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WALTER KENNEDY, c. 1460-c. 1518
HIS INHERITANCE, HIS LIFE AND HIS LEGACY OF POETRY

by

Dorothy Wordsworth Riach, M.A., Dip.Ed. ©

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
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ABSTRACT

Walter Kennedy, c. 1460-c. 1518. His Inheritance, his Life and his Legacy of Poetry.

Walter Kennedy was born c. 1460 and died c. 1518 (a later date than previously suggested), belonged to a family prominent in Scottish affairs, moved in the King's circle and was famed in his own day as a poet.

He is best known for his share in "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" but his extant corpus also includes The Passioun of Crist (1,715 lines) and four lyrics. He was edited by David Laing, in the second volume of The Poems of William Dunbar, Edinburgh, 1834, but only 371 lines of The Passioun were included; and by Jacob Schipper in The Poems of Walter Kennedy, Vienna, 1901, who did not include "The Flyting," having earlier edited it in his William Dunbar - Sein Leben und seine Gedichte, Berlin, 1884. A fresh study of Walter Kennedy is overdue; he is one of the Scottish Makars who deserves notice.

All of Kennedy's poetry is in stanza form. He shows mastery in producing variety by using internal rhyme and alliteration. He has a wide range of diction and style. The lyrics and The Passioun of Crist are on religious themes, while "The Flyting" is a contest in invective and poetic techniques.

In this study the lyrics are shown in relation to Lydgate, Henryson and Dunbar and against the background of their time. Kennedy's treatment of his topics is often original. "The Flyting" is viewed as a formal contest between friends rather than as an outpouring of scurrility against enemies in which Kennedy is a worthy opponent, exhibiting a wide range of language and poetical skills.

The Passioun of Crist is judged to be not merely a narration of the sufferings of our Lord but a much more complex poem where several elements are skilfully blended. Following a Prologue the poem begins with a survey from the creation of man to the events immediately leading to the Crucifixion. The central part of the poem, which recounts the Passion and the Resurrection of Christ, is set within the framework of canonical Hours, beginning on the Wednesday of Holy Week. It is shown that the section for 'sext' which includes, along with the narrative, lyrical laments, a sermon and a conversation between the Virgin and the Cross, coincides with the midday service on Good Friday and that the poem in many ways, including much use of direct speech, bears a strong resemblance to a liturgical drama or Passion play which has had a Prologue added to introduce it to readers. Kennedy's skill in using various metrical and rhetorical devices to avoid monotony through 245 stanzas is demonstrated.

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Mr. Peter Gouldesbrough, Keeper of Historic Records and his colleagues in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, made available to me the Ailsa Papers, and I thank them for

their help and advice. One of the thrills of the search was the actual handling of sundry papers, including accounts and what might be called "chits" from the fifteenth century, contemporary with Walter Kennedy.

I should like to make acknowledgement of a different kind,--to life itself. It is fitting that I should record the fact that the social and geographical references to Edinburgh, Carrick and Douglas are not just theoretical reconstructions but are based upon realities within my own experience. I was born and educated in Edinburgh, lived at the foot of Arthur's Seat, and knew the Tolbooth, the Tron, the Mercat Cross, the palace of Holyrood. I have spent considerable periods of time in the Kennedy country of Galloway and Carrick. In the village of Colmonell I looked over the River Stinchar to the Kennedy stronghold, Craigneil Castle, which commanded the entrance to the Glen of Tig and where Robert the Bruce is said to have sheltered. For four years I lived in a manse in Douglasdale where St. Bride's Kirk still stands at the head of the Kirkgate and on the edge of the moors over which the Kennedys rode from Carrick to the court.

Above all, I want to thank Alastair, my husband, for his loving patience and support, for his stimulus in the interchange of ideas as well as for his practical help and advice.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Between pages 87 and 88:

   Reproduction from the Chepman and Myllar print of 1508, showing Myllar's sign and part of "The Flyting."

   From the microfilm of the original.

2. Between pages 114 and 115:

   Reproduction of woodcut of the Scourging of Christ from the Arundel MS No. 285.

   From J.A.W. Bennett, ed. Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, S.T.S. 3rd Series, Vol. 23, Edinburgh, 1955.

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CHAPTER I

KENNEDY IN CONTEXT

Walter Kennedy is known to students of Middle Scots poetry as one of the contenders in "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie." This lively, poetic scolding match has captured the imagination of its readers and not least because of its allusions to people and events and the insights it gives into the lives of both Dunbar and Kennedy.

Kennedy's editors, Laing[1] and Schipper,[2] have drawn on "The Flyting" for biographical details with some hesitation because of its caricatures and exaggerated accusations. Caricature, however, depends on its relation to truth and many of Dunbar's allegations have been found to be based to some degree on fact. Dunbar accuses Kennedy, for instance, of being a leper and living in a leper house; the truth is that Kennedy did live in a house that had once been a leper hospice.

Except for "The Flyting" Kennedy has remained in the shadows of his time, but he is in reality a much more substantial figure, about whom there is a certain amount of historic evidence.

Walter Kennedy emerges as a member of a noble family which goes back for several hundreds of years before the fifteenth century, a man of royal blood who moves in the

King's court circle, yet seems to be very much at home in his own wild district of Carrick. He is a religious poet who inherits the traditional doctrines and values of the Roman Church and of the medieval world in a time when the beginnings of religious unrest are being felt in Scotland, as in other parts of Europe. He expresses his religious beliefs in his long poem, "The Passioun of Crist," and in his "Ane Ballat in Praise of Our Lady." His other three extant short poems are religious and moral in tone, but indicate the religious unrest of the time. He is famed in his own day for his aureate terms, his gilded, splendid language, but he can also indulge in an apparently vicious debate with a fellow poet, using the lowest, most vituperative and scurrilous expressions that we find in "The Flyting."

Many books, manuscripts and records of all kinds from this period in Scotland's history have perished, or were deliberately destroyed in the bitter religious conflicts of the sixteenth century, but we do know a considerable amount about Walter Kennedy and his background. He was born, about 1460, probably in the family house of Cassillis, a younger son of Gilbert, the first Lord Kennedy. The Kennedys were an old-established and powerful family, with their roots deep in Scottish history, many of whose transactions are recorded in charters which have survived in family and church archives and have been the subject of collection and research.

Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran has documented in The Kennedys[3] early references to the family of Kennedy as well as their later history.[4] They were one of the dominant families in south-west Scotland, owning extensive lands in Ayrshire especially in the Carrick division, and at times also in Galloway. Their importance and power is indicated by the verse:

> Twixt Wigton and the town of Ayr,
> Portpatrick and the Cruives of Cree,
> No man needs think for to bide there,
> Unless he court with Kennedie.[5]

The earliest recorded Kennedy in Carrick is a Gilbert MacKenedi, who witnessed a charter in the reign of William the Lion, 1165-1214. Later, John Kennedy of Dunure received the lands of Cassillis from King David II, son of Robert the Bruce whose earldom was Carrick, and he is recorded in 1367 as Steward of Carrick. Carrick, especially, had been deeply involved in the struggles for the crown which led to the enthronement in 1306 of Robert the Bruce, and the fight for independence and freedom from the dominance of England. Walter Kennedy could not but be aware of this period of history even if Barbour's "Bruce" and Blind Harry's "Wallace" had not been part of the popular literature of his day. In "The Flyting" when Kennedy, in response to Dunbar's allegations of Kennedy treason, accuses Dunbar of having traitors in his family, it is to this period particularly that he refers: "Quhen Bruce and Baliol1 differit for the croun" (l.265), "And Wallace chest, as the Cornicle schawis".

(I.272), and again at lines 409-410, "In Ingland, oule, suld be thyne habitacione,/Homage to Edward Langschankis maid thy kyn." Kennedys must have been deeply involved in the struggles of the fourteenth century, struggles between one noble family and another, between nobles and King, between Scotland and England, and between Scotland and France.

In 1372 King Robert II confirmed to John Kennedy of Dunure an earlier grant made to an ancestor, the office of chief or "kenkyndl," of the clan, and the title and office of Bailie of Carrick, with the right to call up men for battle. Sir Gilbert Kennedy, son of this John, lived until some time after 1408, and one of his sons, James, married in 1405 the Princess Mary Stewart, second daughter of King Robert III, and sister of David, Earl of Carrick. It is to this marriage of his grandparents that Walter Kennedy refers in "The Flyting" when he says: "I am the Kingis blude" (l.417). This connection has never been disputed.

The Kennedy association with the Scottish royal house continued, and successive members of the family were involved in the politics of their time. A younger brother of the James who married Princess Mary Hew (or Hugh) Kennedy commanded the Scottish contingent at Orleans under Joan of Arc[6] in 1429. James Kennedy and Mary Stewart had three sons: John, who was one of the hostages for the redemption of King James I after his eighteen-year exile as a prisoner in England; Gilbert, who became the first Lord Kennedy and was

the father of the poet; and James, Bishop of St. Andrews, the faithful guardian and wise counsellor of the young King James III. Bishop Kennedy illustrates the power this noble family had in the fifteenth century, as he figures prominently in events--political, religious and educational. He was the founder of St. Salvator's College in St. Andrews in the year 1450. His death in 1465 left the way open for other families to exercise influence on the young King, who had come to the throne in 1460 as a boy of nine.

Among these other families who sought to control the young King were the Boyds. They gained power and influence, and in 1467 Thomas, son of Lord Boyd, was created Earl of Arran. He had been contracted on 20th January, 1465, to marry the youngest daughter of Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, Walter Kennedy's sister, but married the King's sister Mary instead.[7] Then in one of the changes in the balance of power among the noble families, the influence of the Boyds ceased; there were allegations of conspiracy, and their power collapsed. The Kennedys and the Boyds were neighbours in the south west and were closely connected. Sir James Fergusson says:

> Lord Kennedy dipped dangerously into high politics during James III's minority and was fortunate or perhaps discreet enough not to be involved in the fall of the Boyds.[8]

In "The Flyting" Dunbar accuses Kennedy:

> Thow purpost for to undo our Lordis cheif
> In Paisley, with ane poysone, that wes fell.
> (ll. 77-78)

Poison was synonymous with treason and some commentators on this part of the poem have suggested that Dunbar referred to an episode in connection with the Boyd treachery, as each poet was holding the other accountable for the sins of fathers and forefathers. Walter Gregor, on the other hand, in his "Notes to the Flyting,"[9] suggests an incident in the July, 1489, rebellion. The fact that there is a choice of incidents merely underscores the political involvement of the Kennedy family.

Conflict with England and the early death of Scotland's kings both contributed to the struggle for power among the noble families of Scotland during the fifteeenth century. James I was only eleven when he came to the throne in 1406, was captured at sea by the English, and made prisoner for eighteen years. It was for his redemption in 1424 that John Kennedy was a hostage. James II was six when he succeeded his father in 1437; he was killed in 1460, leaving a son of nine. James IV was fifteen when he came to the throne in 1488. Throughout these years Scotland had a series of regencies and the English took every advantage of the situation. England prepared for invasion on a large scale in 1480 and 1481, but for once the Scottish weather, notoriously uncertain, helped the Scots. Violent storms stopped the full force of the incursion, although there were raids in the Firth of Forth and Edinburgh was invaded. Forays over the border were frequent and the general insecurity was increased by factions within

Scotland when many of the nobles supported James III's brother, Albany, in an abortive insurrection.

It was only with the death of Richard III of England and the accession of Henry Tudor in 1485 that the relations between the two countries began to improve. John, Lord Kennedy, brother of Walter, was one of six commissioners appointed by James III in May, 1486, to go to London to discuss a truce.[10] These ambassadors were received in state by Henry, and a three-year truce was concluded. Then in 1503 James IV married Margaret, Henry's daughter, and a treaty of "perpetual peace"[11] accompanied the marriage. The Kennedy influence at this juncture was indirect as well as direct. Janet Kennedy, Walter's niece, was one of James IV's mistresses and bore him in 1500 a son whom James made Earl of Moray. James also made Janet's brother (the third Lord Kennedy) Earl of Cassillis in 1509. In that year, Henry was succeeded in England by his son, the belligerent Henry VIII, and in 1513 peace between the two countries was broken. At the tragic battle of Flodden, James was killed along with "the flower of Scotland," including the Earl of Cassillis.[12]

James IV was forty when he died; had he lived, with his lively mind and varied interests, he might well have continued the improvements he had already achieved. During his reign James had consolidated his power, strengthened his government and judiciary and made Scotland a more comfortable, and perhaps more stimulating, place to live

in than it had been at the beginning of his reign.

What was Scotland like in 1460, when Walter Kennedy was born and when he was growing up? R.L. Mackie has described Scotland in this period as "uncomfortable and uninviting."[13] There were few visitors apart from ambassadors and merchants and even these hesitated to make the journey in winter when the seas were cold and forbidding. As the Seafarer, in the old English poem, apprehended the "is-cealdne sae" in earlier times, so later travellers feared to venture on the rough waters of the North Sea. No Scottish ship was allowed to leave harbour between the end of October and the beginning of February, even in summer:

> . . . foreign traders were content to let the Scots merchants come to their Staple Port in the Low Countries . . . with the wool, hides, salted salmon and coarse woollen cloth which were the only marketable commodities that their country produced.[14]

There was general poverty in the country. Methods of agriculture were primitive, and the homes of the peasants little more than hovels. The insecurity of tenure did not encourage improvements either in land or home. Even the castles of the nobles were cold and bare with few furnishings. In the burghs, which were developing in importance, houses were mean and untidy, built of timber and thatch. Middens stood at every door, pigs roamed freely, cattle were driven down the main street to the common ground outside the town, and dirt and disorder were the rule. It is

not surprising that there were frequent outbreaks of "the pest," that scourge of the Middle Ages, and indeed it was not until the beginning of the next century that the Burgh Council of Edinburgh took positive steps to control the filth. In 1505 the public bellman was entrusted with the "purgeing and clengeing of the hie streitt . . . of all maner of muk, filth of fishe and flesche, and fulyie weit and dry,"[15] and it is against this background that we can visualise Dunbar's attack on Kennedy when he asserts that at the sight of Kennedy the horses spill their coals and the fish wives their fish (Flyting, ll. 226-230), all adding to the general foulness of the street.

By the time that Walter Kennedy was a boy conditions in Scotland generally were beginning to improve. These changes would be evident in the burghs such as Ayr, near which Cassillis stands, as well as in Edinburgh, in the countryside and in the castles of the nobles. With the development of trade and the rise of the merchant burghers, stone houses began to be built. The traders who went to the Staple Port in the Low Countries brought back "coloured cloth, cushions, silverware, books, soap, sugar, spices, dried fruits, wines, and a hundred and one other luxuries and necessities." Public buildings were erected in the burghs, the Tolbooth, the Mercat Cross and the Tron or balance, "three emblems of burghal dignity."[16]

The burgh council met in the Tolbooth. A homely reference in Walter Kennedy's long poem, The Passioun of

Crist, is his making Pilate enter into the "tolbuth" for his encounter with Christ (l.519). Again (in l.1566) Kennedy uses a word that he must have been familiar with in connection with the new type of stone house that was being built. These have been described as the earliest sky-scrapers of Europe; they are houses of ten storeys or more, serving the same function as a modern apartment block, with a common entrance from which stairs go up to each floor, where there is a "front door" for each individual home or apartment. The common entrance is still known as "the entry." Line 1566 is: "The durris steikit and closit the entre."

The Tron and the Mercat Cross were signs of power and increasing wealth, and symbols of privilege, especially of the monopoly of trade and of the right to customs dues. In "The Flyting" Dunbar scorns Kennedy for bringing the Carrick clay to Edinburgh Cross, a town versus country rivalry of a timeless kind. Another feature of the burgh was the gallows, also mentioned in "The Flyting," "Come hame, and hyng on oure gallowis of Aire" (l.371).

With the growth of these centres the burgh councils increased in power. These consisted of magistrates, bailies, Treasurer and Dean of Guild, elected every Michaelmas, and meeting then and at Christmas and Easter, and acting as head courts. The jurisdiction of the magistrates was as complete as that of the King's sheriff over his sheriffdom.

Over all were the King and his Council and Parliament. James IV moved his court from Stirling to Linlithgow, to Edinburgh, and then back again to Stirling; Councils and Parliament were still held in different places, but Edinburgh was increasing in power as in wealth. At one end of the High Street stood the Castle on its rock; at the other, in the shade of Arthur's Seat, the hill which dominates Edinburgh and which makes its first appearance in literature in "The Flyting," stood the Abbey and royal palace of Holyrood.

In the countryside the landowners now built castles more rich and comfortable than the old keeps, each with a great hall above and storerooms, buttery, kitchen in the vaulted basement underneath. The great halls were frequently hung with tapestries, and although there were still few chairs, there were brightly coloured and decorated cushions for the benches. The Scots loved colour, which they exhibited in their furnishings and in their clothing. Although Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, wrote enthusiastically about the great improvements in Scotland towards the end of the fifteenth century,[17] the countryside would be slower to show changes than the burghs and the castles. It was not until 1504 that James IV instigated the feuing of lands, which gave tenants life-rent and security of tenure, and encouraged such long term projects as the planting of orchards and the building of stone farm houses.

Of Walter Kennedy's early education in these years we know nothing except by inference. Gavin Douglas, for example, speaks of having been a page in his young men of good birth, from early medieval times on, were frequently given training, a sort of apprenticeship for knighthood, in the households of great nobles. On the other hand, as Kennedy was not the oldest son, the successor to his father, but rather a younger son[18] who went to university, we may assume that he had previously gone to school in preparation, rather than into a noble's castle.

Education generally was under the control of the church. There were two stages of pre-university schools, the "little school," often referred to as "reading school," or "song school," and the grammar school, sometimes referred to as the "great school," or "high school." In smaller places the reading and song schools were one and the same, although they might be separate in the burghs. John Durkan in his essay, "Education in the Century of the Reformation,"[19] gives a picture of the state of education in Scotland.

Early church councils in Scotland had legislated for a song school to be set up in every parish, open to every boy who wished to attend. Only one such school is documented, "for the teaching of scholars in Gregorian chant, the organ and descant," but the evidence of numbers of scholars coming from all parts of Scotland to grammar schools and the universities for further education implies

the widespread existence of these song, or song and reading, schools. All collegiate churches, furthermore, had song schools and sometimes grammar schools as well, and there were grammar schools in many cathedral towns and burghs; Ayr is recorded as having both a song and a grammar school in pre-Reformation times.

A very important development in the fifteenth century was the foundation of three universities in Scotland. St. Andrews was first, founded in 1412. Its curriculum was modelled on that of Paris, and its constitution included the appointment of the Bishop as Chancellor. Bishop Kennedy, as we have noted, established St. Salvator's College as part of the University of St. Andrews in 1450. The University of Glasgow was established in 1451 by Bishop Turnbull and Glasgow also adopted a French type of constitution and curriculum. By the end of the century there was also a university in the north of Scotland when Bishop Elphinstone founded Aberdeen University in 1495. Its first principal, Hector Boece, had been an acquaintance of Erasmus in Paris, and continued the links with France.

Before the foundation of Aberdeen University, a young man would probably prefer St. Andrews, with its student population of over a hundred, to Glasgow, "a university poorly endowed, and not rich in scholars,"[20] with its teaching staff of only two regents or professors. Nevertheless, it was to Glasgow, nearer his home in the west of

Scotland, that the young Walter Kennedy went in 1475. Laing records that his name appears in the University registers as matriculating in that year; that it heads the list is an indication of his rank.

This date is the first in Walter Kennedy's life of which we have certain knowledge, and as it was customary for a boy to go to university at the age of fifteen, his birthdate has traditionally been calculated backwards from his admission to Glasgow University, and estimated to have been in, or shortly before, 1460.

Mackie describes the curriculum of St. Andrews University, and we have already noted that that of Glasgow was similar.

> The student began by studying logic, proceeding by the way of the Universals of Porphyry or the Summulae of Petrus Hispanus to Latin versions of the Topics and Prior and Posterior Analytics. Halfway through his second year he "determined" . . . . In the second half of his course he studied natural science, geometry, metaphysics, and ethics, again as presented by Aristotle or by his medieval scholastic interpreters.[21]

Walter Kennedy received his degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1476 and is recorded in the registers of Glasgow University as Licenciate and Master of Arts in 1478. His name appears in 1481 as one of the four Masters elected to the office of Examiner.

The university, like the grammar school, was regarded as a seminary for young men destined for the church. Few Masters of Arts proceeded to take the long course leading

to the Bachelor of Theology, although there was a Faculty of Theology at St. Andrews, and a struggling Faculty of Canon Law at Glasgow. Those who did wish to study theology or canon law usually went to Paris or Orleans, or to Louvain in the Low Countries.[22] Many Scottish clergy, however, did not even have a grammar school education and there were no seminaries for the training of non-graduate priests. Young men were trained for the priesthood in the song school, and sometimes the grammar school, and through service in the church. The number of university graduates among the clergy, we know, was not high. "Graduate priests were called 'Master' and non-graduates . . . , were given the honorific title 'Sir', which might be compared with the title 'Father' accorded to parochial clergy within the last century."[23] Walter Kennedy in the unique manuscript of The Passioun of Crist is therefore appropriately referred to as "maister," the Scottish form of "Master."

The young men who went to the university were the younger sons of the landowners. The older son did not go to the grammar school or the university; his training was more practical, in preparation for succeeding his father as sheriff and inheriting all the power which that office bestowed. Under Scots law the sheriff is the chief magistrate and judge as well as one having civil functions in his shire under his hereditary office. The term "bailie" was used for the chief magistrate of a Scottish

barony or part of a county, who had functions like a sheriff.[24]

Walter Kennedy's brother John, the second Lord Kennedy, was succeeded by his eldest son David who also inherited the office of Bailie of Carrick (ratified by charter on 9th July, 1489[25]). Laing records that Walter Kennedy acted as his nephew's deputy in 1492; Dunbar may be referring to this in "The Flyting" when he states:

> Thow held the burch lang with ane borrowit goun,
> And ane caprowsy barkit all with sweit,
> And when the laidis saw the sa lik a loun,
> Thay bickerit the with mony bae and bleit.
> (ll. 201-204)

David would not, according to custom, have gone to school or university. The custom began to change, however, towards the end of the fifteenth century, when the Education Act of 1496 was passed, marking an important advance in the development of general education in Scotland. This Act probably reflected, and certainly initiated, the implementation of a changing attitude towards the schools, the universities and learning ('clergie') in general. By this Act all landowners had to send their eldest sons by the age of nine, at least, to the grammar schools and then to "sculis of art and Jure"[26] for three years so that the country might have competent sheriffs and justices.

Many of the younger sons destined for a career in the church were already provosts of collegiate churches or rectors of parishes before going to grammar school or

university. One of James IV's natural sons, Alexander Stewart, was appointed Archdeacon of St. Andrews at age nine and Archbishop at eleven; when he was killed at Flodden at age twenty, he was also commendator of the Abbeys of Holyrood and Dunfermline and the Priory of Coldingham. The principal interest in the acquisition of these appointments by the King and his nobles for members of their own families was the securing of the revenues of the rich benefices with all their lands. The younger sons of the nobles were thus guaranteed a good living.

