumbles against others, a fault-finder, backbiter; a squabbler. Dunb.Wow. 44;Henr.Rob.Mak. 101;Chrystis 156.

jatour,n. [1303 ME gettour;c1380 jettoure;OF] A swaggering or boastful fellow; a braggart, bully. Only Chrystis (B) 156.

javell,n. [(14th C) Northern/North Midlands ME javell; of obsc. origin] A term of abuse; a low or coarse fellow; a rough or ruffian. 1543; Chrystis 63; Symmie 73.

jug,v. [(1538) emE, fr. jug,n.] To tipple, drink. 1596;Chrystis (C) 66..

jummle,v. [(a.1529) emE iumble; onomatopoeic] To get mixed up confusedly; to brawl. In this usage only Chrystis 156. Var. jubble (C).

jutor,n. [Sc jute -- to tipple (JSD)] Tippler, boozer, drunkard. Polw. 800;Chrystis (C) 156.

kebber,n. [?fr. keb,n. -- a ewe that has lost her lamb? (1419)] Chrystis (b2) 133.

kensy,n. [origin and precise meaning obscure] A term of

abuse applied to men. Colk.S. I.351;Dunb.Dun. 16;Chrystis 65.

kevell,n. [(1360) Northern ME kevell; of doubtful etymol.] A low or rough fellow. Dunb.Dun. 16;Chrystis 65. Cf. cavell.

knockin-mell,n. [?(a.1340) ME knokynge] A mallet for "bruising" or husking barley against a "knocking-stane". 1586;Chrystis (C) i8.

laist,pt. [1225 ME lace] To fasten with a lace, to lace up a) a person. Symmie 118;Mont. 483. b) fig. Henr. Gar. 14;Gol.Gaw. 394;Chrystis 176.

laittis,pl.n. [Northern/North Midlands ME late;ON; (c.1400) only Sc] Ways, manner, demeanor, behavior, conduct. Wynt.IV.2498;Gol.Gaw. 160;Dunb.27 46;Chrystis 12.

lanss,v. [(14th C) ME lance;(c.1338) OF] To bound, spring, leap. Alex. I.1454;Chrystis 42.

lendis,pl.n. [(13th C) ME lend;OE; only Sc after 15th] The loins, the flank; also, the buttocks. Ken. 45;Chrystis 55..

lest,pt. [ME laest(n;OE] 1. To continue to be in a condition specified by an adverbial complement. Barb.V.520. 2. quasi-tr. To last out, to endure or persevere. Colk.S. III.47;Chrystis (B) 176.

licht,a. [15th C. ME lythe;OE] Light, not weighty: a) frivolous, light of conduct. Barb. VII.112. b) wanton, unchaste (esp. of women). Leg.S. XXXV.3;Chrystis 12.

lyncom,n. [Corresp. to ME Lincon-- the name of the town] Lyncome (grene): a green cloth made, or as made at Lincoln. Fyve B. 190;Chrystis 15.

lyre,n. 1. [ME lire, lyre;OE] Flesh or brawn: the fleshy part of a person or animal. Doug.I.iv.91; Wall. II.401. 2. [15th C. Northern ME] Face, appearance of the face or skin, complexion. Wynt.VI.472;Dunb.Tre. 499;Chrystis 24.

loun,n. [1450 Northern ME lowen; of obscure origin, OED rejects connection with early modern Dutch] A strong term of abuse carrying connotations both of worthlessness or commonness and sexual misbehaviour: a varlet or lewd rascal. Colk.S. I.349;Dunb.Tre. 328;Polw. 647;Chrystis (B) 115.

luchel,n. [Var. of luch(e ?, pret. of lauch, v. -- ME hahe(n;OE, To laugh. Cf. Wynt.V.2252;R.Rav. 1121.] ?Possibly a laugher, jokester.

lug,v. [14th C. ME lugg(e] To pull, tug (?by the hair or ears). Only Chrystis 66.

mail,n. [(1475) emE maill] A mallet or mace.

Chrystis 214. (Cf. Malzet,n. [Late ME malyet (c1440);fr. MF miallet] A small hammer. Wynt.III.104).

mait,a. [(14th C) ME maat;OF] a) Discomfitted, confounded, overcome. Barb. XVII.794. b) Physically exhausted, tired out, faint. Wall. IX.1408;Doug. Aen.IV Prol. 254;Chrystis (B) 213.

mald,n. [ME malt;OE] Malted grain, esp. barley, malt. Barb. V.398;Dunb.Thi. 56;Chrystis 54.mangit,ppl.a. [Of uncertain etymol.; fr. mang,v. -- ME mong;OE] 1. Mentally confused, crazy, distracted. Dunb.Flyt. 546;Dunb.Tre. 118;Lynd.Sat. 2029. 2. Discomfitted, worsted. Doug.Aen. III.v. 52;Chrystis 214.

manly,a. [(1350) ME manle] Having the virtues proper to a man, as valiance, courage, sturdiness. 1391;Wall. IV.41;Chrystis 181.

meid,n. [ME mede;OE] Mead, the drink made of honey. Doug.Pal.Hon. II.xlv;Chrystis 21.

mischeive,v. [c.1330 ME mischeve;OF] 1. tr. To inflict harm or injury on. 2.In the passive: To receive harm, injury, loss; to be hurt, slain, destroyed. Wall. VIII.248;Doug.Aen.II.x.112;Chrystis 148.

mowis,pl.n. 1. [(c.1325) ME mouwe;OF] a) A piece of clowning, foolery or fun. Howl. 831;Henr.Fab. 2008. b)Construed as collective singular: Sport, fun, jest. Also in negative contexts = (no) jest. Ken. 29;Chrystis 182. 2. [reduced form of mouth,n.] The mouth. Doug.K.Hart 955;Symmie 17;Chrystis (C) 184.

muddle,v. [origin and precise meaning obscure;Du] ?To throw down, in a heap or ?into the mud. Chrystis 153.

murgeon,v. [Fr. (c.1439) ME motio(u)n,n.;OF] a) tr. To make faces at, to mock with grimaces. Chrystis 32. b) tr. To mimic with exaggerated postures. c) intr. To contort the face, body.

nevell,n. [Fr. neve,n. -- a fist (1300) ME;ON] A blow with a fist, a punch. Symmie 75;Chrystis 67;Pol.M. 136.

niest,super.a. [ME nigh;OE] Nearest. Wynt. (JSD). 1560; Chrystis 121.

nyss,a. [(c.1290) ME nise;OF nice] 1 a) Foolish, silly; simple-minded. Hay I.181/22; Wall. VIII.1420. b)?Wanton, loose of conduct. Doug.Aen.IV. Prol. 100. 2. Shy, timid; coy. Lanc. 1944;Chrystis 17.

nob,v. [of unknown origin] ? To strike or beat (on the head). Only Chrystis (B) 184.

noit,v. [Appar. fr. ME noll,n. -- the pate] To beat on the head. Only Chrystis 184.

now,n. [Uncommon Sc var. of ME,noll;OE] The pate, the head. Polw. (JSD);Chrystis 184.

nowthir,conj. [ME nowwþerr;OE; after 1400 chiefly or only Sc and Northern] Neither. Accompanied by inversion of the normal word-order of sentence for emphatic effect with "nowthir...nor" construction. 1490;Doug.Pal.Hon. 109;Chrystis 3.

our,n. [Var. of hour,n.;ME hore;OF] Leg.S. xxxv.94;Chrystis (B) 159.

paik,n. [Of uncertain origin; onomatopoeic] A merited thrashing; due chastisement. Only in phrase, "get one's paiks". Dunb.Flyt. 70;Lynd. Sat. 1327;Chrystis 227.

pais,v. [late ME payse;OF] To weigh, in various precise applications. To lift or hold up. In this sense only Chrystis 115.