The Kennedy family had one such rich living in its possession. In 1371[27] John Kennedy had founded a chapel at Maybole which had been made into a collegiate church under the control of a provost in 1383.[28] Collegiate churches, generally larger and more ornate edifices than the parish churches, had attached to them a college or staff of secular clergy under the provost. Their duty was the regular and dignified performance of the services of the church in a way that was not possible in the small parish church with its single priest:

> In addition, when the body of the founder was laid in the earth, prayers had to be said daily and the De Profundis sung beside his canopied tomb.[29]

Laing states that in 1494 a son of Gilbert Kennedy was provost of Maybole and he believes that this son was Walter, the poet.[30] Kuipers records that the patronage of the provostry of Maybole is subsequently included in a

list of Kennedy property in 1501, and that the provost at that time, and until his death in 1532, was Gilbert, fourth son of John, second Lord Kennedy.[31] This Gilbert was Walter's nephew who could reasonably be supposed to have succeeded his uncle as provost in the family benefice.

Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran refers to Master Walter Kennedy of Glentig, the poet, as "parson of Douglas."[32] The reference to Glentig will be discussed below. In a list of recorded parsons or rectors of the parish of Douglas, Lanark, there is a blank between 1482 and 1520. A Master Walter Kennedy is then recorded as parson,[33] from 1520 until 1525. This last Walter Kennedy was the poet's son, and was, in fact, already rector in 1518. A Charter of 15th June, 1518, which will be discussed later, is "in favour of Master Walter Kennedy, Rector of Douglas . . . as heir of the deceased Walter Kennedy of Glentig, his father."[34]

It is possible, from the evidence, that Walter Kennedy the poet was both provost of Maybole and rector of Douglas. The collegiate church of Maybole was dedicated to the Virgin Mary,[35] and at Douglas, although the parish church was dedicated to St. Bride, a chapel was founded in the reign of James IV and dedicated to the Virgin.[36] Kennedy ends his poem to the Virgin:

> And grant that of the hevin I may haif part,
> Throw thy request, Mary, as wele thow can!
> Sen hale supple to Kenhedy thow art,
> O mater Dei, memento mei; thy man!

This description of himself as her 'man', that is, 'servant', would accord with his association with one or both of these foundations dedicated to her and with his authorship of The Passioun of Crist which I believe to have been written for the services in such a church. This will be discussed in detail later.

We have already seen that a young son of a noble family could be made a provost, and that it was not necessarily an appointment that carried with it any duties. Absenteeism was prevalent and was inherent in a system where benefices were used in many cases to provide financial support while the holders of the offices were engaged on the King's and the country's business as members of diplomatic missions, of state councils, of Parliament, as well as in humbler positions where some learning was needed. School masters, parish clerks, notaries public, all who needed to be able at the least to read and write, were mainly drawn from the clergy. The fulfilment of any of these functions might have taken Walter Kennedy frequently to Edinburgh, which was increasing in importance at this time as a centre of government. The lines in "The Flyting":

> Off Edinburch the boyis as beis owt thrawis,
> And cryis owt ay, "Heir cumis our awin queir Clerk!
> (ll. 217-218)

indicate with the word "ay" frequency of visits, and the words "our awin queir Clerk" familiarity. 'Clerk' could

apply to a cleric in general, but there is a further aspect which may be taken into account. An important element in Scottish life was the rise of the notaries public throughout the period with which we are concerned.

> The notary public was an important figure in the life of the parish, conducting much of the chamber practice now the concern of a lawyer, besides performing parochial functions such as chaplain and schoolmaster . . . chaplain and parish clerk . . . . He enjoyed a good social position.[37]

As the great landowners had a voice in the appointment of parish clerks, the one chosen was

> usually a member of the local gentry, if possible a younger son, . . . a Kennedy at Colmonell . . . . These . . . clerks were generally from landward churches and were married men in minor orders.[38]

By 1505 Walter Kennedy was a married man, as recorded in a charter of that date concerning land:

> To the said Master Walter Kennedy and Christian Hynd his wife . . . and the heirs procreate between them,[39]

where the payment is to be made in the Church of Colmonel at the feast of Pentecost.

Walter Kennedy says in the long reply to Dunbar's accusations of treason in "The Flyting" that he is not only of "the kingis blude" but also "his trew speciall clerk" (l.417), and "Constant in myn allegeance, word and werk" (l.419). This could imply some close involvement in affairs of state, which involvement would not be surprising in view of his family's history in this respect. He says he trusts to have from the King "Guerdoun, reward, and benefice

bedene." This has been taken to mean that at the time of writing the poem he did not have a benefice, but from what we know of the plurality of benefices held by some men, many very young, we cannot necessarily make this inference. It is quite possible that in the course of his life, seen against the background of his times, Walter Kennedy was many things.

In the years 1504 and 1505 he acquired extensive lands by Charter:

> Charter by John Wallace of Glentig to Mr Walter Kennedy (brother) german of John Lord Kennedy

dated 8th December, 1504,[40] and another

> Charter by Andrew Graham of Knockdolian to Mr Walter Kennedy and his heirs

dated at Maybole, 7th July, 1505.[41]

In "The Flyting," where the arrows of accusation would have no barbs if there were not a core of truth to be aimed at, Dunbar says:

> In till ane glen thow hes, owt of repair,
> Ane laithly luge that wes the lippir menis;
> (ll. 153-154)

The house of Glentig, which Kennedy appears to have taken over at this time from John Wallace, had earlier been a leprosarium. "Thow and thy quene" of line 146 would refer to Walter Kennedy and his wife, Christian Hynd. "Thow skaffis and beggis mair beir and aitis / Nor ony cripill in Karrik land abowt" (ll. 133-134) refers to the landlord's right to rent in kind, 'beir and aitis' being barley and

oats. A rector of a parish also collected his teinds in kind. It is interesting that in "The Flyting" Dunbar accuses Kennedy of living in poverty and not in luxury. One of the common charges against the clergy was the acquisition of riches.

In his "Lament for the Makaris" Dunbar says:

> Gud Maister Walter Kennedy
> In poynt of dede lyis veraly,
> Gret reuth it wer that so suld be;
> Timor mortis conturbat me.[42]

These lines were composed no later than 1508, the year when they were printed by Chepman and Myllar, and from them Kennedy's death has been assumed as following soon afterwards. He may have been very ill, 'on poynt of dede', as Dunbar says, but he must have recovered, and lived for some years longer. The Charter of 15th June, 1518, mentioned above (p. 18), refers to his son, Walter Kennedy, inheriting his father's lands:

> Instrument of Seisin propriis manibus in favour of Master Walter Kennedy Rector of Douglas in . . . [here follows a list of lands] . . . given by Robert Graham of Knockdolian, the superior, to the said Mr Walter Kennedy as heir of the deceased Walter Kennedy of Glentig his father.

There would be no reason to delay the ratifying of possession of inherited lands, and it can be assumed that the poet, Walter Kennedy, had died not long before June, 1518.

The period that corresponds with Walter Kennedy's lifetime, from the middle of the fifteenth century to the early part of the sixteenth century, has been described

as the Golden Age of Scottish poetry.[43] Robert Henryson, who flourished about 1460, William Dunbar, almost contemporaneous with Walter Kennedy, and Gavin Douglas, 1475-1522, are the three great men of the age, but there must have been many other poets composing at the same time. In his "Lament for the Makaris" Dunbar names many of whom nothing is now known. Some of the poems from this period in the large collections made by George Bannatyne in 1568 and by Sir Richard Maitland a few years l[illegible] carry ascriptions, but many remain anonymous. Such a quantity of extant poetry indicates, like the tip of the iceberg, a much greater body that is now submerged. A great deal of what has survived of the poetry of this Middle-Scots period is due to Bannatyne and Maitland and their importance cannot be overestimated.

In 1568 there was an outbreak of the plague in Edinburgh and George Bannatyne, a young businessman of twenty-three, left the city for his family home in Angus and there completed the manuscript collection of poems. The manuscript is in folio, consisting of nearly eight hundred closely written pages, and, says Sir Walter Scott, "must have been a labour of love to the collector since he pursued it with an earnest zeal which seems almost miraculous."[44] One important feature of the Bannatyne manuscript is the inclusion at the beginning of the compilation of part of a first draft, so that a number of the poems appear twice.

Scott considers that the collection must have been designed to be sent to the press. It was never printed, however, and survives in a unique copy. After the death of George Bannatyne, the manuscript passed to his grandson and finally in 1772 it was acquired by the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh, now the Scottish National Library, where it is one of the treasures.[45]

The Bannatyne manuscript is one of the sources of the text for "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" and also of three of Kennedy's four extant shorter poems:[46] "Leiff luif, my luif" (Schipper's No. 1; Laing's No. 4); "Ane aigit man" (Schipper's No. 2; Laing's No. 2); "At matyne houre" (Schipper's No. 3; Laing's No. 1).

An older contemporary of George Bannatyne, Sir Richard Maitland, after retiring from public life,[47] made a collection of earlier Scottish poems between 1575 and 1583 for his own pleasure--The Maitland Folio. Later he copied out some of these for his daughter--The Maitland Quarto. The original Maitland Folio is in the Pepysian Library, Magdalen College, Cambridge, No. 208. The Maitland Folio is, like the Bannatyne, a source of the text for each of "Leiff luif, my luif," "Ane aigit man," and "At matyne houre."

The fact that two such different men made collections of this nature indicates a widespread interest in these poems, and a climate of critical appreciation and

cultivated taste. If, as Sir Walter Scott and subsequent scholars believe, the Bannatyne manuscript was prepared for printing, there must have been a putative buying public. It may be that both men felt the need to preserve what they valued in the unsettled state of Scotland under Mary. Battles were waged not only intellectually, as, for example, those between John Knox and Quintin Kennedy (grandson of the Earl of Cassillis, Walter's nephew), but also in armed combat between factions that supported or opposed Mary. The times were not propitious for the publication of such a collection, which contains not only "ballattis mirry, and uther solatius consaittis" but also "ballattis of theoligie," as Bannatyne describes them.[48] He says in his rhymed address to the readers at the beginning of the manuscript:

> Now ye haif heir this ilk buik sa provydit,
> That in fyve pairtis it is dewly devydit.
> 1. The first concernis Godis gloir and ouir
> salvatioun;[49]

and the question of "ouir salvatioun" was highly contentious at the time of the Reformation.

Readings of the same works vary between Bannatyne and Maitland to a greater or lesser degree, but the fact that these two men made their large collections has been of the greatest importance in the preservation of the poetry of this earlier Scottish period.

A manuscript had been made earlier than Bannatyne's and Maitland's by John Sloan or Asloan(e) in 1515, and this

is the only source of Kennedy's "Ane Ballat in Praise of our Lady" (Schipper's No. 4; Laing's No. 3). For the last of Kennedy's works we are indebted to an English manuscript collection, the Arundel No. 285, in the British Museum, formerly called the Howard manuscript. It is a quarto manuscript of 226 folios made by one of the Howard family some time in the first half of the sixteenth century, possibly about 1540, consisting of Scottish poetry and prose, and it provides the only text of Kennedy's The Passioun of Crist. Schipper has given a full description of the section of the Arundel manuscript containing The Passioun.[50]

These manuscript collections enable us to see the variety of styles and of genres that were produced in this "Golden Age"; religious lyrics and moral verses, fables and flytings, short ballads and long narrative poems. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss in detail the development of the rich harvest of poetry, but it can be seen that many factors contributed to a general increase in learning in this period and to an enjoyment of poetry.

Scotland enjoyed a comparatively stable political state; there was increasing wealth as a result of growing trade, and there was also the leisure that accompanied this wealth. James IV liked to have interesting and entertaining people around him, and many payments in the Treasurer's Accounts of his reign are made to entertainers of all kinds. His court was a lively and stimulating place where he

encouraged learning and experiment. The universality of education with its easy interchange of ideas as a result of the use of Latin as the lingua franca played its part. Scottish students attended continental universities in increasing numbers and so were receptive to new influences. The three Scottish universities were founded by men with continental backgrounds and interests. Glasgow University, for example, which Walter Kennedy attended, was founded by Bishop Turnbull and established by a bull from Pope Nicholas V, a scholar and lover of arts and sciences who started the Vatican Library. Clerics travelled to Rome where there was a Scottish Hospice, later to become the Scots College of the Vatican; diplomats travelled not only to Rome but also to Italy, France, Spain, The Netherlands, Denmark. There was a free interchange of ideas.

By the middle of the fifteenth century the changing outlook that has come to be known as the Renaissance was beginning in Italy and spreading through Europe. Men were beginning to look at the world around them through new eyes, from a more analytical point of view; they began to enjoy the exercise of the intellect and the imagination for their own sakes rather than as the servants of religion and morality. There was a new spirit of discovery--and this was the age of sea voyages to the New World--a search for "new experiences, new subjects of poetry, new forms of art."[51]

Along with this impetus went the invention and development of the printing press, which was stimulated by the need for speedier methods of reproduction to meet the demand for books; the greater volume of work sent into circulation from the printing presses in its turn increased the interest and the demand. Printed books were circulating in Scotland from Caxton's press, set up in England in 1475, and from printing presses on the continent.[52] In 1507 James IV gave a grant of copyright and partial monopoly to Walter Chepman, an Edinburgh merchant, and Andrew Myllar, a printer probably trained at Rouen, for the establishment of a printing house in Edinburgh. In 1508 the first work of which we have knowledge was produced.[53] It included poems of Dunbar and Henryson, romances of the kind that were popular throughout both England and Scotland, and part of "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie." We know from his own poems that Dunbar became annoyed when his words were misrepresented,[54] and he would have supplied the text to the printers even if he did not read the proofs, so the Chepman and Myllar print is generally accepted as the authoritative text for the part of "The Flyting" that has survived, which part, ironically enough, is from Kennedy's closing section.[55]

Many poems circulated in manuscript, including those of Chaucer, Lydgate and Gower. Henryson, sitting by his fire on a cold day, picks up his Chaucer, as he tells us at the beginning of The Testament of Cresseid. Much work remains

to be done on the circulation of poetry in this period, whether in manuscript or print, in volumes or as separate poems, and who the readers were, but it is clear that poems were widely read and enjoyed.

> In small Scotland, as in larger countries, court verse . . . was read aloud, passed from private hand to hand in manuscript, or copied in what our grandmothers knew as albums, which a later generation, who could not read them or disapproved of them, cast out as rubbish.[56]

In The Passioun of Crist Kennedy illustrates the widespread interest in romances:

> Bot now, allace, men are mair studyus
> To reid the seige of ye toun of Tire,
> The life of Cursalem, or Hector, or Troylus,
> The vanite of Alexanderis empire.
> (ll. 36-39)

The exploits of Alexander the Great were a favourite subject for romances, but it was not only the "matter of Rome" that was popular. The Scots were interested in their own past and this need was met by their native writers.

In 1375 John Barbour, Archdeacon in Aberdeen, had written The Bruce, a vigorous narrative of the parts Robert the Bruce and Sir James Douglas played in the struggle for Scottish independence. Barbour's Bruce laid a strong foundation for the Scottish vernacular tradition which was built upon during the fifteenth century. Richard Holland's Howlat (c. 1450), an alliterative bird-allegory, is concerned with the Douglas family and their political involvement, while Blind Harry's Wallace (c. 1470), less realistic although more bloody and violent, more given to fictitious

episodes than Barbour's Bruce, tells of Wallace's part in the Scottish War of Independence. It would be surprising if the spirit of independence and the individuality that are associated with the Scottish character were not present in their poetry.

The Scottish poets of this period have been referred to as the Scottish Chaucerians, and, although they owed much to Chaucer, they did not copy him slavishly.

> They are far from imitating Chaucer in the same way as Lydgate and Occleve; they have so much besides Chaucerian matter that I prefer to call them by their Scots name of "makars."

So writes Kurt Wittig,[57] and as "makars," makers, craftsmen, they stand; not as weak shadows trailing behind Chaucer, but as vigorous poets in their own tradition. Scotland was part of Europe as England was, and the French influence behind the makars came to Scotland directly as a result of the close contacts between the two countries of the "Auld Alliance."

> There were many 'monsouris of France' about the court of James IV. Ayala found a 'good deal of French education in Scotland; and many speak the French language. All the young gentlemen who have no property go to France, and are well received there; and therefore the French are liked'.[58]

Literature grows out of the soil that nourishes it. The flowering of poetry in late fifteenth century Scotland is watered by streams from Italy, France, England, but the stock is Scottish. Walter Kennedy belongs to this time and shares the delight of the makars in dramatic episodes and

colourful situations; the homely realism shown particularly in their approach to nature and to human nature. He shares their conscious artistry, their use of a variety of metres and of internal as well as end rhyme, of decorative alliteration in addition to rhyme, and of aureation mingled with broad vernacular.

Kennedy's reputation among his fellow poets shows how highly esteemed he was in his lifetime and shortly afterwards. In his Palice of Honour (1501), Gavin Douglas distinguishes the poets "of this natioun" from the English at the Court of the Muses. The representatives of Scotland are:

> Of this natioun I knew also anone
> Greit Kennedie, and Dunbar yit undeid,
> And Quintine with ane huttock on his heid.
> (II xxiii-v)

Kennedy is here given the epithet "greit" and precedes Dunbar. Priscilla Bawcutt says:

> The shortness of this list does not necessarily indicate that Douglas lacked interest in Scottish poetry. The three names are clearly a selection, designed to balance the English triad.[59]

As the English representatives named by Douglas in his poem are Gower, Lydgate and Chaucer who is defined as "a per se sans peir / In his vulgare," it is clear that, at least to Gavin Douglas, Kennedy is one of the Scottish giants.

In addition, Dunbar, in his "Lament for the Makaris" of 1507, calls him "Gud Maister Walter Kennedy" and gives him a whole stanza to himself. The use of "Gud" by Dunbar shows esteem for his fellow poet and contestant in "The

Flyting." Sir David Lindsay, like Gavin Douglas, names Kennedy before Dunbar in The Complaint of the Papingo of 1530, saying:

> Or quho can now the workis countrafait
> Of Kennedie with termis aureait
> Or of Dunbar, quhilk language had at large,
> As may be sene in tyll his Goldin Targe?

We have already seen that the collector of the pieces in the Howard Arundel manuscript selected for transcription Kennedy's The Passioun of Crist and so preserved it for posterity.

In the "Account of the Contents of the Bannatyne Manuscript"[60] David Laing quotes some lines written by Allan Ramsay and intended to have been prefixed to his collection of early Scottish poetry, The Ever Green, 1724. The third stanza is given over to Kennedy. Ramsay says:

> Blyth Kennedie, contesting for the bays,
> Attackis his friend DUNBAR in comick layis,
> And seems the fittest hand (of ony then)
> Against sae fell a foe to draw his pen.

Laing published Kennedy's four shorter poems and a brief selection from The Passioun of Crist in the second volume of his Poems of William Dunbar, 1834. In 1901 Jacob Schipper edited all the extant works with brief introductory comments in The Poems of Walter Kennedy. Apart from these two men Kennedy has been treated as a co-author along with Dunbar, a poet who has a large published corpus, and only in consideration of his part in "The Flyting." Indeed he has not always been given credit for his part. It is time

to look at Kennedy's extant poems, to view them in their cultural context and in the light of his life and times.

To dismiss Kennedy as a minor poet whose only claim to fame lies in his scolding-match with Dunbar is to do him an injustice. Clearly he is due for reassessment.

Notes to Chapter I

[1]David Laing, Dunbar, Edinburgh, 1834, Vol. II.

[2]The Poems of Walter Kennedy, edited with Introduction, Various Readings and Notes by J. Schipper. Vorgelegt in der Sitzung am 10 Jänner, 1901, Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Classe. Achtundvierzigster Band. Wien 1901. In Commission bei Carl Gerold's Sohn.

[3]Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, The Kennedys, Edinburgh, 1958.

[4]The present head of the family is the Marquis of Ailsa.

[5]Andrew Symson, A Large Description of Galloway, 1684, p. 59.

[6]In the same year, 1429, Hew resigned his rights in the property of Ardstinchar to his younger brother, Thomas, who became the first of the Bargany Kennedys. A letter of Reversion of 1509 in the Ailsa Papers, in H.M. Register House, Edinburgh, shows a Thomas Kennedy of Bargany making over lands to Walter Kennedy, the poet, payment being made in the Church of Ardstinchar.

[7]Ranald Nicholson, Scotland The Later Middle Ages, The Edinburgh History of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1974, p. 410.

[8]Fergusson, op. cit., p. 11. See also Nicholson, op. cit., pp. 410 ff. for further details of the relationship between the Boyds and the Kennedys.

[9]The Poems of William Dunbar, edited by John Small for the Scottish Text Society, 1893.

[10]R.L. Mackie, King James IV of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 28.

[11]W. Croft Dickinson, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603, Oxford, 1977, p. 257.

[12]The Kennedys remained in the centre of events during the sixteenth century, one of them being High Treasurer of Scotland. Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, was a leading opponent of John Knox.

[13]Mackie, James IV, p. 3.

[14] Ibid., p. 4.

[15] Ibid., p. 152.

[16] Ibid., p. 4.

[17] R.L. Mackie, A Short History of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1962, pp. 103 ff.

[18] See note 3 above. Fergusson says Walter was sixth son. Laing in his notes on Kennedy (see his Dunbar, Vol. II, p. 443) says: "In a History of the Family of Kennedy, written about the year 1613, one of the sons of Gilbert, first Lord Kennedy, is said to have been Provost of Minniboil, or Maybole. This was a collegiate church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which had been founded by Sir John Kennedy . . . . . As the patronage was vested in the family of the founder, it is highly probable that Walter Kennedy might have been appointed to that office on the demise of Sir David Robertson, Provost of Minniboil, in or about the year 1494, or soon after the time, when, I presume the Flyting was written. In the work referred to, indeed, he is called Gilbert,--for it is stated, that the first Lord Kennedy had four sons, John who succeeded, Gilbert, Provost of Minnibole, and two who died young. According to the more accurate statement by Mr. Wood, in his edition of Douglas's Peerage, only three sons are mentioned,--John, second Lord Kennedy, James, who was married in 1473, and Walter, who is designated brother of John Lord Kennedy, in a charter of the Earl of Angus, Sept. 25, 1498. (Wood's Peerage, vol. i, p. 328)"

[19] D. McRoberts, ed. Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625, Glasgow, 1962, pp. 145-168.

[20] Mackie, James IV, p. 163.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Bishop Kennedy was a Master of Arts of St. Andrews and a Bachelor of Canon Law of the University of Louvain. Bishop Turnbull, who like Bishop Kennedy had graduated in Arts at St. Andrews and Canon Law at Louvain, was also a Doctor in Canon Law of Pavia, N. Italy.

[23] Denis McKay, "Parish Life in Scotland," in McRobert's Essays on the Scottish Reformation, p. 91.

[24] Definition from Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, 1950.

[25] Laing, Dunbar, Vol. II, pp. 441-442. See note 1.

[26]Mackie, James IV, p. 82.

[27]Ailsa Papers, Vol. 1, ref. S.D. 25/1/7. No. 11. H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

[28]Ibid., No. 19.

[29]Mackie, James IV, p. 8.

[30]Laing, Dunbar, Vol. II, p. 443. Laing is supported by W. Mackay Mackenzie in The Poems of William Dunbar, London, 1970, pp. 198-199. There is no complete list of provosts extant.

[31]C.H. Kuipers, Quintin Kennedy 1520-1564: Two Eucharistic Tracts, Nijmegen, 1964.

[32]Fergusson, p. 11. Fergusson does not give the specific source of this information but lists his documents at the beginning of his book.

[33]Originales Parochiales Scotiae, Bannatyne Club N. 97, 1851, p. 154. A footnote gives the source as Lib. Colleg. S.D. Glasg., pp. 73, 75. Mun. Univ. Glasg.

[34]Ailsa Papers, No. 241.

[35]Ailsa Papers, No. 11, Letter of Dotation by John Kennedy of Dunure, proceeding upon a narrative of his having in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded a Chapel near to the Parish Church of Mayboll.

[36]Originales Parochiales Scotiae, p. 153 and p. 154.

[37]Denis McKay, "Parish Life in Scotland," p. 93.

[38]Ibid., p. 94.

[39]Ailsa Papers, No. 193.

[40]Ibid., No. 191.

[41]Ibid., No. 192.

[42]Mackenzie, The Poems of William Dunbar, p. 22.

[43]For example by Kurt Wittig in The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 53.

[44]The Bannatyne Manuscript, printed for The Hunterian Club, Glasgow, 1896, p. iv.

[45]The Poetry of the Stewart Court, by Joan Hughes and William Ramson, to be published during 1979, will comment on the Bannatyne manuscript, the Stewart Court and its poetry, and will include an anthology from the manuscript.

[46]David Laing edited Kennedy's four shorter poems in the second volume of his Dunbar and gave them titles. Schipper kept Laing's titles but altered his order. This will be discussed more fully in Chapter II.

[47]Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight, was Lord Privy Seal of Scotland and a Senator of the College of Justice.

[48]Bannatyne MS, Vol I, pp. xiv, xv.

[49]Ibid.

[50]See Schipper (see note 2), pp. 7-9, and see also J.A.W. Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Scottish Text Society, 1955, pp. i-ii.

[51]Walter Pater, The Renaissance, London (1873) 1904 edition, p. 2.

[52]John Durkan, in "The Cultural Background," Essays on the Scottish Reformation, says "Books were imported in larger numbers than is often thought: 500 crowns were spent in one instance for the library of Scheves alone," p. 276. Scheves was Archbishop of St. Andrews.

[53]The Chepman and Myllar Prints. Nine Tracts from the First Scottish Press, Edinburgh 1508 . . . . Facsimile with a bibliographical note by William Beattie. Edinburgh Bibliogr. Soc. 1950.

[54]Compaint To the King Againis Mure

Schir, I complane off injuris:
A refing sonne off rakyng Muris
Hes magellit my making, throw his malis,
And present it in to yowr palis:
Bot, sen he plesis with me to pleid
I sall him knawin mak hyne to Calis,
Bot giff yowr Henes it remeid.

That fulle dismemberit hes my meter,
And poysonid it with strang salpeter,
With rycht defamows speiche off lordis,
Quhilk with my collouris all discordis:
Quhois crewall sclander servis ded;
And in my name all leis recordis,
Your Grace beseik I of remeid.

He has indorsit myn indyting
With versis off his awin hand wryting;
Quhairin baithe sclander is and tressoun:
Off ane wod fuill far owt off ressoun
He wantis nocht bot a rowndit heid,
For he has tynt baith wit and ressoun:
Your Grace beseik I off remeid.

[55]Line 316 to the end.

[56]Agnes Mure Mackenzie, "The Renaissance Poets (1) Scots and English," in Scottish Poetry, ed. James Kinsley, London, 1955, p. 33.

[57]Kurt Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 34.

[58]James Kinsley, Scottish Poetry, p. xiii.

[59]Priscilla Bawcutt, Gavin Douglas, Edinburgh, 1976, p. 42.

[60]Bannatyne MS, Vol. I, p. lxi.

CHAPTER II

THE KENNEDY CORPUS

Kennedy's extant corpus[1] is small, and consists of four lyrical poems, his share in a "flyting," or verse scolding contest, and a longer poem of 1,715 lines on the subject of Christ's Passion. The problem of titles must be taken into account where there is no holograph of the work in question and this is the situation with Kennedy.

The poem on the Passion, for instance, occurs only in Arundel 285, which was probably written within forty years of the poem's composition; we do not have exact dates for either the poem or the manuscript, but there was certainly not a long period of time between them. The manuscript bears the words: "Heir begynnis þe prologu of þe passioun of Crist compilit be Mr Walter Kennedy" immediately preceding the poem, and at the end: "Heir endis the Passioun of our Lord Iesu Crist compilit be maister Walter Kennedy." J.A.W. Bennett,[2] who edited the work for the Scottish Text Society, entitled it The Passioun of Crist, and I shall use his text and title.

In the manuscript collection of poems from the Middle-Scots period made in 1568, George Bannatyne[3] introduced item No. CLXVIII as "The Flyting of Dumbar and Kennedie.

Heir efter followis jocound and mirrie." W. Mackay Mackenzie[4] in The Poems of William Dunbar gives No. 6 the title "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie," modernizing Dunbar's name but leaving Kennedie. I shall use his text and title and "The Flyting" for short.

David Laing,[5] who was Kennedy's first editor, gave titles to the four lyrics[6] and Jacob Schipper[7] in his edition nearly seventy years later followed Laing's titles but not his order. I propose to use the first half of the opening line in each case to identify the poems and to use Schipper's text. I shall, therefore, refer to Schipper's

No. 1. "Pious Counsale" as "Leiff luif, my luif" (Laing No. 4)

No. 2. "Ane Aigit Manis Invective Against Mowþ þankless" as "Ane aigit man" (Laing No. 2)

No. 3. "The Praise of Aige" as "At matyne houre" (Laing No. 1)

No. 4. "Ane Ballat in Praise of our Lady" as "Clostir of Christ" (Laing No. 3)

In the case of this last one, as we shall see, the title is appropriate, but to be consistent I shall use the first half line as with the other three.

Laing gave no reasons for the order he selected but Schipper explained his by saying that it seemed probable to him that the poems which deal with worldly matters were written first and those of a more purely religious tone later in the poet's life. This argument does not seem to me to be valid; it implies that worldliness belongs to

youth and spirituality to old age. In fact a man may express religious fervour and devotion when young and may later develop a mature sense of the interrelation between this world and the next, between material and spiritual matters, so that the poems of his later life may deal with concerns of this world but be no less religious. Choices and decisions in many cases are less clear-cut to the older man than to the young. The poems which Schipper saw as being more worldly, and so placed first, may indeed be the fruits of a maturing experience.

We have no information outside the poems themselves about their dates of composition. "Clostir of Christ" is in the Asloan manuscript of 1515, and so was transcribed there in the poet's lifetime. The other three lyrics are in the Bannatyne manuscript of 1568 and the Maitland of c. 1575. "Clostir of Christ," a devotional poem venerating the Virgin Mary, may be the first of his extant poems to be written and "At matyne houre" may come from a later period in the poet's life, showing as it does an awareness of spiritual unrest and religious conflict. On the other hand we know that one man in his life can play many parts, and Kennedy has left poems which show apparent extremes of attitude, devotion to the Virgin in "Clostir of Christ" and fierce abuse of a fellow poet in "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie."

All of Kennedy's extant poetry is in stanza form, and, although he does not have the full range of stanzas of his contemporary, Dunbar, he employs several variations. He is a fit match for Dunbar in "The Flyting," which is a contest in form as well as in content, as we shall see when examining that work. His four lyrics are all written in eight-line stanzas, as is "The Flyting." In The Passioun of Crist Kennedy uses the nine-line stanza, rhyme royal, but with many variations within it which will be treated in detail when I discuss both the structure and the verse form of that poem. Kennedy shows mastery of elaborate form and intricacy in handling metre and rhyme. Especially in "The Flyting" and The Passioun, he uses internal rhyme with variety and he uses abundant alliteration in addition to rhyme.

The use of alliteration in the poetry of the West Midlands of England which is at its peak in the fourteenth century continues in Scotland and is a common feature of its vernacular poetry from the fourteenth century onward and is still important in the Middle Scots period. Little remains of the poetry of Scotland before Barbour's Bruce of c. 1375, but the Bruce established the practice of using alliteration in poetry which also rhymed. Dunbar's "The Tua Mariit Wemen and the Wedo"[8] is an outstanding example of an alliterative poem without rhyme, as in the English tradition, but in the Middle-Scots tradition it is an

exception. Alliteration in the Scottish poems is used to adorn a poem which already has a rhyme scheme. The strong stress in Scottish speech on the initial consonant of a word has been given as one of the reasons for the employment of alliteration and for the Scottish enjoyment of the device.[9] Another factor was operating in Scotland, however, which may have contributed to its use, and that was the Gaelic tradition. We find that strong alliteration combined with rhyme is common to both Scots and Gaelic poetry and, as Wittig says, "The Irish origin of Gaelic alliteration rules out a purely one-way influence from England."[10] Like his fellow Makars, Kennedy uses alliteration freely to add embellishment to verse with a rhyme scheme where there is not only end but also internal rhyme. This will be seen especially in considering in detail the verse forms of "The Flyting" and of The Passioun.

The technicalities of Gaelic verse-making, Irish and Scottish, which was a highly controlled art learned in long apprenticeship, is a matter for the expert and I do not "have the Gaelic" to discuss this subject in detail. Gaelic poetry would not be foreign to fifteenth century Scots of all ranks in most parts of the country. James IV enjoyed the recitations of Gaelic bards, as payments frequently recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts show, and he and his court would be familiar with their verse forms, their alliteration and their rhyme schemes, and particularly with

their striking use of intricate patterns of internal rhyme. Kennedy especially, coming as he did from a still Gaelic speaking part of the country, would be open to influences from Gaelic poetry. In "The Flyting" Dunbar groups Kennedy with the Gaelic bards--'Iersche brybour baird' he calls Kennedy--and says that he, Dunbar, would scorn to use rhyming and flyting that he associates with the bards and which Kennedy uses. There are strong correspondences between Kennedy's verse and that of the Gaelic bards and the closing stanzas of both Dunbar's and Kennedy's long sections in "The Flyting" are modelled on Gaelic bardic forms.

The language which Kennedy and his fellow Makars use in Scotland was sometimes called Inglis and sometimes Scottis. Changes were occurring during the period from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries, both in the language and in attitudes toward it. The country that is now called Scotland was not fully united even under James IV; the highlands and the outlying islands were still struggling during much of his reign to maintain their ancient independence. These regions, in the north and west, had been settled by Scots who had originated in Ireland and brought their Celtic language, Gaelic, with them, ousting the original Pictish. The Lowlands extended along the east coast from the Border to the Moray Firth, the northern limit varying at different times in history, and the Border being

a more real division between England and Scotland at some times than at others. The Lowlands were racially, politically and culturally associated with Northumbria and its Anglian dialect; the language of the Lowlands was called Inglis.

The language of the Church and education, superimposed on these two languages, was Latin.[11] However, glosses in Inglis had begun to appear in Latin documents in the middle of the fourteenth century and popular versions of the Legends of the Saints were beginning to be written in Inglis. Kennedy, telling the story of Christ's Passion, says in his prologue that he wants to write "in Inglis tong" and "maist plane termis." Here Inglis is distinguished from Latin. French had earlier been spoken by the barons ("the presumption is that they spoke French among themselves and English to their subordinates"[12]) and was the language of diplomacy. By the end of the fifteenth century French had become a foreign language which had to be learnt, either in France or in such a French school as existed in Edinburgh, but it was still a medium of culture.

About the time of the Makars Inglis was developing differently in Scotland from the emerging standard in England and the language of Scotland began to be called Scottis as distinct from English. This obviously was confusing as Scottis had previously referred to Gaelic[13] so a new term had to be used to distinguish the two languages and we now

find Ersch or Irische being used for Gaelic. Dunbar and Kennedy uses these latter terms in "The Flyting," Dunbar with scorn and Kennedy defensively. Writing of the distinction between the two parts of Scotland, David Murison says:

> The marked contrast between Highlands and Lowlands in social organisation as well as language is responsible for a new turn in Gaelic-Scots relations in the late Middle Ages, the fifteenth century. The Highlanders became relatively isolated from the rest of the kingdom and pursued their own way of life as independently as possible from the government in Edinburgh . . . . The results of all this we have seen in the satirical and generally hostile references to the Highlanders in Lowland literature.[14]

Gaelic was becoming a tongue to be ridiculed and part of the contest in "The Flyting" between the poets is based on the two men's attitudes towards Gaelic and Inglis. Kennedy came from Carrick, where Gaelic was still spoken, and Dunbar from the Lowlands. Dunbar says:

> I tak on me ane pair of Lowthiane hippis
> Sall fairar Inglis mak, and mair parfyte,
> Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrick lippis.
> (11. 110-112)

Kennedy, however, knows that Gaelic had been the language of a large part of Scotland before the Norman Conquest and he makes a spirited reply:

> Thow lufis nane Irische, elf, I understand,
> Bot it suld be all trew Scottis mennis lede;
> It was the gud langage of this land.
> (11. 345-347)

Gaelic had never been the language of the whole of Scotland. I have already remarked on the connection of the eastern part of the country with the old Northumbria. Even in Kennedy's day Galloway, the south-west part of Scotland,

was in the see of York ecclesiastically with all the implications of that relationship, but Gaelic was certainly spoken in Galloway and Carrick until the seventeenth century, and Kennedy would probably have been multilingual. The King spoke Gaelic[15] and, as we have seen, Gaelic bards frequented his court.

In addition to these vernaculars that have been discussed there was a literary "language" with which Kennedy is associated. Sir David Lyndesay (or Lindsay) in The Complaint of The Papingo asks:

> Or quha can now the workis contrafait
> Of Kennedie, with termes aureait?[16]

"Termes aureait" refers to a type of literary colouring or enrichment, aureation, for which Kennedy is here remembered by Lyndesay. John Lydgate had invented the word aureat, "probably formed on late Latin aureatus," and the notion of "aureat style."[17] Gold was used in medieval manuscript illustrations and lettering, and also on statues of the Virgin and Child, to add richness and splendour. Paintings in the churches of the day were lavishly adorned with gold. Lydgate associated his new word aureat metaphorically with richness and splendour of language so that it therefore meant 'eloquent'[18] as well as 'golden', and implied ornament for the purpose of providing effective expression.

> Lydgate's interest and achievement emerge as mainly lexical. He was concerned chiefly with importing Latin ns. and adjs. into ME.[19]

The imports, largely from liturgical Latin, were intended to enhance style, and not for practical purposes of definition, so that all anglicised Latin is not aureat. Derek Pearsall, discussing Lydgate's aureation, says:

> The aureate style is commonest in religious poems, especially in those of a laudatory or celebratory nature which rely for their structure on the accumulation of recondite allusions and images . . . . Aureation, though it often involves long words, is not to be identified with the use of long words.[20]

Raymond Oliver, in discussing medieval lyrics, mentions the kind of "jewel-encrusted praise for the Virgin Mary" where the "heavy Latin nearly crowds the English out of the lines, as it actually does in the macaronic poems," and where the Latin words "have not been assimilated to English; one feels them to be foreign, strained, and very formal . . . . The result is a stilted high style."[21] In the lines cited above Lyndesay praises Kennedy for his "aureait termes," regretting that there was no one at the time to imitate him. In 1530, the fashion of aureation was passing. The Scottish Makars had inherited it from their English predecessors, whom they admired without copying slavishly. Dunbar uses aureation lavishly and deliberately in "The Golden Targe" and "Ane Ballat in Praise of Our Lady."[22] In considering influences on Dunbar, W. Mackay Mackenzie says:

> Chaucer had done much by the infusion of a Latin vocabulary transformed through French; his Scottish admirers went further by drawing on the same ancient source directly. Thence came their Latinised or "aureate" diction, more alien to our ears than theirs, which were attuned to Latin as almost a

> second colloquial language in the Scotland of that time. For courtly poets it was another way of escape from the more ignoble associations of the dialectal vernacular, an ingredient of the "grand style" suitable for the more lofty themes, and a means of smoothing the emphatic effect of the native language.[23]

The Makars could use aureation, but they could use an unadorned, direct vernacular as well. As we consider his individual poems we shall see the extent to which Kennedy uses aureation and, in contrast, how he uses his own vernacular.

The vernacular[24] that Kennedy employs seems at first glance very strange to modern eyes but part of this strangeness arises from unusual spelling. When we understand some of the orthographic conventions, part of the difficulty in reading Kennedy's works will be removed.

1. The following are the Scottish spellings equivalent to modern English spellings:

Ane is a spelling convention for the indefinite article 'a'. This is probably connected with French 'une'.

Quh is a spelling convention for wh.

S = s as in 'sic' (Flyt. 26) and 'say' (Flyt. 31), etc.

Sch = s as in 'schir' (Flyt. 1) and possibly 'scheild' (Flyt. 30).

Sch = sh as in 'schawis' (Flyt. 272) and 'schame' (Flyt. 320).

S = sh frequently as in 'sall' (Flyt. 47) and 'salbe' (Flyt. 256).

þ = th.

Reversed spellings occur, for example 'walknit', wakened (At matyne houre 2); because l is frequently silent, it can be used in other words which inherently never had l.

Liquid 'l' and 'n' in words of French origin occur as 'ly', 'ny' as in 'spulyeit' (Passioun, 575), 'fenyeit' (Passioun, 137).

2. A number of Middle-Scots spellings indicate different sounds from modern English.

Ch frequently replaces the guttural gh. We find Edinburgh spelt so and also Edinburch in "The Flyting."

K is common where Southern English would have ch as, for example, quhilk,'which'.

A is frequently the Scottish equivalent of London English o as in hame, stane, quha.

The plural of nouns is formed by the addition of 'is', which is normally non-syllabic but can be given light stress where scansion requires.

3. Certain verbal forms should be noted:

The most frequently used inflexion in the present tense is 'is', which can be used to rhyme with the noun plural 'is'.

The past tense of weak verbs is shown by the inflexion 'it' or 'yt', but frequently lacks inflexion.

The past participle form ending in 'it' is frequently used with the force of a present participle. 'Scaldit skrowis' (Flyt. 26) means scalding or scurrilous scrolls.

The present participle ends in 'and', with the 'd' unsounded, leading to some confusion with the gerund ending 'ing' or 'yng', where the velar element was also in the late fifteenth century becoming lost.

Couth is sometimes used as an auxiliary to form the past tense of the accompanying weak verb as in, for example, couth pas (Passioun 819).

The auxiliary may be joined to be as in salbe (Flyt. 256).

4. Frequently used Middle-Scots function words, pronouns, prepositions, etc., are noted below:

And = if

Ane = one

Bot = but

But = without, except

Gif = if

Nor = than occasionally, as for example in Flyt. 134.

Or = before

Quhill = until, but in The Passioun 15 and 1007 it is = while.

Tha or pa = those

Thir = these

Till = to, and is also used as the sign of the infinitive.

The relative pronoun is 'that', 'pat', or 'quhilk'. In the four short poems the relative pronoun for modern English that, who or which is 'pat'. In The Passioun the relative pronoun is 'quhilk', used for both people and things with the alternative 'quhilkis' in lines 877 and 1208, for example.

Kennedy uses both 'full' and 'richt' or 'rycht' as intensifiers, equivalent to 'very'.

In considering the extant verse composed by Kennedy I shall discuss the shorter poems first and refer to them as the lyrics. I shall then consider "The Flyting" and finally The Passioun of Crist. As The Passioun is a religious poem it might appear logical to examine it along with or following the lyrics, which are also religious, but The Passioun has features which distinguish it from the lyrics and I propose, therefore, to consider it last. "The Flyting" is the only one of Kennedy's poems that has been commented on to any extent by critics, but it has been dealt with under Dunbar's work. I propose, therefore, to concentrate on Kennedy's part in the debate, and shall not examine the whole poem in as great detail as I shall The Passioun.

There are many aspects of Kennedy's work which will repay more detailed study, by experts in philology and dialectology, for instance, and I hope that by introducing Kennedy I am opening the way for further study and understanding of the man and his work.

Notes on Chapter II

[1]Corpus and its transmissions: These are the principal works in which Kennedy's verse is found:

1. Lyrics

(a) Leiff luif, my luif.

Bannatyne Manuscript No. CCCV, in section "Contempt of blyndit luve" in the fourth book "Ballatis of Luve." Folio 281a. Anon. in the Bannatyne Manuscript.

Maitland Manuscript, pp. 292-293.
Edited by D. Laing. Dunbar II, Edinburgh, 1830, p. 96.
Hunterian Club, Bannatyne Manuscript, Glasgow, 1893-1896, Vol. IV, p. 817.
J. Schipper, The Poems of Walter Kennedy, Vienna, 1901, pp. 10-11.

(b) Ane aigit man.

Bannatyne Manuscript No. CCXCIV, in section "Ballatis aganis Evill Wemen," in the fourth book "Ballatis of Luve." Folio 268a, b.

Maitland Manuscript, pp. 305-306.
Published by Allan Ramsay, The Ever Green, I, Edinburgh, 1724, pp. 115-117.
Edited by D. Laing, Dunbar II, pp. 90, 91.
Hunterian Club, Bannatyne Manuscript, Vol. IV, pp. 780-782.
J. Schipper, The Poems of Walter Kennedy, pp. 12-14.

(c) At matyne houre.

Bannatyne Manuscript No. LII, in the second book "conteneand verry singular ballatis full of wisdome and moralitie, etc." Folio 52b, and also in draft manuscript No. 360, pp. 38,39.

Maitland Manuscript, p. 208.
Edited by Lord Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, Edinburgh, 1770, pp. 189-190.
Lord Hailes, Ancient Scottish Poems, Edinburgh, 1815, pp. 237-238.
D. Laing, Dunbar II, pp. 89-92.
Hunterian Club, Bannatyne Manuscript, Vol. II, pp. 143-144.
J. Schipper, The Poems of Walter Kennedy, pp. 15-17.

(d) Ane Ballat in Praise of Our Lady.
Asloan Manuscript, Folio 301b-302a.
Edited by D. Laing, Dunbar II, pp. 93-95.
J. Schipper, The Poems of Walter Kennedy, pp. 18-21.

2. The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie.
Chepman and Myllar print, 1508. [From beginning to line 311 now lost].
[Asloan Manuscript No. xli, in portion now lost].