pap,n. [ME pappe;? Scand. origin] A pap. a) A nipple or breast of a woman. b) One of the fleshy breasts of a man. Alex. (Taym) 1967;Chrystis 103.

platfute,n. [plat,a. -- cf. Du platvoet] "Flat-foot" -- the name of a dance and its tune. Lynd.T.Pap. 88;Chrystis 53.

pleid,n. [1550 emE pleade; reminisc. OF/eME plaid, plait (OED)] A plead or plea, in various senses. 1. A law-suit. 2. A pleading, a claim. 3. Verbal dispute, contention, debate. Wall. I.viii.27. 4. Strife, physical contention. Only Chrystis 167.

pow,n. [(c.1290) ME polle; cf. MLG pol -- the head] The head, the poll. Henr.Fab. III.156/4; Mont. 66; Polw. 568;Chrystis (F) 184.

preis,v. 1. [14th C. ME prese] Press. a) To attack violently. b) To crowd, throng. Barb. XII.159. c) tr. To importune (someone)(to behave in a certain way). Doug.K.Hart 24. 2. [1340 ME press] Press, to exert pressure on a person or thing. a) To crush. b) To squeeze, rest heavily on. Chrystis 113. c)To shape or flatten in a press. Peblis 15;Chrystis 16.

quod,pt. [Obscure var. of quoth, pt. of quethe,v. --fr. OE cweðan, to say.] Said. Dunb.Tre. 161;Chrystis 63.

raffel,n. [Fr. ra -- Northern ME raa;OE, fell -- ME felle;OE] The skin of a roe-deer, "ra-fell". 1474;Chrystis 13.

raise,v. [(c.1220) ME reis(e;ON] Freq. in various senses. To "raise up"; to cause to stand up or be active. a) To help (a person) up. Leg.S. IV.81. b)To

rouse from sleep. rest, or unconsciousness. Seven S. 1934;Chrystis 117.

rap,n. [(1340) ME rap(re; of imitative origin] A blow; the noise made by a blow. Alex. II.8934; Wynt. IV.724;Chrystis 135.

red,v. [?Apparently only Sc; fr. MLG redder -- to settle a dispute] 1. to clear (a space). a) by striking down opponents. Wall. X.404;Doug.Aen. IX.vi. 114. 2. tr. To part or separate combatants or brawlers. Peblis 149;Lynd.Just. 60;Chrystis 152.

reft,ppl.a. [pp. of ref(e,v. -- (c.1154) early ME raeven] That has been taken away by force. 1387;Chrystis (C) 115..

reird,n. [ME and late ME rerd;c1450 reryd] A loud cry, a noise or din made by crying, roaring (only in verse, cf. Wynt. I.804; Howl.794; Henr.Fab. 954.) -- or an uproar made by many people shouting together; passing into (noisy) disorder, disturbance, tumult (cf. Wall. VIII.302;Doug.Aen. XII.v.121;Peblis 125) -- a noise or din of any kind. Alex. II.9706;Stew. 2339;Chrystis 135.

releve,v. [ME and emE releve;OF relever;L relevare] intr. a) To rally (to a leader or into the main body of

an army). Wall. III.406. b) To advance or return to battle. Howl. 512;Chrystis (C) 144. c) To advance or charge (on an enemy). Howl. 523.

rig,n. [(c1300) Northern ME rig;ON] The back of a human being or animal; the spine. Rat.R. 250;Howl. 835;Chrystis 136.

rink,n. [(14th C) ME renk;OE;ON] A man, esp. a fighting man, a warrior. Howl. 622; Rauf.C. 819;Chrystis 52.

ryss,n. [common Teutonic] Twig or small branch on growing tree or bush. Howl. 89;Chrystis 151.

rok,n. [(c1310) ME roc;ON] A distaff. Also fig. as a type of extreme thinness. Lynd.Just. 27;Chrystis 38.