Bannatyne Manuscript No. CLXVIII, in the third book "contenand Balletis mirry and vthir solacius consaittis, set furth be diuers ancient Poyettis, 1568."
Folio 147a-153b.

Maitland Manuscript.

Reidpeth Manuscript.

Published by Allan Ramsay, The Ever Green.
J. Sibbald, Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, Edinburgh, 1802, in part.
D. Laing, Golagrus and Gawane, Edinburgh, 1827.
D. Laing, Dunbar, Vol. II.
Scottish Text Society. Ed. John Small. Dunbar, Edinburgh, 1893.

3. The Passioun of Crist.
Howard Arundel Manuscript No. 285. Folio 6a-47a.
Edited by D. Laing, Dunbar II, pp. 97-112 (Extracts 371 ll.)
J. Schipper, The Poems of Walter Kennedy, pp. 25-94.
J.A.W. Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 7-63.

[2]J.A.W. Bennett, ed., Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Scottish Text Society, Edinburgh and London, 1955.

[3]The Bannatyne Manuscript, Hunterian Club, Glasgow, 1896, Vol. III, p. 420.

[4]W. Mackay Mackenzie, ed., The Poems of William Dunbar, London (1932), 1970 ed.

[5]David Laing, ed., The Poems of William Dunbar, Edinburgh, 1834, Vol. II.

[6]Early Scottish poetry was composed to be sung, although few of the tunes remain.

[7]Jacob Schipper, ed., The Poems of Walter Kennedy, Vienna, 1901. See Chapter I, note 2, for full details.

[8]Mackenzie, Dunbar, No. 47.

[9]Kurt Wittig, in The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh, 1958, p. 108, quotes Sir William A. Craigie.

[10]Ibid., p. 109.

[11]Ibid., p. 158. Wittig writes: "The late fifteenth century produced a few Scots prose translations; but (perhaps chiefly because Scotland had so many European connections), Latin was long preferred to the vernacular for all serious intellectual purposes. John Fordun, Hector Boece, John Major and Buchanan, all, as a matter of course, wrote their histories in Latin; in the Scottish universities lectures in all faculties continued to be given in Latin until well on in the eighteenth century."

[12]David Murison in "Linguistic Relationships in Medieval Scotland" in The Scottish Tradition, ed. by G.W.S. Barrow [Edinburgh], Scottish Academic Press, 1974, p. 74.

[13]Murison, ibid., p. 76, quotes John Fordun who was writing in the later fourteenth century: "The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech, for two languages are spoken among them, the Scottish and the Teutonic, the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seabord and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the highlands and outlying islands." The reference is to Scotichronicon, 11, ix.

[14]Ibid., p. 81.

[15]Wittig (see note 9), p. 61.

[16]Text from Lindsay, Sir David, The Warkis of Schir David Lyndesay, Edinburgh, 1574. Reproduction of the copy in the National Library of Scotland. Published in 1971 by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd., Amsterdam.

[17]Norton-Smith, Lydgate, Oxford, 1966, p. 192.

[18]"Possessing or exercising the power of fluent, forcible and appropriate expression; of style: characterized by forcible and appropriate expression." O.E.D.

[19]Norton-Smith, Lydgate, p. 194.

[20]Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate, London, 1970, pp. 262-263.

[21]Raymond Oliver, Poems Without Names, London, 1970, p. 82.

[22]Mackenzie, Dunbar, Nos. 56 and 82.

[23]Mackenzie, ibid., pp. xii-xiii.

[24]The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (D.O.S.T.) is in preparation, edited first by William A. Craigie and now by A.J. Aitken. Aitken, who is the leading authority on the language of the Middle-Scots period, believes that the best work on features of Middle-Scots is that of Father Cornelius H. Kuipers in his Quintin Kennedy (1520-1564). Two Eucharistic Tracts. A Critical Edition. D. Litt. Thesis, Nymegen, 1964. This, however, is not readily available. W. Mackay Mackenzie gives several linguistic features relative to Dunbar, Walter Kennedy's contemporary, in his The Poems of William Dunbar (see note 4 above). Other works are J.A.H. Murray, The Dialects of the Southern Counties of Scotland, London, 1873; G. Gregory Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots, Edinburgh and London, 1902. See also A.J. Aitken, "Variation and Variety in Written Middle Scots," in Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots, ed. Aitken, McIntosh and Pa'lson, London, 1971, and A.J. Aitken, "How to Pronounce Older Scots," in Bards and Makars, ed. Aitken, McDiarmid and Thomson, Glasgow, 1977.

was the Christian religion with its belief in God, the Father, Maker and Provider, in Christ, the Son and Saviour, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier, three Persons but one God. The poets were the spokesmen of society and Church alike. They were 'Makars', shapers of truth, rather than seers communicating their private and individual intuitions. Originality was not considered a virtue. The Makars composed poetry about a variety of topics and with considerable individuality but within the framework of the great truths they held. William Ramson remarks:

> The poet is not seeking to heighten his audience's perception through the stimulus of his own but to celebrate with and for them the truths to which all held. The poet is in the role of communal spokesman, realising to the fullness of his ability the significance or mood of an occasion.[1]

Because the poet and his audience share a commonly held belief, the poet and the persona within his poem are frequently identified. The poet may speak as priest with the authority of the church and its doctrines behind him; he may speak as preacher with the authority of Holy Writ. He may speak as the lover of a woman, or of God or Christ or Mary, but in Middle-Scots poetry, it is the poet himself as the persona, who speaks most clearly out of this background of shared faith. Walter Kennedy's four lyrics are directly religious and reflect several aspects of the thoughts and beliefs of his time and therefore have much in common. There are, however, marked differences in approach and in treatment of their subjects and so I propose to

consider first "Clostir of Christ," as it belongs to a specific genre, praise of the Virgin Mary, and stands alone in this respect. Kennedy's works are not easily available and so I will quote the poem from Schipper's text.

ANE BALLAT IN PRAISE OF OUR LADY

I.

Clostir of Christ, riche recent* flour-de-lyss, *fresh flourishing
  Ave Maria, herbar of amouris!
Princess of hevyn, hell, erd, and paradyss,
  Pat babis our blak syn wib by balmy schouris,
  Nuryss to God, and modir of favouris
To lepef, leche, cruikit, blynd, deif, and dum,
  Pe all be ordouris of hevyne honouris,
Sancta Maria, Virgo virginum!

II.

Protectrix till all pepill penitent,
  Pe beriale bosome, bat our bliss in bred,
Sched betuix synnaris and Godis jugement,
  Schawand by Son be sweit palpis bat him fed,
  Prayand him for be precious blud he bled;
Us to forgeif of our gret trespass;
  Dy corps was nevir wib corruptioun cled,
Sancta et immaculata virginitas!

III.

Revar of grace, bat sall us all releif,
  Above Natur consavit God and Man;
Our heretage bat Adam tynt,* and Eif, *lost
  Dow conquest newe; ourcome be Devill and wan!
  Blist be bow Mary, and by modir Ane
And Joachim bat generit be [also;]
  For till exalt by name quha may or can?
Quibus te laudibus referam nescio.

IV.

Pe modir se, fludis, lochis, and wellis,
  War all bir ynke, and quyk and deid coub wryte,
Pe hevyne stellat, planetis, montanis and fellis,
  War fair perchiament, and all as Virgillis dyte,
  And plesand pennis for to report perfyte
War woddis, forestis, treis, gardingis and gravis,* *groves
  Coub nocht discryve by honouris infinit!
Speciosa facta es et suavis.

V.

Onely abone all virginis þow had hap,
  To consaif be þe Haly Gaist, I grant;
Sanct Jhone joyit in his modiris wame and lap,
  Quhen þow spak wiþ Elizabeþ þy ant;
  Þow was ay meike, but vane glore, pryd, or want,
Sibilla said, alss Balaam and Sanct Dave;
  Þarfore Christ chesit þy wame his house and hant,
Dominus sit tecum, gracia plena Ave!

VI.

Ruby of reuþ, riche lass, and hevinnis gem,
  Blenke up wiþ þy eyne of grace owt of þe est;
Supposs all Sanctis our synfull prayer contempne,
  Þyne eres are ay opyn at our requesst;
  Now for þe speir þat Longius set in rest,
And persit þy sonnis preciouss hert for us,
  Þow bring us to þe joye þat nevir is cest,
Benedicta tu in mulieribus!

VII.

Blist be þy hair, hed, eyne, face and neiss!
  Blist be þy halss, breist bane, bak and rib!
Blist be þy palpis þat couþ þy sone appleiss!
  Blist be þy handis þat wande* him in þe crib! *rocked
  Blist be þy sydis, and wame þat maid us sib
To Christ! Blist be þy body all forþy!
  Blist be þy blude, þat come of Josues trybe!
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui.

VIII.

Þocht we brek vowis, prayeris, pilgrimage and hechtis,
  To þe, Rosare, and rute of our remeid,
For us, fair Lady, wiþ þe Devill þow fechtis,
  And standis full neir us in þe hour of deid;
  Saifand our sawlis frome þe playand leid
Of hell, quhair it servit* to be tane to; *deserved
  Syne stowis us saifly in to Angellis steid.
Cum Jhesu Christo filio tuo!

IX.

Beseike þy Sone, þat for me gaf na pryce
  Of riche gold, bot þe reid blude of his hert,
To purge me of my gret trespass and vyce,
  And clenge my saull fra lipper syne inwart;
  And grant þat of þe hevin I may haif part,
Þrow þy request, Mary, as wele þow can!
  Sen hale supple to Kennedy þow art,
O mater Dei, memento mei, þy man!

"Clostir of Christ" was entitled by Laing "Ane Ballat in Praise of Our Lady" and this name does describe the poem. The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST) defines a 'ballat' as a ballad or song, originally accompanying a dance. Many of the early Scottish poems are of this kind and can be sung or danced to. The word "ballat" is frequently used; for example, Dunbar has "Ane Ballat of Our Lady"[2] and describes himself in another poem as "yone Ballet maker."[3] A comic narrative poem attributed to Dunbar is "The Ballad of Kynd Kittok."[4] Bannatyne calls many of the poems in his great collection "ballatis," for example, No. 4: "Ane Ballat of the creatioun of the Warld," and "Followis Ballatis of the Nativitie of Chryste."

On the other hand "Clostir of Christ" is a ballade in a more technical sense, that is, it is a poem consisting of one or more triplets of seven- or (later) eight-lined stanzas each ending with the same line as refrain and (usually) an added envoy.[5] "Clostir of Christ" has nine eight-lined stanzas, unlike Dunbar's "Ane Ballat of Our Lady," which has seven twelve-lined stanzas, and there are breaks in the development after the third and sixth stanzas. There are five stresses and ten syllables to each line. The poem is macaronic, the last line of each stanza consisting of a Latin antiphon. Latin antiphons were "favourite themes for Marian hymns in both Latin and English."[6] Kennedy's poem bears a strong resemblance to hymns of this

kind; it is a song of praise addressed to the Virgin Mary. The ninth stanza, however, includes the first person singular pronouns, 'I', 'me', 'my', and Kennedy's own name, which would suggest that the hymn is one for private rather than public devotion. Without this last stanza, on the other hand, the hymn is suitable for communal use, since the first person plural pronouns 'we', 'us', 'our' are used consistently throughout the first eight stanzas.

Each of Kennedy's stanzas closes with a different Latin antiphon, whereas Dunbar uses a Latin antiphon, "Ave Maria, gracia plena," as the ninth line of his twelve-line stanzas in "Ane Ballat of Our Lady."

When we consider the structure of the poem in terms of the traditional division into triplets of stanzas, we see that "Clostir of Christ" does fall loosely into three divisions. The opening three stanzas praise Mary for what she is and what she does. She is "Princess of hevyn, hell, erd, and paradyss"; she is "Protectrix till all pepill penitent"; she is "Revar of grace," and these descriptive titles form the arresting opening words of each of the three stanzas. She "babis our blak syn wib . . . balmy schouris," in the first stanza, "Prayand him . . . us to forgeif of our gret trespass" in the second, and in the third she "ourcome be Devill and wan!" This section ends with a typical rhetorical device, "For till exalt by name quha may or can?" This is the topos of inexpressibility--

one cannot do justice to the subject.

The fourth stanza fills out this concept. If all the waters were ink and all the heavens parchment and all growing things were pens to write with, they could not "discryve þy honouris in[illegible]." The remaining two stanzas of this section, however, do not continue in this vein, but rather return to the praise of Mary that was begun in the first two stanzas of the poem. Her meekness had led Christ to choose her "wame" for "his house and hant," and her "eres are ay opyn at our requesst."

The third group of stanzas again makes use of a rhetorical device, this time that of expansion. Every part of Mary's body is singled out for blessing. We see here the liking for lists and catalogues which was a feature of the Middle Ages and which finds its fullest expression in the encyclopaedic histories and commentaries. Kennedy's list moves from her head, through to her "wame þat maid us sib / To Christ." The next stanza, however, returns to the description of Mary and what she does, "saifand our sawlis," and the final stanza is a petition, in the first person singular, as already noticed, by Kennedy, "þy man!"

"Clostir of Christ" in its structure, therefore, is very close to a formal ballade. It is an Ave Maria, in many ways similar to medieval English lyrics, in which the Virgin Mary is praised for her every virtue, for every separate part of her person, for every fairness she encompasses;

Kennedy describes her as 'Rosare' (rosary). Discussing Lydgate's poetry Derek Pearsall says:

> The construction of a poem like the Ballade is quite arbitrary, like that of a litany or rosary. It is at once infinitely simple and inexhaustibly complex and stands or falls by what it alludes to rather than by what it says. It depends upon a community of knowledge . . . for there can be no profit . . . in finding Mary referred to as . . . 'auryat urne'. Yet the very outrageousness of such imagery may itself direct . . . attention to the fact that it means more than it says, and means it in . . . terms of intellectual and conceptual associations which have to be learnt.[7]

Kennedy describes Mary as "Clostir of Christ," "Riche recent flour-de-lyss," "herbar of amouris," "Nuryss to God," "modir of favouris," "Revar of grace," "ruby of reub." All these concepts would be filled out by the listener from his own experience of hearing them reiterated in the liturgy of the church services and expounded by preaching friars. Many of the churches were decorated with paintings and statues which reinforced the imagery. These descriptions of the Virgin in the poem would be familiar to the listener, and Raymond Oliver draws attention to another aspect of language that would also be familiar. He says:

> A peculiarity of medieval diction is prominence of words denoting comprehensiveness, superlative degrees, extent in space and time, vastness, finality, and the like.[8]

Words of this kind are present in "Clostir of Christ"--"be all be ordouris of hevyne honouris," "Protectrix till all pepill penitent," for example--but they do not dominate the poem. Elaboration of language and image are not matters of

prime importance, but are subservient to the homiletic intent of the poem.

In "Clostir of Christ" Kennedy speaks as both priest and person; the persona of the poem is the man himself. In the closing stanza, as we have noted, he uses his own name and addresses Mary as his "hale supple." In the main part of the poem or hymn he is one of a body of worshippers who praise Mary and pray for her intercession on their behalf. The poem shows religious reverence and devotion to the person of the Virgin Mary. Again, Raymond Oliver says: "A high style is naturally one of the requisites for religious poems of celebration,"[9] and Kennedy has certain echoes of high style in "berialę bosom," "ruby," and "hevinnis gem," but there are no sapphire firmaments, no crystal or golden streams, no enamelled flowers. If we compare this poem of Kennedy's with Dunbar's address to the Virgin, "Ane Ballat of Our Lady," we see the difference. Dunbar addresses her:

> Hale, sterne superne! Hale in eterne!
> In Godis sicht to schyne!
> Lucerne in derne for to discerne
> Be glory and grace devyne.
> Hodiern, modern, sempitern,
> Angelicall regyne.

This is much nearer to the highly mannered style of Lydgate, whose Marion poems are

> totally lacking in the tenderness, intimacy, fervour and pseudo-eroticism of the Bernardine and Franciscan traditions, and concentrate on the celebration of the mystery and splendour of the Virgin. The heaping-up of invocation, epithet, image and allusion is meant to overwhelm with excess, hardly to be comprehended.[10]

Kennedy is the successor of Lydgate and the contemporary of Dunbar, but he has grown beyond both. His poem to Mary is still exaggerated but there is the breath of life. Because the purpose of the poem, the veneration of the Virgin Mary, calls for the highest devotion, the deepest religious feelings, we might expect Mary to be shown in an elaborate setting and described in correspondingly rich language.

In the opening stanza Mary is addressed as "riche, recent, flour-de-lyss" and "herbar of amouris," but Kennedy does not further extend the flower or garden imagery. In the third stanza she is "Revar of grace" (river), but there are no descriptive adjectives. In the sixth stanza she is "ruby of reuþ" and "hevinnis gem" but again there is no elaboration of the gem imagery, and in between the ruby and the gem she is a Scottish "riche lass." In the eighth stanza she is "Rosare" without development, and it is her function as "protectrix till all pepill penitent," hearer of prayers and intercessor with her Son, that is the main concern of the poem. In lines 65 and 66 we find a deliberate approach to realism:

> Beseike þy Sone, þat for me gaf na pryce
> Of riche gold, bot þe reid blude of his hert.

The realism is also shown by language which is direct and frequently Scottish, as in "lochis" of line 25, and in Mary's being addressed as "lass" in line 41, and simply as "Mary" in line 70 by "Kennedy . . . þy man." It is the elements of devotion that emerge strongly from the poem.

Because of Mary's humility, Christ chose her womb, and as a result she is now powerful and "wib the Devill fechtis" (l. 59). She is intercessor, "Sched betwuix synnaris and Godis jugement" (l. 11). Even if all the saints scorn our prayers, says Kennedy, she listens, "byne eres are ay opyn at our requesst" (l. 44). She saves our souls from hell and "stowis us saifly in to Angellis steid" (l. 63). She intercedes with her Son (ll. 66-68), "as wele bow can!" (l. 70). It is both devotional and homiletic.

In the last stanza, his more personal one, Kennedy asks her to intercede with her Son:

> To purge me of my gret trespass and vyce,
> And clenge my saull fra lipper syne inwart;
> And grant bat of be hevin I may haif part,
> Drow by request, Mary, as wele bow can,
> Sen hale supple to Kennedy bow art,
> O mater Dei, memento mei, by man!

This is much more direct and personal than the mannered style of Lydgate. Kennedy says that Mary's womb had "maid us sib to Christ" (ll. 53-54) and throughout the poem we are drawn into a homelier, closer relationship; we are indeed "sib to Christ."

The devotion to the person of Mary which is the major theme of this poem does not appear in the other three lyrics. In them the religious ideas are different. Several themes underlying all three poems are developed in them by means of oppositions; there is contrast between age and youth, between religious observance and the pursuit of human love, between heavenly bliss and earthly delight.

Sin is associated with earthly love, and penitence is stressed as a means of avoiding the pains of hell. Kennedy's themes, it is interesting to observe, are present in poems by many of the mainly anonymous writers in the Bannatyne manuscript, as well as in those by Henryson, Kennedy's predecessor, and Dunbar, his contemporary.

Henryson wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Middle-Scots Makars knew each other's poetry; there is evidence that it was circulating in manuscript form. The Makculloch manuscript of 1477,[11] for example, contains Henryson's "The Ressoning betuix Aige and Yowth" and "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss,"[12] written on blank pages in what is predominantly a collection of Latin notes on logic. We can say with some confidence that Kennedy knew Henryson's poetry and was influenced by it. I shall speak again of "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss" in relation to Kennedy's "At matyne houre." In the case of the contemporaries, Kennedy and Dunbar, the relationship and interdependence are not so easy to define. They most certainly knew each other and each other's work, as their contributions to "The Flyting" show, but it is more difficult to decide in their case which of them might have influenced the other in individual poems. I shall mention several of Dunbar's poems in relation to Kennedy's "At matyne houre" and "Ane aigit man" and show that both men have themes and elements in common.

Kennedy develops his themes of age and youth, of heavenly and earthly bliss, and of the instability of this world's joys in his three lyrics with different emphases. In two of the lyrics the delights of the world, particularly enjoyed in youth, are considered fleeting and uncertain and are implicitly contrasted with the satisfaction experienced in old age as a result of spiritual fulfilment. In the third poem, "Ane aigit man," however, youth, love and pleasure are regretted because they have passed and left no consolation in old age.

"Leiff luif, my luif" is the least complex of the three lyrics; I shall consider it first.

PIOUS COUNSALE

I.

LEIFF luif, my luif,* no langir I it lyk, *leave love, my love,
  Altir our amowris in to observance;
Eschew þe sword of vengence, or* or stryk; *before
  Oure lust, and plesance turne we in pennance;
  Of misdeidis mend;* of kissing mak conscience. 5 *make amends
Confess our sinnis, and Sathanas oursett;
  Puneis oure flesche for oure grit offence;
Haif eye to God, and brek þe Divellis nett.

II.

Voluptuous lyfe, quhy þinkis þow so sweit,
  Knawing þe deiþe* þat no man may evaid? 10 *death
Syne persaveris in fleschelie lust and heit,
  Now sawis may þe frome þy synnis dissuaid,
  Contempning God, of nocht þat hes þe maid;
Trusting into þis brukill* lyfe and vane; *fragile, uncertain
  Repent in tyme, devoid þe of þis laid,* 15 *separate thyself
And knaw in hell þair is eternall pane! from this load

Here we see Kennedy as a priest in his clerical persona. His central purpose is to turn to repentance one who loves the "plesance" of this world. His use of "my luif" and "our amowris" implies a close association with the one addressed.[13] His theme is the uncertainty of this life and the certainty of eternal pain in hell for the unrepentant sinner. Sin is associated with sensuality. His concern is the avoidance of the "sword of vengeance" and of "eternall pane" rather than the attainment of heavenly joy. Sin and Satan are associated, as are punishment of the flesh and penance. Beliefs underlying the poem are orthodox. The image of the sword of vengeance comes from the Bible.[14] Deuteronomy 32.31: "If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold in judgement I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me." The rider of the white horse in Revelation, 9.15, also has a sword: "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword that with it he should smite the nations."

The image of Satan, the devil, is of a snarer whose net is set to catch the unwary. Psalm 141, 9-10, says: "Keep me from the snares which they have laid for me, and the gins of the workers of iniquity. Let the wicked fall into their own nets, whilst that I withal escape." The devil as the apotheosis of the wicked is the one who sets the snares. In the miracle and morality plays the devil is often concrete and highly coloured, portraying one

whose presence was felt continually. The friars in their preaching stressed the devil as the enemy to be resisted.

The uncertainty of life, which Kennedy describes as "brukill," was another theme which was very familiar to the hearer; disease and death were everpresent. Timor mortis conturbat me is used by Dunbar as the refrain in his "Lament for the Makaris,"[15] as it had been used by Lydgate before. Its origin lies in the Church Office for the Dead and would be a familiar and frequent reminder of the swiftness of the passing of life, of youth and loveliness, and of the instability of the pleasures of the senses and of earthly love. The doctrine was constantly preached that the denying of the senses and the physical punishment of the flesh were means to spiritual growth. Deathbed repentance might save the sinner from hell.