rout,n. 1. [ME rute(n to dash, route(n to beat;OE hrutan] A (heavy) blow or stroke. Barb. II.359; Doug.Aen. XIII.Prol.148. 2. [ME raut, Sc rut] A loud noise or shout. Doug.Aen. I.iii.52;Chrystis (B) 118.

rude,n. [OE;ON] Complexion (of those parts of the face naturally reddish or ruddy). Chauc. Miller's Tale 209;Chrystis 23.

rug,v. [Prob. of Scand. origin] To pull forcibly, violently or roughly. Howl. 822;Chrystis 68.

rummil,v. [ME romblen;MDu;MLG] To make a low, heavy, continuous sound; of persons: to make a noise, disturbance, or tumult. Chauc. Monk's Tale 555);Chrystis 152.

rung,n. [Sc, Northern ME;OE] A cudgel; a stout staff. 1540;Chrystis 136. Var. rug (G) 136.

sarar,comp.a. [Common teutonic;OE sar] 1. Causing or involing bodily pain, painful; of a blow. (a1300) C.Mundi 25543. 2. Causing or involving mental distress; of painful exertion, unusual difficulty. Rauf C. 637;Chrystis (C) 166.

schill,a. [ME shrille] 1. With a shrill voice or tone. Morte D'Arth. 1376;Doug.Aen. (JSD). 2. av. shrilly -- clearly, brightly. 14thC;Chrystis 43.

schone,pl.n. [Common teutonic;OE] Shoes. Wynt (JSD); Chrystis 14.

scorn,v. [emE scarne;OF] 1. to jeer a young woman about her lover (JSD). 2. from scorn,s. -- a slight in love, rejection when one has made a proposal of marriage: to mock; to allege an existing courtship; to jilt. Wall. VI.133;Dunb. Fen. 98;Chrystis 31.

scrape,v. [ME scrape;OE] 1.a) tr. To mock, deride. b) intr. To scoff, jeer. Howl. 167;Dunb. Fen. 97;Chrystis

31. Var. scrip.

scrump,n. [Fr. scrumple,n. -- a wrinkle;var. crumple, possibly OE crymple] To crush, wrinkle. Dunb. Flyt. 122;Chrystis (D) 31.

sillie,a. [Later form of ME sely] Weak or deficient in intellect; feeble-minded. In early use Sc Chrystis 26.

syne,a.,conj.,prep. [Contraction of ME sithen;ON] 1. Since: ago, ever, consequently. Barb. XI.216;Rauf C. 87;Chrystis 61.

skayth,n. [ON skaðe] 1. Hurt, harm, damage. C.Mundi 6686. 2. Matter for sorrow or regret. Chauc. Prol. 446;Chrystis 72.

skar,v. [ME skerre; ON] tr. To frighten, terrify. Leg.S. XXV.35;Alex. 3865;Dunb.Flyt. 214;Chrystis (G) 157.

sklice,n. [Fr. OF esclisse] Sc form of slice: a sharp cut or slash. 1611;Chrystis 157.

smaik,n. [Fr. MDu, MLG] A sneak, a rascal. Howl. 825;Doug.Aen. VIV.133;Chrystis 223.

soutar,n. [Sc and Northern dialect] A shoemaker or cobbler. 1474;Chrystis 171.

steir,v. [from ON; use from 14th C] To move from a quiet condition; to disturb, molest; to upset, incite.

Hay II.82. To excite to feeling, to passion. Leg.S. XVII.321;Chrystis 71.

stend,n. [Of obscure origin] Leap, spring or bound. Wynt.IV.iii.23;Doug.Aen. XX.72;Chrystis 51.

sting,n. [OE steng] A spike used for driving cattle. Wall. (JSD);Chrystis 143.

straik,pret. [Germanic strong verb;Sc form of stroke] Struck Gol.Gaw. (JSD);Chrystis 143.

sturt,n. [metathesis of strut;OE] Contention; violent quarreling; contentious or violent behavior. Leg.S. xliii.478;Chrystis 71.

swa,conj. [OE; Northern/Sc form of so] So, consequently.Gol.Gaw. (JSD);Chrystis 108.

taikle,n. [Apparently of MLG origin; cf. MLG takel,n. -- equipment generally] Implements of war; esp. arrows. Also, a weapon; an arrow. Leg.S. V.486;Doug.Aen.IX.x.78;Chrystis 93.

tary,n. [OE; doubling of tar,v. -- to act forcefully] 1. Act of tarrying, delay. a1400;Chrystis 193. 2. Vexation, trouble, annoyance. Lynd.Dre. 277.

teynd,pt. [From OE teyn,v. -- to injure] To vex, irritate, annoy; to cause (physical) pain or injury. 1399;Chrystis 94. Also, fig. to inflame. Barb.(JSD).

thare,poss.prn.,a. [ME ðar/ðaer;ON] Var. of thair, -- Sc form of their. Bell.II.xix.205;Chrystis (B) 135.

thocht,conj. [OE; fr. ON ðoh; dominant form by 16th C] Although; notwithstanding that. 1200;Seven S. 576;Chrystis 155.

tit,v. [Etymology obscure] To snatch, to draw suddenly. Barb.V.603;Wall.VI.143;Chrystis 93. Var. tyd.

transs,n. [OF transe] 1. A swoon, a faint. Chauc. Franklin's Tale 353;Chrystis 44. 2. A stunned or dazed state. Chauc.Summoner's Tale 508.

tug,v. [Early ME togg-en;OE] Tr. to pull with force (c.1300); to pull roughly, to maul. 1493; Holl.VI.xvi.227;Chrystis 64.

ungeird'd,ppl.a. [Fr. gear,v., ME geren;OE] Unharnessed. Chrystis 195.

vary,v. [OF varier;L] (Of persons) to depart, in respect of practise. Also, Sc, to wander in mind, to rave. Dunb.Dre. 12;Chrystis 95.

wait,v. [Dial. var. of wot;OE] To know. Barb. V.2211;Kingis cxxix;Wynt.V.5247;Chrystis 95.

wald,pt. [Fr. OE willan] Would; desire to, wish to; implying intention. Barb.V.126;Chrystis 33.

wame,n. [N. form of womb; common teutonic] the womb.

Wynt.III.45;Chrystis 106.

wan,n. 1. [OE wan,a. -- gloomy, black] A dark mark produced by a blow; a bruise. Bell. I.167. 2. [Fr. OE waen; cf. Du wagen] A large open vehicle; waggon. Chrystis 145.

wan,pt. [Fr. won,v. -- to get;OE winan] Gained. Chrystis 145 (Chalmers 162).

wap,n. [of obsc. origin] Blow, knock, thump. Troy B. 9338;Chrystis 105.

wed,v. [Common Teutonic; OE wed(d; cf. wage,n.] tr. To wager, stake; to commit or pledge irrevocably to a course of action. 1578 (OED);1560 (JSD);Chrystis 104.

wedder,n. [of unknown origin] The "legal forfeiture for not practising archery, Ja.1,Parl.18." (Chalmers 155); Chrystis 104.

wene,v. [Common Teutonic;OE wenan] tr. To think, surmise, believe. Howl. vxxix;Chrystis 5.

wicht,a. [ON] 1. Strong, powerful. Wall. (JSD). 2. Active, clever. a1400;Wynt.III.ii.269; Chrystis 155.

wyss,a [Fr. OE wis] Wise, prudent, knowing; more commonly used with a negative (JSD). Barb. IX.327;Dunb.Tre. 294;Chrystis 155.

wowar,n. [Fr. OE wooer] One who woos a woman with a view

to marriage. Doug.Aen.IV. Prol. 196;Chrystis 5.

yaip,a. [N.ME ȝape] Clever, cunning, shrewd, nimble, active. Leg.S. V.318;Rauf C. 628;Chrystis 151.