As we shall see later in considering The Passioun of Crist, Kennedy as the voice in that poem is conscious of the needs of the worshipper, and here in "Leiff luif, my luif" he shows that same kind of consideration. He includes directions for positive action by the one he wished to persuade to repentance just as in The Passioun he provides words that are to be used. Here he says: repent, confess, chastise the flesh, look to God. Get out of the way of the sword of vengeance before it strikes. Avoiding vengeance is to be achieved by changing lust, worldly joy and desire and sensuous pleasure into repentance. The

senses are associated with sin, so they must be renounced. Kissing, the token of physical love, is to be changed into the exercise of conscience. Conscience was the faculty which operated upon and judged the moral quality of one's actions and behaviour, and enabled one to choose between right and wrong. The lyric, it is seen, presents no original ideas, but it fulfils its function of exhorting the hearer to repentance with felicity of balanced phrases, half-lines and lines.

The speaker starts gently, addressing his loved one, "Leiff luif, my luif," and he moves through an increasing series of parallelisms and antitheses towards the final warning, "And knaw in hell þair is eternall pane." "Leiff luif, my luif" is balanced by "no langir I it lyk"; "amowris" contrasts with "observance"; "or" is the pivot in the third line; in the fourth "lust and plesance" turn into "pennance." The two halves of the next line balance but they have opposites in each; for misdeeds, make amends and instead of kissing exercise conscience. Line six has a division where the first part, "confess our sinnis" opposes "and Sathanas oursett." "Puneis oure flesche" balances "for oure grit offence" and "Haif eye to God" has as its corollary "and brek þe Divellis nett."

The antithetical grouping is of a different kind in the second stanza. Here the second part of each line generally complements the first part and the antithesis is

between alternate lines. "Voluptuous lyfe" of the ninth line is contrasted with "deibe" which is the central and controlling concept in the tenth line; "fleschelie lust and heit" (l. 11) are equated with the "synnis" and contrasted with the "sawis" (l. 12); "Contempning God" is balanced against "Trusting into bis brukill lyfe." "Repent in tyme, devoid be of bis laid" is followed by the final line, "And knaw in hell bair is eternall pane," which is both the consequence of ignoring the advice of line fifteen and also the reason for repenting. The structure of the poem, by clearly showing the opposition between good and bad moral choices and their results, has supported the themes of the poem.

Now two similar poems of Kenhedy's will be considered together, and I give the texts:

THE PRAISE OF AIGE

I.

At matyne houre, in middis of be nicht,
  Walknit* of sleip, I saw besyd me sone *wakened
Ane aigit man, semit sextie yeiris of sicht,
  bis sentence sett, and sang it in gud tone:
  "Omnipotent and eterne God in throne!
To be content and lufe be I haif causs
  bat my licht yowb-heid is ourpassit and done:
Honor wib aige to every vertew drawis."

II.

Grene yowb! to aige bow mon obey and bow,
  by foly lustis lestis skant ane May;
bat ban wes witt, is naturall foly now,
  As warldly honor, riches, or fresche array.
  Deffy be devill, dreid God and domisday.

For all sall be accusit, as þow knawis;
  Blissit be God, my yuthheid is away:
Honor with aige to every vertew drawis.

III.

O bitter yowth, þat semis so delicious!
  O swetest aige, þat sumtyme semit soure!
O rekless yowth, hie, hait, and vicious!
  O halie aige, fullfillit with honoure!
  O frawart* yowthe, fruitless and fedand flour,
Contrair to conscience, laith to God and lawis,
  Off all vane gloir the lamp and the mirrour!
Honor with aige to every vertew drawis.

*cf. 'fromward', turned away from the right direction.

IV.

Þis warld is sett for to dissaive wss evin,
  Pryde is þe nett, and covetece is þe trane;
For na reward, except þe joy of hevin,
  Wald I be yung into þis warld agane.
  Þe schip of faiþ tempestous wind and rane
Dryvis in þe see of Lollerdry þat blawis;
  My yowþ is gane, and I am glaid and fane:
Honor wiþ aige to every vertew drawis.

V.

Law, luve, and lawtie, gravin law þay ly;
  Dissimvlance hes borrowit conscience clayis;
Aithis, writt, walx, nor seilis ar nocht set by;
  Flattery is fosterit baith with freindis and fayis.
  Þe sone, to bruike it þat his fader hais,
Wald se him deid; Saþanas sic seid sawis.
  Youþheid, adew, ane of my mortall fais:
Honour wiþ aige to every vertew drawis.

Finis. Q.* Kennedy. *quod

ANE AIGIT MANIS INVECTIVE AGAINST MOUÞ-ÞANKLESS

I.

Ane aigit man, twyss fourty yeiris,
  Eftir þe haly dayis of Yule,
I hard him say, amangis þe Freiris
  Of Ordour Gray, makand grit dule,*
  Rycht as he wer a furiuss* fule,
Oft syiss he sicht, and said, Allace!
  Be Chryst, my cair ma nevir cule,
Þat evir I schervit Mowþ-þankless!

*sorrow
*mad
*went whoring

II.

Throch ignorance and foly youth
My preterit tyme I wald nevir spair,
Plesans to put in to that mowth
Quhill* Eild said, Fule, latt be thy fair:
And now my heid is quhyt and hair,*
For feding of that fowmart* face,
Quhairfoir I murn bayth laitt and air,
That evir I schervit Mowth-thankless.

*until
*hoary
*the polecat

III.

Gold and silver that I micht gett,
Brochis, beisandis,* robbis and ringis,
Frely to gife I wald nocht lett,
To pleiss tha mullis* attour all thingis.
Rycht as the swan for sorrow singis
Befoir hir deid ane littell space,
Rycht so do I, and my handis wringis,
That evir I schervit Mowth-thankless.

*religious tokens
*girls

IV.

Bettir it war ane man to serf,
With wirchep and honour undir a scheild,
Nor* hir to pleiss, thocht thow suld sterf,**
That will nocht luke on the in eild.
Fra that thow haif no hair to heild
Thy heid fra harmyng that it hess,
Quhen pen and purss and all is peild,*
Tak thair a meiss of Mowth-thankless.

*than **die

*stripped away

V.

And in example it may be sene,
The grund of trewth quha vndirstude,
Fra in thy bag thow beir thyne ene,
Thow gettis no grace, bott for thy gud,
At Venus closet, for to conclude;
Call ye nocht thiss ane kankert* caiss?
Now God help, and the Haly Rude,
And keip all men fra Mowth-thankless.

*cross-grained, bad

VI.

O brukill* youth, in tyme behald,
And in thyne hairt thir wirdis graif,
Or* thy complexioun** gadder cald,

*fragile, fickle
*before

**here, the body, consisting of qualities, hot or cold, dry or moist

Amend þy miss,* þy self to saif, *misdeeds
Þe hevynis bliss gif þow wilt haif,
And of þy gilt remit and grace.
All þis I hard ane auld man raif,
Eftir þe Yule, of Mowþ-þankless.

[Finis] quod Kennedy.

These two lyrics of Kennedy's both introduce an old man whom the poet overhears. Here we have two devices which are frequently used in Middle-Scots poetry and which are often interlinked: one device is the employment of an old man who speaks or sings; the other is the poet's overhearing something of importance, some 'sentence', which he then reports in his poem, and sometimes comments on.

The use of an old man as the speaker within a poem and of old age as a theme is common in the poetry of Scotland at this time. Wittig comments:

> The most truly lyrical poems are not concerned with youth but, much less conventionally, with old age.[16]

I have already mentioned Henryson's poem "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss." In this work the poet hears an old and "decrepit" man singing, and "Gay wes the noit, suet wes the voce and cleyr." The old man would not wish to be young again. The raging of the blood puts a youth in peril and a man can be stable only when aged. No one can trust this wretched world which is false and full of variance. His refrain is "The moyr of age and nerav hevynnis blyss." Dunbar also uses the voice of an old man in "How Dumbar wes Desyrd to be a Freir,"[17] where St. Francis appears to

him in the night, or so, Dunbar says, "me thocht."

The device of overhearing is used with variations. It is not always an old man who is heard. In "Of Deming"[18] Dunbar is musing alone at night in a garden under a tree, when he hears a voice on high that says, "May na man now undemit be."

In "The Merle and The Nychtingaill"[19] Dunbar in a garden at dawn in May hears a blackbird (merle) sing "hir sentens sueit and delectable." Her "sentens" is that "A lusty lyfe in luves service bene." A nightingale replies. "This wes hir song, and of a sentens trew, / All love is lost bot upone God allone." The birds debate the values of earthly and heavenly devotion and love.

In "The Tretis of The Tua Mariit Wemen and The Wedo,"[20] Dunbar uses the device of overhearing in a garden with ironic effect. He goes out alone on Midsummer's Eve, just after midnight into a gay garden and there he hears "Ane hie speiche, at my hand, with hautand wourdis." He hides himself in the hedge and sees three ladies sitting in a green arbour all bedecked with flowers. The scene is set for a magical adventure. These ladies, who are drinking amid their beautiful surroundings, are, however, no fairies but very earthy women who discuss their present and past husbands (one is a widow) and their sexual relationships in exceedingly plain terms.

Not all Dunbar's poems of overhearing are set in a garden. In "The Dream"[21] Dunbar is lying in his bedchamber half-sleeping when he is visited by what "seimes to me ane guidlie companie." The company, which is dancing and singing, consists of allegorical figures such as Distress, Heaviness, Langour, Nobilnes, Confort, Pleasance, Witt and others, who discuss among themselves the poet's condition. At the end of the poem they give him advice; then "as a fary" they shoot a gun and depart and "I anon," says Dunbar, "did walkin with the crak."

What is overheard in all of these poems concerns love, both earthly and spiritual, the instability and uncertainty of this world and the contrast between age and youth. In many of the poems there are subtle interactions between these themes.

Poems of this kind that I have been discussing spring ultimately from the Dream Allegory tradition which originated in the twelfth-century Roman de la Rose. The beautiful garden is a frequent setting in these poems. The old man bears a relationship to the counsellor, the voice of Reason, who advises the younger man, and also to Lady Philosophy who comforts Boethius in his Consolation of Philosophy. The older one giving advice to the younger was a theme on which many variations could be played and the Dream Allegory was a favourite form. Priscilla Bawcutt discussing its continued popularity in Scotland at the end

of the fifteenth century comments:

> The dream allegory, like the novel to-day, could be put to many and varied uses. It might be long or short; erotic or religious; a means of paying a courtly compliment or delivering a sermon. Above all, it was a vehicle for psychological exploration and the discussion of ideas.[22]

We have seen how Henryson and Dunbar used this tradition, each weaving his own variations on the theme.

Kennedy's two old men can be considered against this background. One "aigit man" is seen and heard "At matyne houre, in middis of be nicht." The poet wakes from sleep at the time for saying matins, the first religious office before daybreak, and he sees "Ane aigit man, semit sextie yeiris of sicht" who sang his "sentence . . . in gud tone." The old man is praising God that he can be content because his youth has passed; he has left behind his "licht yowpheid." His refrain is "Honor wip aige to every vertew drawis." Kennedy's other man who is "twyss fourty yeiris" is also seen and heard in a religious context, among the "Freiris / Of Ordour Gray." He, however, is not singing a hymn of praise "in gud tone" because his youth has passed; he is "makand grit dule / Rycht as he wer a furiuss fule." The first man feels that age brings honour; youth has been left behind with all its follies. There was an expected kind of behaviour that went with youth, seeking after worldly honour, riches or bright clothing. Youth seems "Delicious"; it is "hie, hait and vicious"; it is "frawart," that is obstinate; it is a fading flower and both the lamp

and mirror of vainglory. The mirror in contemporary works stood for that which presented an image for examination, a true picture of the object it reflected.[23] The lamp is related to the mirror in that it gives an example to be witnessed. DOST[24] shows Kennedy as providing the first use of the word "lamp" in its "sense of a shining or supreme example, a paragon of the class of quality specified." He uses "lamp" in this sense here and also in "The Flyting," where he calls Dunbar "Lamp Lollardorum." The second old man's attitude is different; I will return to him later.

As the first poem, "At matyne houre," proceeds, we see that it does more than present a contrast between the wildness of youth and the virtues of old age. The old man in the beginning sings his refrain "Honor wib aige to every vertew drawis," but as the poem develops it becomes clear that the voice that repeats the refrain is Kennedy's. The person of the old man and the persona of Kennedy have blended. Kennedy is disturbed not so much by youth as by faith. The ship of faith is being blown about tempestuously by wind and rain in the sea of "Lollerdry." The idea of the ship representing the state goes back to Quintilian who comments on an ode by Horace, "by ship he intends the state, by waves and winds the civil wars."[25] Kennedy's ship is the ship of faith but the wind and the rain that blow upon her resemble the kind of troubles that accompany

civil wars. Kennedy's sea is the sea of "Lollerdry."

Lollerdry or lollardy is associated with the tenets of belief held by followers of John Wyclif in the fourteenth century in England, and the word continued in use to refer to various forms of heresy--or, from another point of view, reform. In 1494 thirty men and women, some of them people of rank, were brought before James IV on various charges which involved criticisms of the doctrines of the Church. They were known as the "Lollards of Kyle."[26] Kyle, one of the three ancient divisions of Ayrshire, was next to Carrick, the southernmost division, and it is not likely that the reform movement within the church, which eventually led to the Reformation in Scotland during the next century, would be confined to Kyle.

As Henryson does in his poem "Nerar Heyynnis Blyss," Kennedy associates "covetece" with instability, and in the closing stanza law, love and loyalty are brought low. Kennedy seems to group the breakdown of values with the breakdown of faith that he sees in "Lollerdry." People do not set any value on promises; dissimulation and flattery have taken over; a son would even wish his father dead in order to enjoy "bat his fader hais." Kennedy sees this world as a place of deceit and instability. Dunbar's poem "None May Assure in This Warld"[27] is on the same topic of uncertainty in this life, although Dunbar's viewpoint is that of one who has not received from his sovereign the

honours and promotion which he has deserved. There is a similarity of theme in that oaths and promises are not valued. Dunbar's "Of Deming," contains a line which is a parallel to one in Kennedy's "At matyne houre." Dunbar hears a voice that says on high: "May na man now undemit be." Kennedy says: "For all sall be accusit, as þow knawis (l. 14). All stand under judgement, and should fear God.

"At matyne houre" may be compared with Henryson's poem "Nerar Hevynnis Blyss," where old age is directly contrasted with youth and where "the moyr of age the nerar hevynnis blyss." Kennedy's is a more complex poem; for him "Honor with aige to every vertew drawis" and he says "My yowþ is gane, and I am glaid and fane" but it is because he no longer has to wrestle with the problems of the breakdown of values such as "law, luve and lawtie," which breakdown he sees as accompanying the weakening of faith, and as the work of Satan. It is not because of the passing of the more conventional elements attributed to "yowþheid" in the first part of the poem that he is "glaid and fane." "For na reward, except þe joy of hevin, / Wald I be yung into þis warld agane."

Kennedy's first "aigit man" was overheard singing his song of praise "at matyne houre"; the other man, in "Ane aigit man,"[28] who is even older, as he is "twyss fourty yeiris," is also heard in a religious context, as he is among the Gray Friars. Now the Gray Friars held an

important position in Scotland at the time. James IV supported the Franciscan friars, the Gray Friars, and had a house built for them near his royal palace at Stirling. He appropriated for their support the endowment of the rich Priory of Coldingham.[29] They also had a house in Edinburgh and in other burghs, and Kennedy must have been familiar with at least one of their houses. In the poem Kennedy hears an old man singing among the Gray Friars. The old man says he is singing "Rycht as þe swan for sorrow singis / Befoir hir deid ane littell space / Rycht so do I" but he is not singing a song of praise; his song is a lament for the way he has spent his time trying to please the girls above all else. His regret is "þat evir I schervit Mowþ-þankless."

This second old man makes a comparison between youth and age, but not as the first man did, nor in the traditional way we might have expected, by saying that the period of youth is wild while old age is honorable or virtuous or a time of contentment. All he has got in old age is white hair. Although he is "amangis þe Freiris / Of Ordour Gray," and we, therefore, assume he is himself one of them, his regret is not so much that he pleased girls instead of God as it is regret that she whom he has served will not look on him in his old age. He would have been better to have served a man "wiþ wirchep and honour undir a scheild, / Nor hir to pleiss" (ll. 26-27). He does not think that he would have been better to have served God but to have

served in the following of an earthly lord.

We begin to see irony here. The irony deepens as we look more closely. This is an old man of eighty who is speaking after the Christmas holidays, which were a time of prolonged festivity, from 6th December to 6th January. R.L. Mackie gives a picture of Christmas at James IV's court[30] "when the great lords were summoned to the Kingis Yole," and when "singers, fiddlers, harpers, tumblers, and dancers flocked to the palace" to entertain them. Everyone in the King's circle was included. The clerks of the Chapel Royal sang carols on Christmas morning to waken the King, who then attended High Mass accompanied by all his court. As we have seen, James IV founded a house for Gray Friars at Stirling and they were closely connected with his court; it is unlikely that the friars would not be participants in the Christmas celebrations. This old man in Kennedy's poem has had a surfeit of Yuletide festivities. Added to this surfeit is the tendency to exaggerate one's former sins in moments of repentance in order to make the repentance more intense and effective.

Kennedy says the aged man was "makand grit dule / Rycht as he wer a furiuss fule," and he closes the poem with the comment: "All bis I hard ane auld man raif / Eftir þe Yule, of Mowb-bankless," leaving us with the old man's ravings echoing in our minds. In this case the persona of the poem remains quite separate from the mad old man who

raves, until at the conclusion when he comments. The old man rues the fact that he has spent his time trying to please a girl, giving brooches, robes and rings freely, and has even given religious tokens, and now that he is old and white-haired, she will not look at him. The fourth stanza closes with the ironic exclamation:

> Quhen pen and purss and all is peild,
> Tak þair a meiss of Mowþ-þankless.

When we hear his little sermon of admonition in the closing stanza which is exhorting "brukill yowþ" to

> Amend þy miss, þy self to saif,
> Þe hevynis bliss gif þow wilt haif,
> And of þy gilt remit and grace,

we cannot take him very seriously as an example, and like Kennedy we see him behaving like a "furiuss fule," that is, like a madman who raves.

The tone of this poem is different from that of the previous one. In "At matyne houre" the poet voices the uneasiness he feels about the state of the world and of the Church. As I have pointed out, the Christian faith and the Church as its embodiment in the world permeated the whole of society, so that unrest in one sphere corresponded with a breakdown of values and of order in the other. We feel sympathy for the one who is sensitive to the state of the Church and of the world.

In the second poem the old man is not presented wholly sympathetically. He is repenting of the sins of his youth, but for very self-centred reasons. As the chorus in

T.S. Eliot's Murder in the Cathedral comments, it is the highest treason to do the right thing for the wrong reason. Repentance is good, but the old man of eighty seems to be repenting because the girl he had tried to please with all his gifts would not look at him when he was old, and he feels that he has wasted his time.

Kennedy sets the tone before he allows us to hear the old man speak by commenting that the man was making a great sorrowful noise as though he were a madman, and at the end of the poem Kennedy again comments that the man was raving. Our sympathy for the old man is undercut by the use of the terms "furiuss fule" and "raif." He is, nevertheless, repenting in his way and regretting his wasted youth. He is lonely in that she on whom he has bestowed his gifts will not look on him now, but he is not alone, because he is among the Friars of Order Gray. This is a more psychological analysis of the type of the old man than we have seen in the other poems that I have discussed.

The three lyrics have certain themes in common, although these themes are treated differently. All four lyrics are religious; the first is a devotional praise of the Virgin Mary; the other three present variations on the themes of old age and youth, of love, earthly and divine, and of the instability of this world. All four are composed in stanzas of eight lines with the rhyme scheme a b a b b c b c and have five main stresses to the line,

except for "Ane aigit man," which has four. Internal rhyme is little used in the lyrics. "At matyne houre" has "My yowb is gane, and I am glaid and fane" (l. 31). In "Ane aigit man" there is

> Eftir be haly days of Yule,
> I hard him say, amangis be Freiris
> Of Ordour Gray, makand grit dule
> (ll. 2-4)

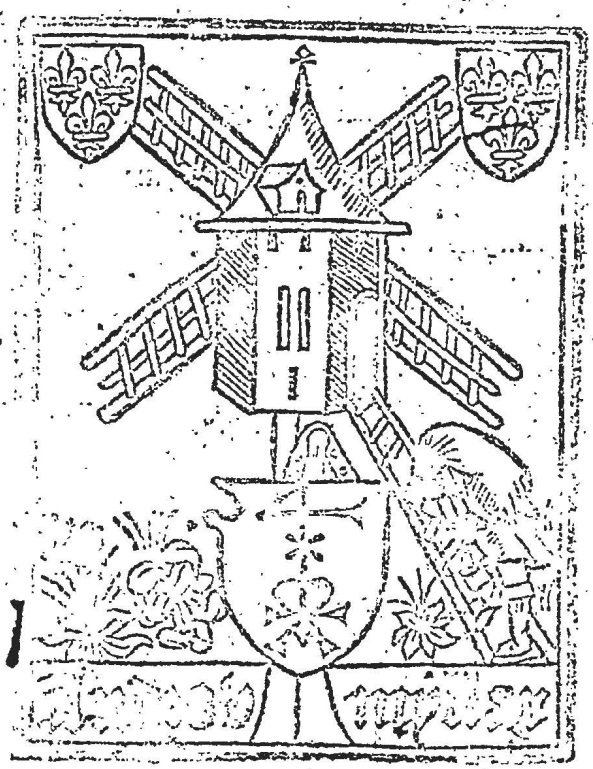
and again:

> Amend by miss, by self to saif,
> De hevynis bliss gif bow wilt haif.

We will see that this type of internal rhyme is used in both "The Flyting" and The Passioun of Crist to give the verse variety and embellishment.

I will turn now to consider the work which Kennedy shares with Dunbar, his fellow poet. "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie"[31] is a poem which was printed in the lifetime of the poets. It was one of the first works to be printed in Scotland, in 1508, after the setting up of the printing press by Chepman and Myllar. This is a poem of a very different kind from the lyrics that we have been considering; it is a scolding contest with two participants.

Disputations in verse were not uncommon before this time; a well known example in English is "The Owl and the Nightingale" of c. 1200. "It is essentially a flyting match in which two birds are the antagonists."[32] The tradition is an ancient one going back to Greek comedy and its altercations, and students of folklore will know of such types



Apon thy cors vengeance vengeance thay cry
Thou art the cause thay may not rest nor ly
Thou sais for thame few psalteris psalmis or creo
Bot geris me tell thair trentalis of mysdedis
And thair ald sin wyth new schame certify
Insensuate sow cesse false Eustate air
And knaw kene scald I hald of alathya
And cause me not the cause lang to declare
Ost thy curst kyn deulber and his Allya
Cum to the croce on kneis and mak acrya
Confesse thy crime hald kenydy the king
And wyth ane hauthorne scurge thy self ād dyng
Thus dree thy penaunce wyth deliquisti quia
Pas to my commissare and be cōfest
Cour before him on kneis ⁊ cum in will
And syne ger Stobo for thy lyf protest
Renounce thy rymis bath dan and burn thy bull
Heve to the heuyn thy handis and hald the still
Do thou not thus bogane thou salbe brynt
Wyth pik fire ter gun yulder or synt
On Arthuris sete or on ane hyar hyll
I peramballt of pernass the montayn
Enspirit wyth Mercury fra his goldyn spere
And dulcely drank of eloquence the fontayne
Onhen it was purifit wyth frost and slowit clere
And thou come fule in marche or feb[illegible]
Thare till a yule and drank the [illegible]
That gerris the ryme in [illegible] thy [illegible] glob
And b'aberis that noyis [illegible] eris to here
Thou lufis nane irische [illegible]
[illegible]
It was thy gud langage [illegible]

Reproduction from the Chepman and Myllar print of 1508, showing Myllar's sign and part of "The Flyting."

From The Chepman and Myllar Prints, a facsimile with a Bibliographical Note by William Beattie, Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 1950.

of scoldings in oral tradition. The Gaelic bards were known for this genre, with abuse added to the element of disputation.

> Holland's "Howlat" [owl] suggests that he was conscious of the Celtic origin of flyting, for the rook, as a bard speaking a mixture of Scots and Erse and quoting Irish kings, produces a fine bit of flyting and threatens to "rhyme" them if he does not get his food and drink.[33]

An argument or debate takes place in Dunbar's "The Merle and the Nychtingaill," which has already been mentioned in connection with Kennedy's lyrics. In this poem the discussion is a serious one on the merits of different kinds of love, earthly and divine.

"The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" is the first example in Scottish literature of such a developed debate or contest where each of the poets tries to outdo the other in derogatory terms, demonstrating the range of language and points he has at his disposal and the facility he has in handling rhyme and alliteration. Dunbar represents the lowlander and defends his language and the historical integrity of his family while abusing Kennedy, who retaliates from the point of view of the highlander.

The poem has been described in various ways by several editors and commentators. Tom Scott,[34] a recent writer on Dunbar, takes the view that it is disgusting, that its aim is purely destructive, and that it reflects a court that must have been degenerate to countenance such language. Some of the language, it is true, is extremely coarse, but

this is to some extent neutralized by the artistry of its use. As for the allegation that its values are "execrable,"[35] in our own day we have seen examples of "roasting" when mock abusive attacks are made on notable figures in public life. Such attacks are not taken as indications of hatred. Delight in argument is widespread although it sometimes goes beyond the bounds of acceptable behaviour. This type of scolding is not modern and seems to have been common in the fifteenth century. R.L. Mackie writes of the situation:

> The fifteenth-century Scot . . . 'was born to dissension as the sparks fly upwards'. In Edinburgh the perpetual 'cryis of carlingis and debaittis' . . . moved the Burgh Council to declare that anyone convicted of 'flyting and scaldrie' should be made to stand at the Mercat Cross till four in the afternoon.[36]

Another commentator, Laing, did not consider that "The Flyting" was a vituperative dispute between two enemies, but rather a particular type of literary dispute where the opponents are taking formal positions and have their seconds as in a duel. In support of the two poets' not being enemies, Laing states that Dunbar in "The Lament for the Makars" refers to Kennedy as 'Guid Maister Walter Kennedy', the word 'guid' being an indication of Dunbar's liking for and appreciation of Kennedy. Times and fashions change, and even today in an age of great licence the language in "The Flyting" does go beyond the range of normal literary usage, but the poem should not be thought of as an accumulation of personal abuse, but rather as a formal contest

between matched opponents.

It has been shown by several writers and historians that King James IV was interested in languages, could speak several, and must therefore have had an interest in words. He was also keenly interested in tournaments. We know of formal tournaments arranged as entertainment at the time of his marriage with Princess Margaret of England. "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" is a tournament of a kind.

The poem appears to have been written over a period of time in the form of correspondence between the two poets, and each poet had his second, or commissar as he is called in the poem (l. 34), as in a formal tournament. The separate parts of the poem were probably sent to the seconds for reading aloud. Dunbar opens the poem by addressing "Schir Johine the Ros," his second, by whom his challenge is proclaimed. The King is personally addressed later in the poem as "Hye Souverane Lorde" (l. 481), and all commentators are agreed that the reading would have been done before the King and his court as an entertainment. Kennedy's assertion that he was of the King's blood and was expecting reward (ll. 417 ff.) would have considerable point when made in the King's presence.

Another factor which supports the argument for its being an entertainment rather than the expression of personal hatred is its position in the Bannatyne manuscript. Context is important in considering the separate items in

that collection. Too often the Bannatyne manuscript has been regarded as a well from which to draw or a treasure chest from which to pull out individual packages. Bannatyne had a scheme in mind which he maintained consistently and he carefully organized his material into five parts. "The Flyting" comes in the third part "contenand Balletis mirry and vthir Salacius consaittis," so we can infer from this that Bannatyne saw it as a light-hearted, "mirry" conceit.

Kennedy and his commissar, Quinting (l. 2) or Quintene (l. 34),[37] had evidently compiled a poem, not now extant, in which they had rated and ranked themselves very highly. This is referred to at the beginning of "The Flyting" by Dunbar, who says:

> . . . , ane thing thair is compild
> In generale be Kennedy and Quinting,
> Quhilk hes thame self aboif the sternis styld.

Dunbar sees this compilation as a challenge to his excellence as a poet, and he rises to his defence. Obviously there was a spirit of rivalry among the poets at the court, and Kennedy and Quintene had claimed they were the best. Their boast had been "in generale." Dunbar says that if they had had any thought of malice in special, "Hell sould nocht hyd thair harnis fra harmis hynting." Dunbar takes up the challenge, but it was Kennedy, along with Quintene, who had issued it, and may, therefore, be given credit as the originator of "The Flyting."

The poem opens with Dunbar's taking up the challenge which was flaunted by Kennedy and Quintene when they styled themselves "aboif the sternis" and responding to them in three stanzas; Kennedy replies in the next three. Dunbar then fills out his arguments and accusations in twenty-five stanzas (ll. 49-248) and Kennedy finally replies in thirty-eight stanzas (ll. 249-552).

In the opening section, where he takes up the challenge, Dunbar exaggerates his wrath and tells what would happen if Kennedy had had thoughts of menacing him:

> The erd sould trymbill, the firmament sould schaik,
> And all the air in vennaum suddane stink,
> And all the divillis of hell for redour quaik,
> To heir quhat I sould wryt with pen and ynk;
> For and I flyt, sum sege for schame sould sink
> The se sould birn, the mone sould thoill ecclippis,
> Rochis sould ryfe, the warld sould hald no grippis,
> Sa loud of cair the commoun bell sould clynk.
> (ll. 9-16)

Earth, air, sea, hell and heaven would react, and "the commoun bell would clynk." But he goes on:

> Bot wondir laith wer I to be ane baird,
> Flyting to use richt gritly I eschame;

The Gaelic bards had a reputation for flyting; Dunbar is associating Kennedy with them; he wants none of it.

Kennedy then replies to Dunbar in the next three stanzas. He says, "Dirtin Dumbar, quhome on blawis thow thy boist?" and we have a picture of the tournament with the trumpeter blowing out the call to combat. He asks why Dunbar is claiming to "Wryte sic skaldit skrowis." It is scalding, or libellous, scrolls that they hurl at each

other throughout the poem, and Kennedy applies derogatory names with great variety in his opening three stanzas. He threatens Dunbar "thow sall squeill and skirle" (l. 39). The contest is then put on a legal footing:

> Heir I put sylence to the in all pairtis,
> Obey and ceis the play that thow pretendis;
> (ll. 41-42)

"Silence in all parts" belongs to the opening formula in a law court, where the plea would be presented.

> Se sone thow mak my commissar amendis, (l. 44)
> . . . . . .
> Or thow sall ban the tyme that thow wes borne, (l. 47)

and he ends grandly:

> For Kennedy to the this cedull sendis. (l. 48)

With the sending of the schedule the formalities are completed and the contest can really begin.

Dunbar opens his main section by addressing Kennedy as "Iersch brybour baird"--a Gaelic robber bard and painting his rival's picture for him. Kennedy is "mismaid monstour" (l. 53), "dagone" (l. 66), "poysonit pelor" (l. 70). In line 99 he is "gluntow,"[38] a term which seems to have been one of the standard jibes at the highland man with his bare knees. Kennedy is caricatured throughout the poem in this fashion. He is "wan wisaged widdefow" (l. 101), "Thow Lazarus, thow laithly lene tramort" (l. 161), he has a "gryslie peteous port" (l. 163),

> For hiddowis, haw, and holkit is thyne ee;
> Thy cheik bane bair, and blaiknit is thy ble;
> Thy choip, thy choll, garris men for to leif chest;

Thy gane it garris us think that we mon de:
I conjure the, thow hungert heland gaist.

The larbar lukis of thy lang lene craig,
Thy pure pynit thrott, peilit and owt of ply,
Thy skolderit skin, hewd lyk ane saffronsabag,
Garris men dispyt thar flesche, thow Spreit of Gy:
(ll. 164-172)

Kennedy is pictured in his home country and the details sound like first-hand ones. Dunbar had probably visited Kennedy in Carrick.

Thow lay full prydles in the peis this somer,
And fane at evin for to bring hame a single,
Syne rubbit at ane uthir auld wyvis ingle;
Bot now, in winter, for purteth thow art traikit;
Thow hes na breik to latt thy ballokis gyngill;
Beg the ane club, for, baird, thow sall go naikit.
(ll. 115-120)

He calls him "Ersch Katherene," Gaelic cateran or robber.

Ersch Katherene, with thy polk breik and rilling,
Thow and thy quene, as gredy gleddis, ye gang
With polkis to mylne, and beggis baith meill and schilling;
Thair is bot lys and lang nailis yow amang:
(ll. 145-148)

The piling up of vituperative accusations goes on through many stanzas. We see Kennedy coming up to Edinburgh:

Thow bringis the Carrik clay to Edinburgh Cors
Upoun thy botingis, hobland, hard as horne;
Stra wispis hingis owt, quhair that the wattis ar worne:
(ll. 211-213)

The straw wisps are usually taken to be a sign of his poverty and wildness of dress. However, Robert Cromie, the modern editor of the 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue[39] has an interesting comment in his introduction. Cromie says:

> "Affidavit men" were, quite simply, men willing to swear to anything, truthful or not, for a fee. They were to be found hanging about Westminster Hall or other courts of justice and could be recognised by straws stuck in the heels of their shoes, although this identification signal, set down by Grose in 1785, was not picked up in the 1811 version of his work.

Does this custom go back nearly three hundred years before Grose's first, 1785, edition? Is Dunbar accusing Kennedy of being an "affidavit man"?

> Off Edinburch the boyis as beis owt thrawis,
> And cryis owt ay, "Heir cumis our awin queir Clerk!"
> (ll. 217-218)

We are given a highly coloured picture of Kennedy being chased by all the dogs down the street and the horses casting their loads of coal and fish at the sight of him, amid general confusion. Dunbar rounds off this part with a stanza which is a great climax of scurrilous terms.

In this section as well as attacking Kennedy's appearance and his way of life, Dunbar accuses him of treason.

> Thow purpest for to undo our Lordis cheif,
> In Paislay, with ane poysone that wes fell.
> (ll. 77-78)

I have discussed this reference in the first chapter. Historians have not been able to discover with certainty an incident to which Dunbar may be referring. Poysone at this time meant treason.

When Kennedy takes up Dunbar's challenge, he says:

> Put I nocht sylence to the, schiphird knaif,
> And thow of new begynis to ryme and raif...
> (ll. 254-255)

Rhyming and raving are associated here and are both derogatory. Kennedy defends himself against the accusation of poverty and begging and declares:

> Quhare as thou said that I stall hennis and lammys,
> I latt the witt, I have land, store and stakkis.
> (ll. 361-362)

From what we know of the Kennedys this is probably true. He then turns the allegations of treachery and treason upon Dunbar for the misdeeds of his forebears, and says he should be hanged.

> Cum hame, and hyng on oure gallowis of Aire,
> To erd the under it I sall purchas grace.
> (ll. 371-372)

In his own defence Kennedy goes on:

> I am the kingis blude, his trew speciall clerk,
> That nevir yit ymaginit hym offense,
> Constant in myn allegeance, word and werk,
> Onely dependand on his excellence;
> Traistand to have of his magnificence
> Guerdoun, reward, and benefice bedene.
> (ll. 417-422)

Dunbar had called Kennedy "Ersch Katherene" and Kennedy, playing on the word, accuses Dunbar, when sailing in the ship Katrine (l. 449), of fouling it up. In scatological language he delineates the picture of Dunbar's filth in the cabin and in the ship. Kennedy now paints Dunbar's portrait; Dunbar is "evil schryvin, wan-thryvin" (l. 493), "a crabbit, scabbit, evill facit messan tyke" (l. 495). Kennedy relates Dunbar to such figures as Pilate, Judas, Machomete, Gog and Magog, Nero, Belzebub and many traitors in the remaining stanzas. He calls Dunbar "Lollard

laureate" (l. 524) and "Lamp Lollardorum" (l. 548), and rounds off the poem with a packed stanza answering Dunbar's final one.

So far we have looked at accusations concerning personal appearance, way of life, actions, and treachery in the other's family. Another very interesting aspect of the contest has been introduced by Dunbar in his main long section. He says to Kennedy:

> Thow callis the rethory with thy goldin lippis;
> Na, glowrand, gaipand fule, thow art begyld,
> Thow art bot gluntow with thy giltin hippis, (ll. 97-99)
> . . . . . .
> Forworthin fule, of all the warld reffuse,
> Quhat ferly is thocht thow rejoys to flyte?
> Sic eloquence as thay in Erschry use,
> In sic is sett thy thraward appetyte;
> Thow hes full littill feill of fair indyte:
> I tak on me ane pair of Lowthiane hippis
> Sall fairar Inglis mak, and mair parfyte,
> Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrik lippis.
> (ll. 105-112)

The challenge is now concerned with rhetoric, poetry, language and pronunciation. Kennedy replies:

> I perambalit of Pernaso the montayn,
> Enspirit wyth Mercury fra his goldyn spere;
> And dulcely drank of eloquence the fontayne,
> Quhen it was purifit wyth frost, and flowit cleir,
> (ll. 336-340)

and later he says scornfully to Dunbar, "Rymis thou of me of Rethory the Rose" (l. 500). On the subject of language Kennedy says:

> Thow lufis nane Irische, elf, I understand,
> Bot it suld be all trew Scottis memis lede;
> It was the gud langage of this land.
> (ll. 345-347)

Here in this poem is the beginning of an argument about the true language of Scotland that has not ended yet after nearly five hundred years!

In "The Flyting" we find a great range of style and language. There is aureate diction; there are dialect terms and slang; there are Gaelic words, Latin tags and Scots legal terms. High, middle and low styles are employed. In the lines quoted above, "I perambalit of Pernaso the montayn . . . ." Kennedy claims eloquence, and this meant the art of speaking or writing with fluency, force and appropriateness so as to appeal to the reason or move the feelings. Eloquence involved "decorum," the appropriate use of language for various occasions. We note his use of words like "perambalit," "enspirit," "dulcely," "purifit." The four lines which follow show his mastery of style:

> And thou come, Fule! in Marche or Februere,
> Thair till a pule, and drank the padok rod,
> That gerris the ryme in to thy termis glod,
> And blaberis that noyis mennis eris to here.
> (ll. 341-344)

He has changed his style completely and instead of words with Latin etymologies he uses the vernacular. Kennedy drinks from a "fontayne," Dunbar from a "pule," and what comes from the pool is not eloquence but "padok rod," frog spawn, so that Dunbar rhymes with heavy, dull language and he blabbers annoyingly. We enjoy the comic contrast.

Kennedy makes mocking use of words of Latin origin in a kind of parody of aureate diction in this stanza:

Conspiratour, cursit, cocatrice, hell caa,
Turk, trumpour, traitour, tyran intemperate;
Thow irefull attircop, Pirate apostata,
Judas, jow, juglour, Lollard laureate;
Sarazene, symonyte provit, Pagane pronunciate,
Machomete, manasuorne, bugrist abhominabile,
Devill, dampnit dog, sodomyte insatiable,
With Gog and Magog grete glorificate.

In "The Flyting" both men make much of the ability of the other to befoul, and in referring to excretory and sexual functions they draw on a large vocabulary. However, Dunbar is more personal than Kennedy, whose main emphasis is on Dunbar's treacherous ancestors, so we do not find Kennedy using so much of this type of "low" language. Most of it is concentrated in the stanza describing Dunbar's actions in the ship "Katryne": "Thow bedrate" (l. 450), "thou coud schute" (l. 451), "thou schot, and was not sekir of thy tayle" (l. 459), "As thou was louse and redy of thy bune" (l. 467), "For thou wald cuk a cartfull at a cast" (l. 469). "Cuk" is a dialect word for excrete. "And myrit thaym wyth thy muk to the myd mast" (l. 472), "louse of the dok" (l. 484).

Dunbar uses Gaelic words as terms of abuse when he calls Kennedy "Iersch brybour baird" (l. 49) and "Ersch Katherene" (l. 145), while Kennedy uses Latin both for abuse and for embellishment. He says "Deo Mercy" (l. 31), "Dereliquisti quia" (l. 328), "caritas . . . amore Dei" (l. 383), "Tu es Dyabolus" (l. 544) and as the final words of the poem "Tertara Termagorum."

Kennedy also uses legal terms in "The Flyting." We have seen that he acted as deputy sheriff for his young

nephew in 1491-1492, and also that the clergy of his day had many duties to perform which today would be performed by laymen, and where a knowledge of legal procedure would be useful. Was it legal duties that brought Kennedy to Edinburgh Cross? Of course, it could be argued that the nature of the accusations in "The Flyting" leads to the easy introduction of terms relating to law courts and to punishment. However, Kennedy does use these words freely and with variety:

1.26 scrowis
32 rowis
33 disobeyit
34 commissar
41 I put sylence to the in all pairtis
42 obey
43 ceis the play that thow pretendis
44 mak my commissar amendis
46 in recompansing
48 this cedull
330 come in will
332 burn thy bill
369 Mount Falcoun gallowis
371 oure gallowis of Aire
376 wele sett that thou sik barat brace
424 on the rattis
443 wedsett

The diction of "The Flyting," as we have seen, is very varied, because the poem is a tour de force. Many of its words appear on record for the first time. This may be because they are coinages; it may be because they are words taken from non-literary usage and here used for the first time in a poem. "The Flyting" is the first example in Scottish literature of a poem which incorporates slang terms, dialect words and colloquialisms. First recorded instances from Kennedy's part of "The Flyting" are the following:[40]

l.523	attircop	- the first in the sense of a spiteful person.
450	bedrate	
460	beschate	
332	bill	- the first in the collocation 'to burn one's bill' as a sign of recantation.
291	bruntstane	
449	cahute	
431	clamschellis	
503	conspiration	
33	dirtfast	- only example
25	dirtin	
395	dong	- only example
395	dryte	
384	duddis	
339	dulcely	- only example
517	fasert	
517	fowmart	

1.497	glaykis	
343	glod	- only example
528	glorificate	- only example
497	gukkis	- first example in a plural form
521	hell caa	- first example in this combined form
498	imperfyte	- first example in the sense of persons deficient in accomplishment or action
321	insensuate	- only example
548	Lamp Lollardorum	- first example in the sense of a shining or supreme example
501	luschbald	- only example
421	magnificance	- first example in the sense of bounty or liberality
546	mangit	
495	messan	- first example in the sense of a term of abuse
29	mows	- first example in the sense of 'in jest'
472	muk	- first example in the sense of human excrement
378	muldis	- first example used in referring to earth as the remains of a buried corpse

In "The Flyting" Dunbar and Kennedy are not only trying to outdo each other in drawing on a wide range of language, but also in the technical aspects of their craft. Dunbar opens the contest with an eight-line stanza, which is not his most usual form. He does use it occasionally, sometimes with five stresses as in "Rewl of Anis Self" (No. 41), "Dunbar at Oxinfurde" (No. 53), "The Ballade of Lord Bernard Stewart, Lord of Aubigny" (No. 61) and "The Tabill of Confession" (No. 83); sometimes with four stresses as in

"Bewty and The Presoneir" (No. 54), and sometimes in a scheme which alternates between four and three stresses as in "Of The Ladyis Solistaris At Court" (No. 48).[41] The eight-line stanza is one that Kennedy uses in all his extant lyrics.

However, when we look at the rhyme scheme in the three opening stanzas, we find that Dunbar follows a pattern which he uses nowhere else except in this section, namely a b a b b c c b. The second quatrain of Dunbar's opening stanza is:

> In speciall, sic stryfe sould rys but stynting;
> Howbeit with bost thair breistis wer als bendit,
> As Lucifer, that fra the hevin descendit,
> Hell sould nocht hyd thair harnis fra harmis hynting.
> (ll. 4-8)

When he returns to the attack in his main section, however, he reverts to his favourite pattern, a b a b b c b c. The second quatrain of Dunbar's opening stanza there is:

> Mismaid monstour, ilk mone owt of thy mynd,
> Renunce, rebald, thy rymyng, thow bot royis,
> Thy trechour tung hes tane ane heland stryng;
> Ane lawland ers wald mak a bettir noyis. (ll. 53-56)

This is the pattern of rhyme that Dunbar follows throughout the remainder of the poem.