yoke,v. [OE] To join battle. Stew. III.333;Chrystis 202.

yoldin,ppl.a. [Fr. ppl. of yeild,v.; common teutonic; OE ȝeildan] 1. Surrendered (as a prisoner); hence submissive. Chauc. Troilus...III.96. 2. Wearied, exhausted. Dunb.Tre. 200; Chrystis 177.

younker,n. [MDu = jonc young + her master] 1. Young nobleman; youth of high rank. 1505 (JSD);Doug.Aen.I.viii.8. 2. Gay or fashionable young man. Doug.Aen.I.vi.29;Chrystis 202.

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Appendix I: Satire in "Chrystis Kirk"

"Chrystis" is as much a satiric as a comic work, reflecting social and economic conditions of fifteenth-century Scotland. Obscured by the broadly visual "Punch-and-Judy" comedy of the village melee, with its screeching wives and groaning champions, this social satire is so understated as to have been ignored by many otherwise perceptive critics (eg. Speirs 98;Watson 52). The narrator is not an objective observer of Christ's kirk's deray but a subjective participant in the world of the poem, intent upon the satiric exposure of the social pretensions of the Scottish peasantry (Jones 1123).

However, this narrator is not the only satirist involved in "Chrystis Kirk..". It is the nature of even the most innocent of parodies to implicate both elements of their comic reversals; Pope's mock-heroic "Rape of the Locke" is primarily a satiric exposure of the foolishness of an idle nobility, yet it questions conventions of literary heroism in the process. Similarly, the peasants in "Chrystis" are not the only satiric butts; the narrator's courtly pretensions and class-specific prejudices are exposed. Just as the presumptions of the peasants are mocked by the trappings of

courtly romance, so, too, are the rarified conventions of courtly poetry exposed by the rough vernacular vigour of the poem.

From the outset of "Chrystis Kirk.." we are in a world of satiric reversal. Here, where it is as noteworthy that the "damysellis" have washed themselves as that they are decked out in finery of "new kirtillis" (7,8), peasant activities are absurdly dressed in the language of romance. Gillie is a heroine in the ballad tradition; with cheeks red as roses and skin lily-white (21-2), she is willing to brave death to remain true to her love (25). Still, this depiction is never entirely convincing: her hair is not golden, but mundanely "yellow" (23). Like Chaucer's satiric representation of Alyson in "The Miller's Tale", this picture of Gillie is equivocal. Gillie's peasant reality is revealed by inconsistencies in her romantic depiction; although we are told that she is the loveliest of the "madynis myld as meid" (21), ten lines later she appears as a mocking fish-wife, "murion[ing]" Jok, for his spindly physique (32-8).

Similarly, the dancing and fighting at Christ's Kirk are revealed by their incomplete portrayal as a courtly celebration and tournament. Thome Lular may sing sweetly in the French manner but he nevertheless concludes with a rural Morris dance, "Full lowd" (39-44). Robene and Jok might

scuffle "manly" over a point of honour, but their encounter includes some less than heroic hair-pulling (53-62). The obligatory list of the champions' weapons describes such entirely homely implements as "forkis... flailis...bowgaris of barnis...rungis" (131, -3). The combatants are characterised as absurd combinations of belligerence and cowardice; Heich Hucheoun may not have been a "barty bummill", but the loss of the tip of his thumb sends him howling for safety (154-67). "Chrystis Kirk.." concludes with a parody of heroic loyalty; Dik comes forward "to fell a fidder" (a multitude) who would have slain his brother, yet turns to drubbing his wife and mother in fear of any greater foe (222-8). The narrator, who reminds us of his presence throughout the work with such distancing tags , "as I wene" (5,71, 86), invites us to appreciate, with him, the contrast between the trappings of courtly romance and the characters of the poem whom he paints as rude, physically coarse, clumsy, aggressive and fearful. (see Jones on similarly contradictory depictions of peasants in German "peasant-brawl" literature, 1101,-25).