When Kennedy replies to Dunbar's first three stanzas, the challenge, he uses the same rhyme scheme as Dunbar had used, namely a b a b b c c b. The second quatrain of Kennedy's opening stanza is:

Mandrag, mymmerkin, maid maister bot in mows,
Thrys scheild trumpir with ane threid bair goun,
Say Deo mercy, or I cry the doun,
And leif thy ryming, rebald, and thy rowis.
(ll. 29-32)

This is the rhyme scheme which Kennedy follows throughout the poem, and which he obviously prefers for this type of poem. Could it be that Dunbar in opening with a rhyme scheme which he uses nowhere else is replying to the "thing . . . compild," which might have used such a pattern? Kennedy, then, would be the initiator of the rhyme scheme used in "The Flyting."[42]

Rhyming words at the ends of the lines are not the only rhyme patterns employed. Both poets use internal rhyme. Dunbar introduces variety in:

Than rynis thow doun the gait with gild of boyis,
And all the toun tykis hingand in thy heilis;
(ll. 225-226)

but it is in his two closing stanzas that the lines are packed with rhyming words. The final stanza of Dunbar's part of the poem can be set out thus:

Mauch muttoun,
Byt buttoun,
Peilit gluttoun,
Air to Hilhous;
Rank beggar,
Ostir dregar,
Foule fleggar
In the flet;
Chittirlilling,
Ruch rilling,
Lik schilling
In the milhous;
Baird rehator,
Theif of natour,
Fals tratour,
Feyindis gett;

Filling of tauch,
Rak sauch,
Cry crauch,
    Thow art our sett;
Muttoun dryver,
Girnall ryver,
Yadswyvar,
    Fowll fell the:
Herretyk,
Lunatyk
Purspyk,
    Carlingis pet,
Rottin crok,
Dirtin dok,
Cry cok,
    Or I sall quell the.
        (ll. 241-248)

Kennedy in his turn shows his mettle in his final stanza which ends the poem:

Deulbere,
Thy spere
Of were,
But feir,
    Thou yelde,
Hangit,
Mangit,
Eddir-stangit,
    Strynde stultorum,
To me,
Maist hie
Kenydie,
And flee
    The felde,
Pickit,
Wickit,
Convickit
    Lamp Lollardorum.
Defamyt,
Blamyt,
Schamyt,
    Primas Paganorum.
Out! out!
I schout,
Apon that snowt
    That snevillis.
Tale tellare,
Rebellare,
Induellar
    Wyth the devillis,

Spynk,
Sink
With stynk
Ad Tertara Termagorum.

The poets have not exhausted their virtuosity. Both add to rhyme the further embellishment of alliteration. Dunbar introduces it into his opening section but not with regularity. We find a line like "Bot had they maid of mannace ony mynting" (l. 4) where the initial phoneme /m/ occurs on three stresses, and another like "To gar me ryme and rais the feynd with flytting" (l. 23) where /r/ and /f/ both occur twice. Kennedy responds to this challenge in "Dirtin Dumbar, qhome on blawis thow thy boist?" (l. 25), using /d/ and /b/ twice. He can, however, use alliteration in a more regular pattern of three stresses beginning with the same phoneme, as we see in "Ramowd rebald, thow fall doun att the roist" (l. 27), "My laureat lettres at the end I lowis" (l. 28), "Skaldit skaitbird, and commoun skamelar" (l. 37) and many more. He can also fill a line with alliteration as in "Mandrag, mymmerkin, maid maister bot in mows" (l. 29). Both poets exploit the possibilities of alliteration throughout "The Flyting." Their contest has been wide ranging.

In the course of their "tournament" they have challenged each other on their appearance, life and habits, on their own and their ancestors' loyalty, on their use of style, of language, of rhyme and of alliteration. At the end of the poem in the Bannatyne manuscript, following the

words, "Quod Kennedy to Dumbar," the question is asked, "Juge ye now heir quha gat the war. Finis."

When we turn from "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" to The Passioun of Crist we move from the realm of scurrility to that of religious devotion, and we see the wide range of interests of Walter Kennedy. The Passioun of Crist, like the four short lyrics, which were considered earlier in this chapter, is a religious poem. It tells, as its title indicates, of Christ's Passion, but it also includes accounts of His birth, His appearances after the Crucifixion and Resurrection and of His Ascension. It is, however, a much more complex poem than a mere narrative, as I shall show. The Passioun of Crist has been published twice in full and once in extracts. David Laing, the first editor, included less than a fifth of the poem in his second volume of The Poems of William Dunbar.[43] Jacob Schipper, however, printed it in full in his edition of Walter Kennedy's poems[44] and J.A.W. Bennett also included the whole poem among the devotional pieces that he edited from the manuscripts Arundel 285 and Harleian 6919.[45]

David Laing dismisses The Passioun of Crist as "this long, dull, religious poem, if it deserves the title."[46] He says that he is printing only a portion of it and that even so he thinks his readers will consider he has given too copious extracts. It was only because of Kennedy's great fame that Laing was induced to give any of it at all.

Jacob Schipper considers that Kennedy's reputation and his ability as a poet, particularly as demonstrated in "The Flyting," are sufficient to justify the publication of all of his works in full and not, as Laing did, only in extracts. He believes that The Passioun of Crist is much inferior in "poetical value" to Dunbar's "Of The Resurrection of Christ," but that it can bear comparison with Dunbar's poem "Of the Passioun of Christ."[47] The contents of the two poems on the Passion are very similar but Kennedy's owes its greater length to its including Christ's birth, events of His life and His Resurrection.

> In short, it has taken in, and reproduced, in the same way as is the case in the Mystery-Plays, all the chief events narrated in the Gospels, and by the introduction of several allegorical personages, which likewise played a part in some of them, as e.g. in the Coventry Mysteries, it seems to show indeed the influence of those early beginnings of the English Drama.[48]

Although Schipper does not expand the idea that he introduces here, the relationship of The Passioun to the Mystery cycles is an important one to which I propose to return. In discussing the poetical merits of the poem Schipper says that The Passioun of Crist is not only the longest and most elaborate, but he believes it is also the best of Kennedy's poems.

> The Prologue and Introduction to the poem as well as the Conclusion of it are . . . in perfect harmony with the poem itself, by which he intends not only to instruct, but also morally to improve his readers.[49]

J.A.W. Bennett comments on The Passioun of Crist that though "prolix by modern standards, the poem is often vigorous and sometimes moving." He speaks of the monotonous rhyme scheme, but considers that it does "not altogether obscure the effectiveness of certain passages." He speaks of the allegorical personification as being occasionally effective and quotes: "Cupid is king. Inwy they mak schirray (464)."[50]

The title indicates that the poem is concerned with the Passion of Christ. DOST defines 'passio(u)n' as 'pain suffered, suffering; esp. the passion of Christ'. The word 'passion' in relation to Christ refers to His sufferings immediately preceding and including His Crucifixion and these are commemorated in the Church during Holy Week. The sufferings of Christ were frequently made the topic of poems, and we find, for instance, that Lydgate was the author of several, although, in comparison with his total volume of work, he wrote comparatively few poems on the Passion,

> . . . and those that he did write have little to do with the tradition of intimate, passionate attachment to the body of Christ which plays so large a part in medieval lyric-writing. The poems on Cristes Passioun and The Dolerous Pyte of Crystes Passioun, and the Prayer upon the Cross, are penitential rather than devotional.[51]

William Dunbar's poem on this subject, "Of The Passioun of Christ," begins: "Amang thir freiris, within ane cloister." This beginning is similar to the opening

of Kennedy's "Ane aigit man," where the old man is among the friars. Dunbar kneels down and meditates upon the sufferings of Christ. As he bends to greet Mary he falls asleep. "And sudanlie I sleipit syne." He has a dream vision of the mishandling and scourging of Christ and of His Crucifixion. Then Compassioun, Contritioun, Reuth, Remembrance, Pane and Pity attack him. Grace speaks sweet words to him. Confession, Conscience, Repentence and Pennance then enter his dream. He is in great terror because of Christ's death and "the erde did trymmill quhair I lay." Because of the trembling he wakens and Dunbar says:

> Than wrayt I all without delay,
> Richt heir as I have schawin to yow,
> Quhat me befell on Gud Fryday
> Befoir the Crose of sweit Jesu.

Dunbar's poem relates a personal experience which occurred during worship on Good Friday. Kennedy's poem on the Passion is also set in the context of religious worship but in a different way, at much greater length and with much greater diversification. I have already briefly mentioned its relationship to the Mystery plays. These cycles centred in the Passion of Christ, but they also included other biblical episodes from the creation of the world to Judgement Day. As we examine Kennedy's The Passioun of Crist, we shall see parallels between certain of the plays in the different cycles and parts of Kennedy's poem.

Before looking at the poem, I would like to draw attention to another aspect of religious life that I

believe has bearing on the nature of Kennedy's Passioun. Music seems to have formed an important part of worship at this time. Denis McKay says:

> Although bishops were ordaining priests unskilled in music "who ought to know Gregorian chant at least," chaplains in burgh churches were expected to be singers. Town councils were insisting at this period that priests employed in the parish church should not merely be "plain" singers, that is, able to sing a Gregorian melody in unison, but also be able to sing "pricked" song, that is, to sing one of the countermelodies pricked or set down against a Gregorian melody.[52]

Over two centuries later than Kennedy, Bach used the biblical narrative of the Passion as the basis for two of his great works, The Passion according to St. Matthew and The Passion according to St. John. Professor Donald F. Tovey[53] shows the relationship between oratorios such as these works of Bach and the liturgy of the Church. He mentions the custom of interspersing hymns among liturgical forms of recitation of a biblical story as one of the origins of modern oratorio, and discusses the ancient rite of reciting in Holy Week the story of the Passion. Then the words of the Evangelist were given to a tenor and those of participants in the Bible story to different singers in the choir, while a chorus gave the responses of the crowd. Polyphonic settings were permitted for the eucharistic utterances and the Seven Last Words of Christ, while the narrative and parts of single voices were sung in the Gregorian tones appointed in the liturgy.

Music also had a part to play in the mystery cycles. R.W. Ingram is quoted by R. George Thomas:[54]

> Music, the simplest and most popular pastime in medieval society, was an important addition to the entertainment of the plays.[55]

Thomas reminds us that music should be taken into account in considering the vernacular Miracle Plays and he speaks of the "splendour of anthem singing . . . and the purity of boys' voices"[56] which added to the effect of some of the great dramatic moments in the plays.

R.T. Davies describes an actor's part found in an early fifteenth-century manuscript belonging to a church, where the part is in English and Latin with music.[57] In the Coventry cycle, for example, the shepherds sing a song[58] and in the Towneley Second Shepherd's Play the angels are heard singing 'Gloria in Excelsis'. The second shepherd then says:

> 'Say, what was his song? hard ye not how he crakyd it?
> Thre brefes to a long.

The third shepherd replies:

> 'Yee, Mary, he hakt it.
> Was no crochett wrong, nor no thyng that lakt it.

First shepherd:

> For to syng us emong, right as he knakt it,
> I can.

Second shepherd:

> Let se how ye croyne.
> Can ye bark at the mone?[59]

Here we see that the use of music is familiar enough for it to be the subject of humour. The relationship between

the Corpus Christi plays and liturgical drama is one for the expert, but it seems clear that against the background of music and plays, Kennedy's poem on the Passion is seen as more than a "dull" narrative.

Kennedy's poem is a devotional work; it is both narrative and dramatic. In the context in which we can visualize its being used as part of the services during Holy Week, it bears a close resemblance to the plays and pageants which, according to Denis McKay:

> . . . continued as a practical method of edifying and instructing an illiterate people in the mysteries of their faith.[60]

McKay also states that devotional books were read by some of the congregation during Mass.[61] It may be that Kennedy's Passioun of Crist is a compilation of a liturgical drama presented during Holy Week and a Prologue introducing the work to a reader. Anthony Ross asks a question about readers of such works as this. He says:

> One wonders who . . . read Walter Kennedy's verses on The Passioun of Crist, or those other devotional pieces edited by Dr. J.A.W. Bennett for the Scottish Text Society.[62]

Kennedy's poem is directed to people of all ranks who would have formed part of the congregation present at the Holy Week services and who would also be the readers of devotional works. As we shall see in a closer study of the poem, exhortations are addressed to "every prince and lord of dignite" (l. 414), to man in general--"O man," for example in line 645 while in line 617 the address is "O

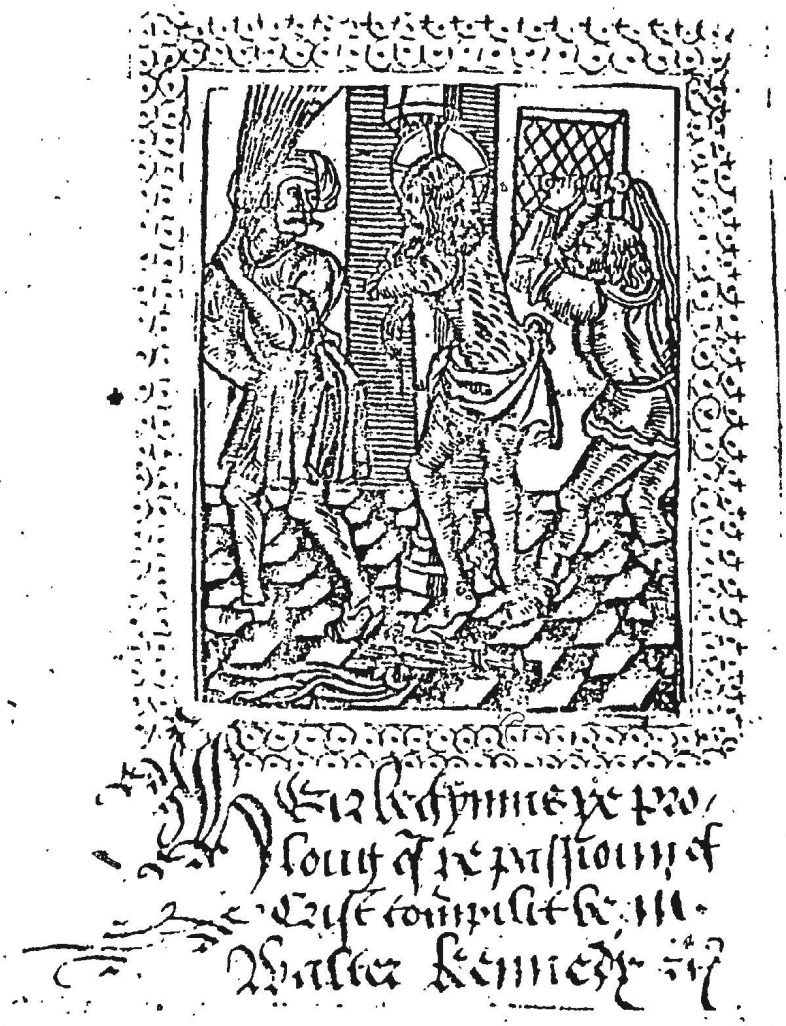
knycht." We have noticed that priests bore the honorary title of 'schir' (sir) so this address could be made to secular or clerical knights.

The poem is accompanied in the Arundel manuscript by a woodcut illustrating the scourging of Christ, and the words: "Heir begynnis be proloug of be passioun of Crist compilit be M. Walter Kennedy." It consists of the prologue, of ten stanzas, and the biblical story in two hundred and thirty-five stanzas. Kennedy employs the seven-line stanzas with ten syllables, rhyming in the scheme a b a b b c c, later called rhyme royal. Kennedy uses it with variety and with modulation. I shall examine his treatment in greater detail after general consideration of the poem.

The Prologue begins with an Ave, not an Ave Maria but an Ave to Christ.

> Hail, cristin knycht, haill, etern confortour,
> Haill, riall king in trone celistiall,
> Haill, lampe of licht, haill, Iesu saluitour,
> In hevin empire prince perpetuall,
> Haill, in distres protectour principall,
> Haill, God and man, borne of a virgin cleyne,
> Haill, boist of balme, spiirit within my splene.
>
> Haill, in my hert with lufe wippit intern,
> Haill, spice of taist, to heir sueit sympheony,
> Haill, silk to graipe, to sycht rycht lycht odour,
> To feit fute rode; haill, gide to gude herbry,
> Haill, dern closit till woundit & very,
> Haill, bed till rest, haill, saulis habitakill,
> Haill, beyme to skaill of ded be dirk vmbrakill.
>
> (ll. 1-14)

In the Coventry cycle the shepherds go to seek Christ, then the first shepherd says:



Reproduction from the Arundel MS No. 285

From J.A.W. Bennett, Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, STS. 3rd Series, Vol. 23. Edinburgh, 1955.

Hail! flower of flowers, fairest ifound.
Hail! pearl peerless, prime rose of price.[63]

This sounds like an Ave Maria, but the shepherd continues:

Hail! bloom on bed, we shall be unbound
With thy bloody woundes and workes full wise.
Hail! God greatest, I greet thee on ground.

The second shepherd and the third both continue the 'Hail'. Christ is 'kind in our kith', 'worker of weal', 'winner', 'former and friend', 'feller of the fiend', 'Prince of Paradise', 'Lord over lordes', 'King over kinges', 'comely knight', 'flower of all'.

Also, in the Towneley/Wakefield Second Shepherd's pageant, after the shepherds enter the stable they say "Hail." The baby Jesus is greeted as "comly and clene," "maker," "sufferan Savioure," "frely foyde and floure," "full of favoure" and "derling dere, full of Godhede!"[64] In the York cycle, when Jesus enters Jerusalem he is hailed by the burghers. There are eight stanzas given, one each, to eight burghers and the majority of the lines begin with "Hail." The terms used by the burghers include "Prince of peace," "comely king," "sovereign salve," "flourishing flower," "mark of mirth," "blossom bright" and "well of wealth." Although he is called in turn "diamond," "jasper" and "lily," the majority of their terms are homely. Jesus is hailed as "gentle one," "Help of all our bitter bales" and "ransomer of sinners." We will find that there are similarities in Kennedy's terms used for Christ. Two phrases in this cycle are echoed by Kennedy; Jesus is here

addressed by the burghers as "sun aye shining with bright beams" and "lamp of life."[65]

Dunbar's "Ane Ballat of Our Lady"[66] begins "Hale, sterne superne! Hale, in eterne," and the 'hale' continues throughout the poem. As we have seen in his Ballat, Kennedy does not use the word 'hail' and only his second line, 'Ave Maria, herbar of amouris!' includes an Ave. Here, however, in The Passioun he commences with a full complement of attributes as he hails Christ. Some of the comparisons made are somewhat artificial. Christ is 'boist of balme' but we notice that following the general terms, 'Cristin knycht', 'prince perpetuall', and 'protectour principall', Kennedy moves away from the universal to 'my splene' with its personal emphasis.

Now Kennedy explains what is his intention in the poem. Without Christ we are weak and helpless and since His presence is our life, we should constantly consider His passion and death.

> Thus, to þe saule sen life is [thi] presence,
> Off the is gude to haue possessioun,
> Quhilk may nocht be bot [we] with deligence
> Baith nycht & day remember þi passion.
> (ll. 29-32)

We should not, says Kennedy, spend our time, as so many do, on secular stories of Hector or Troilus, or Alexander. I have spoken earlier of the popularity of these romances and Kennedy says that they will not help in the final conflagration, "quhen þe warld sall all birn in a fire." We should,

therefore, not think about these but about Christ's Passion.

Since our nature always seeks consolation, he is wisest who keeps himself busy in God's worship, which brings profit to the soul. However, as many are stronger in will than in deed, Kennedy will relate "in Inglis tong," that is, in his vernacular, the story he wants people to concentrate on.

> Throu helpe of him quhilk deit on bé tre,
> In Inglis toung I think to mak remembrance
> How God maid man, how man fell throu myschance,
> Syne how greit pyne sustenit for his syne
> The sone of God or he wald succour him.
> (ll. 52-56)

And this is what Kennedy does. In his aim of presenting the biblical story in "Inglis" he takes great pains to be clear.

> In [this] proces I think als commonly,
> For till exclud all curiosite,
> Maist plane termes with deligence to spy,
> Quhilk may be tane with small deficulte,
> Bot gif me caus instant necessitie
> Termes to find quhilk hes na ganand sound,
> That baim till hide be better wald confound.
> (ll. 57-63)

We see here the consciousness of the choice of words and the poet deliberately setting out to fulfil his intention by expounding as simply as he can; we also see his awareness of the sound of words. He is going to exclude all words that are "curiosite," those that need care and trouble for their understanding, and he hopes that necessity will not force him to find words that have no 'ganand'--pleasant, or suitable--sound.

In his persona as priest Kennedy wishes to provide an alternative to the romances. His purpose is religious and didactic, but he knows that the telling of his story will have an affective function, that of moving the emotions in order to convert the soul. In the course of his poem he will show how will and reason overcome the purely emotional effects of the events that he relates, and he makes clear in the Prologue that his poem has a serious purpose.

> He is maist wise þat dalie hes in mynd
> Him self to keip in occupacioun
> Quhair-on þe spirit hes delectacioun;
> Profit to þe saule, his God worschip & dreid,
> Confort þi hert but lesing of his meid.
> (ll. 45-49)

As a poet, Kennedy wishes to fulfill this purpose without neglecting the delight in the sound of the language he employs. He will use "maist plane termes" but he still hopes to find pleasant sounding ones. In the task that he has set himself he needs God's help:

> Be naturall gift nane to þe end may bring
> Gude purpois tane bot [God] him gid with grace,
> (ll. 64-65)

So praying, Kennedy ends his Prologue: "Sa in þis hope my purpois now I foune" (l. 70).

Now the narrative begins and it continues to near the end of the poem. It is not, however, a continuous narrative but forms a strong structural framework within which are embedded passages of different kinds. Apart from their own individual functions within the poem's overall

intention of moving the hearer and working on his soul, these passages serve to break up the flow of the story, to give it greater complexity and to keep interest alive. We return to the narrative after the breaks with renewed attention.

The narrative commences with the creation of man. The extant Corpus Christi cycles[67] all begin with creation and the fall of Lucifer, but Kennedy mentions Lucifer only briefly in connection with man's fall, and he commences his poem with a brief reference to God's creation of man. Because God can only do good, He

> Sa nobill maid be man his creatour
> That of him selfe [he] knawlage had perfite,
> Als of his godheid, and vthir creatur,
> Throu grace of God, nocht of his awin natour.
> He micht haue stand quhill God to grace him brocht,
> But pane or dreid; bot he vnwislie wrocht.
> (ll. 72-77)

This and the next four stanzas are interlinked. The closing words, sometimes a phrase, sometimes a sentence, are used in a different order as the opening of the following stanza. The last half line of the first stanza is "bot he vnwislie wrocht." This becomes "He wrocht vnwise" as the opening words of the second stanza. "Bot þat wes nocht þe end," which closes this stanza, becomes "The end wes war" in the third stanza, and so on.

We find this device also used by the Pearl poet in England. Kennedy, however, does not continue its use for more than five stanzas, although, as we shall see, he does

introduce variety of form and rhyme into his rhyme royal stanzas.

The first part of the poem deals with the creation of man, and his fall, through Lucifer, and the banishment from Paradise. Man is now destined "euer in bis warld to pas, / Wanderand in wa, . . . / As bandonit knycht" and as "Goddis fa closit within myrknes" (ll. 87, 94, 100). Man was "presonit yeris mony ane." In the Coventry cycle we notice "Ffowre thowsand sex undryd foure"[68] is the period of time mentioned. Then allegorical figures take up man's case, and a debate ensues between Mercy and Pity who speak for him and Justice and Verity who contend that man "Eternalie suld be banist" (l. 110). God enters the scene and judges the issue by deciding to send his Son, "Than till his Sone to pas gaif commandement" (l. 114). We recognize here a very close parallel to the Coventry cycle, where the eleventh play, "The Salutation and Conception"[69] has Veritas, Misericordia, Justicia and Pax holding a debate with Pater, the Father. A.W. Pollard, in discussing this play, comments:

> There is no counterpart to this play in any of the other cycles . . . . We have here a personification of the heavenly virtues of Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace, and we thus advance a step towards the dramatic allegory of the earliest Morality Plays.[70]

R.T. Davies[71] gives a fuller version of this scene in the Coventry cycle and adds to God's pronouncement those of both the Son and the Holy Spirit. The Father says that

the angel Gabriel shall be sent to Galilee to Mary and the Son adds "I, the Son of the Godhead, of her shall be bore." Thereupon the Holy Spirit says, "Tell her I, the Holy Ghost, shall work all this." We find a parallel to this in Kennedy's poem. The angel appears to Mary, who conceives "Be subtell virking of þe Haly Gaist" (l. 133).