Often obscured by broad strokes of physical comedy, this satire is not aimed at specific individuals but an entire social class. The social pretensions of a wide variety of characters are exposed: the lasses so careful of their

fashionable attire (13-6; cf. note 16), yet squealing like goats (18); amorous young men fighting for the honour of a girl's attention nevertheless hauling on each-other's ears (61-6); doughty archers joining the accelerating fray, yet unable to effect any injury (95, 105, 124); matrons encouraging the fighters with the ballad-like, "Lo, quhair my lyking liggis" (138), then grimacing and groaning (141). Almost without exception, the typical inhabitants of a Scots village -- craftsmen, farmers, minstrels, archers, and millers -- are subjected to the scrutiny of a detached and superior observer. (Notably, the one group not exposed to gentle ridicule is the burgesses, the prominent citizens of the community; this may be a result of the growing influence on fifteenth-century poetry of such "an educated middle and professional class" as patrons. MacQueen, "Poetry.." 63.) The basis for this class-specific ridicule is to be found in the contextual origins of the poem.

Jones has summarised the impetus for this satire as a combination of amusement and fear:

> ...the nobillity laughed at the lewdness of the lower classes because it confirmed their own cultural superiority; yet their laughter probably betrayed subconscious fear of the vigour and fertility of the lower orders, who ever threatened to engulf and overwhelm them.

Although late mediaeval Scotland never suffered the sort of peasant uprisings England and the rest of Europe

experienced (Jones 1125;Nicholson 261), various economic factors contributed, in the mid- to late fifteenth century, to class hostility. A dramatic decline in peasant numbers effected by plague epidemics enabled the lower classes to demand greater liberties (Huizinga 33-4); this demographic decline was greatest in the period between 1430-1480 (Matossian 53). "Widespread famines in [Northwestern] Europe during 1437-1439 and the early 1480's" (Matossian 55) not only contributed to a decline in the numbers of workers and craftsmen, with a consequent increase in the survivors' economic power, but, by contrast with a lower mortality among the elite, engendered class resentment. The lower classes could hardly have failed to note that the rationing acts of 1455, which attempted to prevent some of the most desperate results of famine, did not greatly affect the elite (Grant 302).

Signs of upper-class Scots' fear of the yeoman class are evident beyond "Chrystis"'s satire. The historian, John Major, notes the belligerence of the peasantry:

> They try to rival the dress and arms of the lower gentry, and if a noble strikes one of them, he returns the blow on the spot. The farmers ... bring up their sons ... to follow war." cited Grant 301

However, while "Chrystis" is undeniably a satiric work, it holds the seeds of its own subversion; "the satiric idiom

depreciates both viewpoints" (Spiers, "The Scots.." 120). The implicit ideals of courtly grace and modesty, against which the loud and bumptious fair and fracas is contrasted, appear lifeless against such exuberance. From the outset of "Chrystis Kirk..", courtly interests are subverted by the vitality of the vernacular. In striking contrast with the overconscious rhetoric into which much fifteenth-century Scots courtly poetry had fallen, the "low" works in vernacular Scots are characterised by a spontaneous vigour (Kinsley 28;McKenzie 33). Where such conventional mediaeval poetic forms as allegorical dream visions had fallen into disuse, traditional genres -- fantastic comic visions, irreverent burlesques, and "flytings", extended contests of vituperation -- enjoyed ongoing popularity. The language of "Chrystis Kirk.." belongs to that lively, spontaneous and arresting tradition.

However, the use of the vernacular had the potential to rebound against its user: "the ability to use [latinisms] freely...marked one as a member of the elitist in-group of cultivated persons" (Aitken 35). By selecting a vernacular comic verse mode, restricted by Scots convention to colloquial diction, the poet, or in this case, his narratorial persona, entertains association with the very objects of his satire. In satirizing the common-folk with

their own powerful, coarse-textured speech, the narrator implicitly undermines his own superiority.

In his efforts to ridicule the peasantry, the narrator exposes himself by means of contradictions: the "fechtaris" are both eager to join the fray -- firing on one another with scant provocation -- and desperately timid, retreating with slight injuries; they are implicitly dishonest and crafty, with such names as Lowrie (see note 101) --yet dull and oafish, mindlessly contending until "als meik as ony mulis/ that mangit wer..." (183-4). More than simple comic reversals (Jones 1123), these contradictions reveal a populist sympathy. This may be evidence of the "circularity" of influence that Ginsberg (citing Bakhtin) describes as existing "between the culture of the dominant classes and that of the subordinate" (xii). Just as the manners and dress of the elite have been adopted by the peasants, the contrast employed to ridicule their presumption depends upon the vulgar idiom; the attempt to control popular culture with satire implicitly criticizes rarified aristocratic taste.

This criticism may reflect some early stirrings of nationalism in Scots literature. Such lines as "of the straitis" and "counterfutit Franss" (13,42) satirize not only the pretentions of the peasantry but also an oversophisticated elite dissatisfied with "braid claith" and

"Tullochgorum" (Spiers 117). This strain of nationalism was to resurface in the work of such successors of the 'Chrystis Kirk' tradition as Fergusson and Burns; from the fifteenth century onwards, Scots literature displayed increasingly "vigorous local resistance to [foreign] influences" (Spiers 119, 131).

However, this implicit vein of anti-elitist satire does not imply an author excluded from aristocratic circles; it rather attests to the artistic licence of the fifteenth-century Stewart court. Like both Chaucer and Dunbar, the "Chrystis Kirk.." poet assumes a complicit audience, self-conscious and willing to laugh at itself (on the literary freedom of the Stewart court, see Hughes and Ramson 9). The sophisticated satiric layerings of this work reveal a self-conscious artist, well versed in courtly performance as elaborate self-presentation. For the unlettered, "Chrystis Kirk.." is a symphony of slapstick, replete with fartings, missed targets, and howling women; for its primary, courtly audience, it is also a satiric containment of an over-reaching peasantry; for the most reflective among that aristocratic audience, it is an exposure of courtly conventions, both social and literary.

Appendix II: Additional Stanzas

i)

By this Tom Taylowr was in his geir:
When he hard the Common-bell
He said he shuld mak thame all in steir,
When he cam thair him sell.
He went to fight with such a feir
When to the ground he fell;
A wife than hit him on the eare
With a great knocking mell
And feld him that day.

ii)

The bridgroome brocht a pint of ale
And bad the piper drink:
"Drink it", quothe he, and it so stale;
"A shrew me if I think it."
The brid hir maidens stoud near by
And said it was not blinked;
And Bartagrase, the brid so gay,
Upone thame fast she winked,
Full sone that day.

Substantive Variants:Additional Stanzas

i) ff. 1.180 in C-E,b1-3,p1-2;lemma follows C.

1 this] that b2. in his] in's p2.

2 he] that p2. hard] he p2. Common-bell] the bell p2.

3 said] vowed D; that b2. he] to D. shuld] om. D. mak] put b2. thame] om. p2. in] a D,p2;on E,G,b1,b3,p1. steir] stares G;

sfeare b2.

5 went] ged b3,p2. with] in p2.

6 When] Whill D,E,G,b1-3,p1-2. ground] eard D,E.

7 A] Out E. wife] came E. th(an)] did D;a wife E;that b3,p1-2. on] to p1. eare] grownd p1.

8 great] mickle E.

9 feld] And D.

ii) ff. 1.189 in C,E,b1-3,p1;lemma follows C.

1 brocht] out E.

2 drink] drinck yt E,G,b1-3,p1.

3 quothe] quod E,b1;said b3.

4 a] I b1-2. if] and G. think] drink b2.

5 brid] brides E,b2. hir] om. E,b2. maidens] maiden b2. th[a]rby] near by E,G,b1, b3,p1;near him by b2.

8 thame] him b3,p1.

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