Although there is no counterpart, as Pollard says, in any of the other cycles to this heavenly debate, there is a Parliament of Heaven in the anonymous Castle of Perseverance, of about 1405-1425,[72] in which Mercy, Truth, Peace and Righteousness appear as the four daughters of God.

> The conception of the four daughters of God goes back to Psalm 85 and also finds expression in the writings of St. Bernard, Grosseteste, Bonaventura, and others.[73]

In The Castle of Perseverance Misericordia pleads for man: "Thorwe vertu of his Passion, / To no man schuld be seyd nay" (ll. 3140-3141). Justitia, on the other hand, replies: "And therefore, sistyr, you I rede / Let him abye his misdede" (ll. 3158-3159). Pax asks to be heard: "Here my preyinge" (l. 3245) and God agrees to hear them. He says: "My dowterys dere / Cum forth and stand ye me nere" (ll. 3247-3248). Veritas discusses the efficacy of repentance in a long passage which ends: "In peyne loke he be stille, / Lord, if it be thy wille" (ll. 3309-3310). The debate continues for over two hundred lines, and then the Father says:

> I menge with my most myth
> Alle Pes, sum Treuthe, and sum Ryth,
> And most of my Mercy.
>
> (ll. 3571-3573)

It sounds like a most human compromise. The Father sits in judgement on mankind and gives his pronouncement: "My mercy, Mankind, geve I the[é]. Cum, sit at my ryth honde!"

Kennedy uses this concept of the four daughters of God who plead for and against man and he names them 'Marcy' and 'Piete' who take up man's cause, and 'Iustice' and 'Verite', who take the other side. Pax has become Pity. At the end of the debate scene in Kennedy's poem the Father gives the commandment to his Son to go to make concord; the Son does not speak but the Father does:

> Ane ded sall mak yow baith content,
> And bring Adam till peace, with all his seid,
> That me will worschip, baith in word & ded.
> (11. 117-119)

In words that are reminiscent of the Coventry cycle play the poet tells us that Mary conceived "Be subtell virking of þe Haly Gaist" (l. 133). After a brief account of her visit to her cousin, "Apoun hir fute; thoucht scho had gret pane" (l. 136) the birth of Christ is told in one line. However, at this point there is an example of the rhetorical device of expansion. Christ is "till angell glore . . . till blind þe sycht . . . till dede þe life" and so on. The circumcision is told as a kind of pre-figuring of the sacrifice of blood:

> For mannis saule thir arlis offerit he,
> Quhill he, be his ded, þe saule price laid doun.
> This fair young prince, of all our glore þe crown,
> Schew intill ded þat he his pepill lude,
> That for thair saik sa sone he sched his blude.
> (11. 150-154)

He is visited by the three kings, although no mention has been made of shepherds, is taken by his mother to the temple. We then quickly pass over the Massacre of the Innocents, the flight into Egypt and the return, and then the poet continues:

> Mair of his life vnto þe twelft yeir
> The Ewangellis makis na mencioun.
> Bot vthir said þat with his moder deir
> In Nazareth he maid his hantage,
> Hir and Iosaphe seruand in gret reuerence,
> Thoucht þai wer pure & he a riche lord,
> As Lendulphus[74] and vthiris can record.
> (ll. 190-196)

Kennedy here indicates that he has several sources, the Evangelists, Lendulphus and others. I have shown a relationship between the opening part of Kennedy's poem and the Coventry cycle and also The Castle of Perseverance.

Kennedy follows the biblical narratives but he does not expand his material; he moves quickly on. The visit to the temple in Jerusalem at age twelve when Christ's parents lose Him and He is found "amang þe doctouris halding argument" (l. 200) occupies only one stanza and follows the Gospels closely. In the next stanza the narrative is interrupted briefly, and the persona intrudes rather like, for example, the character of Contemplation in the N Town Passion Play II, who enters as "an expositour in doctorys wede,"[75] and addresses the audience. Kennedy says Christ made his dwelling in a simple home "Kenand þe man, all prid for till disperne" (l. 207). He then quickly covers in two stanzas the period until it was time

for Christ to make Himself known, the baptism, the temptations in the desert, and the choosing of the Disciples.

Kennedy now employs a typical rhetorical device, which we have seen him use in "Clostir of Christ"--the topos of inexpressibility, where he illustrates his inability to do justice to his subject:

> Thoucht all my hare wer hertis for to think,
> And all my iuntis sang with angellis stewin,
> And I mycht leif but sleip, meit, or drink,
> Off þi panis I couth [nocht] schaw þe sevint
> Quhilk þou sustenit, to bring me to þe hevin;
> (ll. 225-229)

and

> Thairfor I hald me bund till ignorance,
> To tell þe teind of þi aduersite.
> (ll. 231-232)

The Transfiguration on the mountain is related in the next two stanzas and the ministry is summed up in one:

> Efter lang pane & lauber infinite,
> Hunger, thrist, cauld, in wynd & rane,
> Walking, wandering, powerte, gret dispite,
> Dollour, diseis, cair cotidiane,
> Till all his sair he soucht na saw bot ane;
> The quhilk wes ded, as sudcharge till his sorrow,
> That his manheid to de fra God couth borrow.
> (ll. 253-259)

After this preparation, Kennedy comes to the events of Holy Week and the story of Christ's sufferings, His Passion, which form the main part of the poem. The Passion will be followed by Christ's Resurrection, His appearances to His Disciples afterwards, His Ascension and the coming of the Holy Spirit, but it is on the central events leading to the Crucifixion that the main emphasis of the poem is

placed. When we come to this central part of the poem, we see that it has many dramatic elements which relate it to both the Passion plays of the Corpus Christi cycles and to liturgical drama of the kind which preceded the Oratorio, and to show this more fully I propose to examine the structure of this main section of The Passioun of Crist.

As has been noted, David Laing published only extracts from The Passioun of Crist. He comments:

> The passages omitted either present a dry summary of the chief events of Our Saviour's life and sufferings, or contain tedious episodical reflections appropriated to the different Hours (Prime, Matins, &c) of the Romish Church service.[76]

Laing was a scholar but perhaps he was not sympathetic to this poet. He seems to have let prejudice against the "Romish Church service" colour his judgement in evaluating the poem. Robert Louis Stevenson comments on the problem of keeping clear, critical judgement in assessing a writer's work:

> To write with authority about another man, we must have fellow-feeling and some common ground of experience with our subject. We may praise or blame according as we find him related to us by the best or worst in ourselves . . . . Feelings . . . to which we are strangers in our own experience we are inclined to regard as blots, exceptions, inconsistencies and excursions of the diabolic.[77]

Stevenson was writing about a critic who, he felt, had been unduly harsh and unsympathetic in his study of Robert Burns. Is Laing's pejorative word "Romish" an indication of his unsympathetic attitude towards Kennedy's Passioun of Crist? It is true that the central part of Kennedy's poem is, to

use Laing's term, "appropriated to the different Hours."

Following the Prologue, which we have considered, there are the words "Explicit Prologus" and directly underneath them, "Incipit Passio." The twenty-seven stanzas which briefly recount events up to those of Holy Week are, therefore, seen by Kennedy as part of the total story of the Passion of Christ. With the beginning of the events of the week leading up to the Crucifixion we find there are divisions in the telling of the story which correspond to the Festival Days of Holy Week and the Canonical Hours associated with the Church. The division is made as follows:

Ferria quarta traditio Domini	- 2 stanzas
ferria quinta ad wesperas	- 7 stanzas
In þe first complyn	- 10 stanzas
At matynnis	- 11 stanzas
At prime	- 11 stanzas
At terce	- 14 stanzas
At sext	- 47 stanzas
At none	- 21 stanzas
Rispons[i]o Crusis	- 10 stanzas
At Ewinsang	- 14 stanzas
At cumplin tyme	- 17 stanzas
The Resurrectioun	- 7 stanzas

The final section includes nine further appearances of Christ to His followers after His Resurrection, His Ascension, the coming of the Holy Spirit and a final prayer of

supplication. These events are told in thirty-seven stanzas, which balance the thirty-seven at the beginning of the poem, ten of the Prologue and twenty-seven leading up to the "Ferria quarta" section which begins the Passion proper.

The "ferria quarta" refers to the fourth holy day, Wednesday, and the "ferria quinta" to the fifth holy day, Thursday, of the week before Easter. It can be seen that the other divisions refer to the Hours of services beginning with Vespers on the Thursday before Good Friday. The Hours are certain portions of the day set apart by rule of the Church for prayer and devotion. They originated in ancient times in the Jewish custom of praying three times a day at the third, sixth and ninth hours. The early Christian Church took over and continued this practice (Acts 2:15, 3:1, 10:9) and added midnight, when Paul and Silas sang in prison, and the beginning of both day and night. A seventh 'hour' was added by Benedict in the sixth century to complete the number, and since that time the number and the order of the hours have been fixed as: Matins, lauds or prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and compline.

Matins, properly recited at midnight, was often kept until later but not later than daybreak, when it was immediately followed by lauds or prime, the service for dawn. Denis McKay describes the procedure in Kennedy's day in the great burgh churches and in the collegiate churches, where

"services went on from five or six in the morning till that time in the evening." After describing the singing of mass, sometimes as frequently as every hour, he talks of the afternoon services:

> Vespers were said or sung, possibly with organ, some time in the afternoon between the hours of two or five, or earlier, depending on the rules of the particular church and the season of the year, and were followed by compline. Taking part in the singing at the high mass and vespers in some churches . . . there might be seen bedesmen or bedeswomen . . . who had been hired to pray for their patron.[78]

As there might be as many as thirty priests present, as well as the boys of the song school, there was great opportunity for developing the dramatic and musical aspects of the services. It is against this background of the saying and singing of the liturgy that we can place Kennedy's story of Christ's Passion.

The central part of the poem begins on "Ferria quarta traditio Domini," with the coming of Judas on the Wednesday to Caiphas. Judas

> . . . wes full of subtell tratory,
> Thairfor his lord for littill price he sauld,
> Put in thair will, quhat thing gif him bai wald.
> (ll. 271-273)

The subsequent events are set in motion, and the story is taken up on "ferria quinta ad wesperas," when Peter and John are sent to the city to prepare the passover, but the account is interrupted at this point by Kennedy's commentor in the poem, whom I shall call "Contemplation", after the fashion of the N Town [formerly called Ludus Coventriae] play. There is no visible

indication in the text of Kennedy's poem, as there is in the distribution of parts to different characters in the cycles, that another speaker has taken over. The persona of Kennedy's poem is the narrator, but at times he does quite clearly leave the telling of the story to turn to address his audience, or congregation, in a contemplative passage and it is these passages that I refer to when I say that Contemplation speaks. Contemplation says: "O man, behald þi maker & þi king" (l. 281) and tells how Christ washed the Disciples' feet "To gar men noit how weill he þe saule lude" (l. 287). The narrative then proceeds with the washing of the feet of the Disciples. In St. John's Gospel (13:4-11) the washing takes place during the meal but it is interesting to observe that in the Chester, Coventry and N Town passion plays the footwashing follows the blessing of the bread and wine and the institution of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. In Kennedy's poem the Sacrament follows the footwashing and the Sacrament is only consecrated in the form of bread.

In the Coventry play there is a long passage explaining the significance of what eating the passover lamb means[79] and also in the N Town form.[80] Kennedy seems to have the same idea in mind, that of explaining the ancient custom, when he says in his poem:

> The seramonis of þe ald testiament
> And vthir figouris tuke end quhen he ordand
> His precius body till ws as sacrament,
> In forme of breid blissit with his hand.
> (ll. 309-315)

He does not refer specifically to the lamb of the Passover but he links the "seramonis of þe ald testiament" to the new sacrament. As the meal that was being eaten was the Passover meal, of which lamb was the main dish, there seems to be a link between this passage in Kennedy's poem and the expository passages in the Coventry and N Town plays. Jesus foretells His betrayal during the meal and exhorts His Disciples to "lufe and cherite" and then says "Lat ws pas hyne, / For heir to duell it is na ganand tyme" (ll. 321-322).

The next section begins with Contemplation speaking:

> In þe first complyn think with compassioun
> How þat þe king passis to his deid.
> (ll. 323-324)

The story proceeds with the events in the Garden of Gethsemane and the section ends with the rhetoric exclamation:

> I haue [na] wit þair wickitnes to paynt,
> For in þair deidis is sic innormite
> That all menis þai soucht to gar him de.
> (ll. 390-392)

For the next Hour the section opens with Contemplation saying: "Valk of þi sleip, O man, at matyn hour" (l. 393). As Matins was the first Office of the day, taking place at a very early hour, the call to wake from sleep is both literal and metaphorical. The worshipper is to wake in body and in soul.

Christ is taken to the house of Annas (l.400) and two stanzas later Contemplation addresses every "prince and lord of dignite" (l. 414) telling them to learn patience,

but by the last line of the stanza in one of Kennedy's quick transitions the narrative is taken up again: "To Cayphes þai gart him ga, but moire" (l. 420). Here style, vehicle and sense are wedded. Get on with the story without more ado! Contemplation rounds off this section by commenting on man, "mair cruell þan euer wes wild lioun" (l. 456). There is the interesting introduction at this point of characters or personifications which bear resemblance to the deadly sins, that group of allegorical figures.

> O man, mair cruell þan euer wes wild lioun,
> Quhilk with his pith ay purches him his pray,
> Ire is þair gid, Feid flemes him fra ressoun,
> Will is þair law, Inwy þai mak schirray,
> Prid is þe prince quhilk seikis him to sla,
> Cupid is king quhilk him sa mait dois stand,
> Falset is faith quhilk herd hankis his hand.
> (ll. 456-462)

This is a comment on man rather than a direct address to man but it is directed at man for meditation and is an introduction to the following stanza which commences "Man, be thou kind" (l. 463). The narration of events is taken up again at the next Hour "At prime," and the meditation which closed the matins section is continued, but only for part of the first stanza.

The trial and interrogation of Christ proceed, and the next break occurs, "At terce," at line 547. The worshipper is again asked to remember, but what he has to remember is closely linked to the stage of the events reached and the narrative proceeds quickly within the stanza, at line 551. In line 617 the interpolation is

brief, "O knycht, behald how þi king furth is led" and again the narration moves quickly on.

The opening stanza "At sext" (ll. 645-651) is a call to worship and remembrance, but again the story is quickly resumed, and Pilot's wife comes to recount her dream. Pilate's wife does not belong to the biblical sources but was frequent in medieval accounts and is found in both the York and the N Town cycles. In the York play (The Tapestry Makers' Play)[81] Dame Percula is sent to bed; Pilate, drunk, is helped to bed by his beadle, and then is disturbed by the arrival of Caypha's and soldiers. During the discussion that follows the son enters and says that Dame Percula was sorely troubled by a dream:

> She beseeches you, sir, for that innocent man,
> To death not to doom him, lest vengeance fall quick.[82]

In the N Town cycle the devil goes to Pilate's wife in a dream.[83] The fullest development of the wife's dream is in the Coventry cycle. Satan realizes he has gone too far in opposing Christ. If Christ is killed He will go to hell and free the damned souls there.

> If I might Jesus life save,
> Hell gates shall be sparred fast,
> And keep still all those I have.

He therefore goes to Pilate's wife in a dream and she comes running in, "her shirt and her kirtle in her hand. And she shall come before Pilate like a mad woman."[84] In Kennedy's poem Pilate's wife sends him a message:

> . . . "Dis nycht I haue bene rycht affeir;
> Into þis nycht a visioun couth appeir
> Into my sleip; thairfor I trow he be
> Richt innocent of all iniquite."
> (ll. 655-658)

Contemplation laments, in lines 673-679, over the blindness of the Jews which makes them lose reason, and after Christ's address to the "Dochteris of Ierusalem," who are weeping over Him, Contemplation cries: "For gif but caus Crist wes slane cruelly, / O Lord, quhat sall worth of ws þat ar gilty?" (ll. 720-721). The next interruption in the narrative is at lines 750-756 where an allegorical figure 'Pyne' (suffering) is apostrophised and accused of injustice. Christ is bound and nailed to the Cross and then Contemplation tells man to pray for mercy and gives him the words he should use:

> Say: "Lord, my syn & þi gret lufe, I wis,
> Garis þe now ly stentit on þe tre,
> I did þe mis, Lord, haue marcy on me."
> (ll. 782-784)

After another narrative stanza there is a lyrical passage with internal rhyme and many monosyllabic words, in the form of a deeply moving lament:

> "All game and gle is gane fra me away.
> Wa will me sla throw dollour or my day."
> (ll. 795-796)

and

> "For, se I þe hing on þe tre me fro,
> Deith with his dart will smyt my hert in two."
> (ll. 804-805)

This is an instance where Kennedy provides the words for the worshipper to use and they are correspondingly simple

and memorable.

The narrative continues with the thieves being crucified and Christ's clothing divided. Then

> Pilot wrait þe titill abone his heid:
> 'Iesu of Nazareth, of þe Iowis king,'
> Syne on þe croce stak it vp abone his heid,
> Writtin in Greik, Ebrew, and Latyn.
> (ll. 813-816)

It is in the biblical narrative, but it also shows Kennedy's interest in language, and indeed he goes on to explain not only what Christ's death meant, "Thoucht Pilot vnderstude nocht quhat he wrait" (l. 827), but also the meaning of saviour, "Iesu in oure leid is callit saluitour" (l. 834) and of Nazareth, "As Nazareth in Inglis toung is to say" (l. 841). Here we see not only Kennedy's consideration of his purpose, to expound as simply as he can, but also his consciousness of language and meaning.

A fascinating parallel appears in the York play where Pilate asks the beadle "What 'osanna' may mean, sir, truly now say?" and the beadle replies:

> In the speech of this land construe it we may,
> As "Saviour and Sovereign, save us, we pray."[85]

The problem of language and of translation was one that concerned writers at this time. Gavin Douglas in translating Virgil's Aeneid into the vernacular of Scotland was very conscious of the problems that faced the translator. In Prologue I of Eneados Douglas says:

> For thar be Latyn wordis mony ane
> That in our leyd ganand translatioun has nane.[86]

As we have seen, Kennedy made his purpose clear in the Prologue, "For till exclud all curiositie, / Maist plane termes with deligence to spy" (l. 59), and this he tries faithfully to do.

The section of the poem that includes the story of Pilate's wife and moves through to the Crucifixion is "At sext." The time of "sext" is the sixth hour after day-break; this is the midday service on Good Friday and we are not, therefore, surprised to find a sermon delivered at this especially important time in Holy Week. Following the stanzas which expound the meanings of terms, an analogy is developed in ten stanzas; four different kinds of people present at the Cross typify varying attitudes towards Christ.

The selection of four kinds of people at the Cross is similar to the presence of four soldiers in the York Crucifixion play. The editor David Bevington comments:

> Despite the realism of portrayal, we can also perceive abstract symmetry in the arrangement of the four soldiers around the four sides of the cross.[87]

Four kinds of people are the subject of a poem by William Dunbar, "Of Folkis Evill to Pleis,"[88] which begins: "Four maner of folkis ar evill to pleis." Kennedy's four groups consist of those who pass by, those who stand, those who sit, and those who hang. These classifications are delineated as first, "men of covatice, / Quhilk in þis warld wanderis nycht & day" (ll. 862-863); second, as "þe scribis, into the law perfite" (l. 870); third, as "cruell knychtis, /

The quhilk at Crist maid gret derisioun" (ll. 883-884); and fourth, "This crabbit theif þat hang on his left hand" (l. 911) who "Betakinnis men quhilk euer mair is murnand" (l. 913). The concentration on the "crabbit theif" at the end of this "sermon" leads very naturally into the continuation of the narrative. Christ tells the good thief that he will be in paradise "This samin day with me" (l. 919).

After the cry (l. 940) ". . . Fader, quhy hes þou left me sa?" there is a short lament in lines 946-949:

> O woce of reuth, o woce of moist dollour,
> Off lamentacioun and greit piete!
> Off all þe warld generall saluiour
> But only help now deis on þe tre.

Again we have an example of interpretation. "He said: 'Scitio'--þat is, 'to thrist'--" (l. 955). It was at the ninth hour in the biblical narrative that Christ died, so fittingly the passage for "At none" is concerned with death. It opens

> O man, at none with [ ] mynd behald
> The well of lufe throu drouth quhilk is gane dry.
> (ll. 974-975)

In this section narrative is blended with lament, and an allegorical Death is apostrophised. In line 978 Death is on the watch, "In euery part Ded can his palice spy"; in lines 981-982, "Quhen Ded enterit within þe breist of blis, / His nobill hert he graipit in his hand." Then Death addresses Christ as "O King . . . þow saikles I dred to sla, allace" (ll. 984 and 987), but "he full blyth obeyit

to þe ded. / For saik of man" (ll. 988-989) and in line 1001 "Syne with gret pane he gaif þe gaist, allace." Christ's death is followed by a further lament:

> And fra my hert wald bludy teris spring,
> For thy passioun to murne baith day & nycht,
> My wofull mynd it wald to confort bring,
> Off all solace þou had tynt þe sicht.
> And I salbe besy with all my mycht,
> And sall nocht ceis to cry quhill I worth hais,
> For my kind kingis ded to say: "Allace."
> (ll. 1002-1008)

Death has won; Christ has died, and Contemplation now challenges Death.

> O cruell Ded, with þe I think to flite,
> Quhilk me hes rewit all my conforting!
> (ll. 1009-1010)

The next stanza continues the 'flite' or challenge to Death, beginning in the same way.

> O cruell Ded, so bald how durst þow be
> To put handis in him þat aucht þe nocht?
> (ll. 1016-1017)

And then in a real spirit of challenge which does remind one of that other flyting, Contemplation goes on:

> Speik gif þow dar, and mak ansuer to me.
> (l. 1018)

The first thirteen stanzas of this section 'At none' are bound by the repetition of the word "Allace" which concludes the final line of each stanza, the theme of each seventh line being an aspect of Christ's death. The thirteenth stanza has great lyrical power.

> My gle is gone, renewit is my wo,
> My spreit is spitit with malancolie.
> Ded I defy, for he may do no mo,
> For all confort now hes he tane fra me.
> My lufe, my life, he hes slane on þe tre,

> And I for dule neir deis in þis place,
> For sueit Iesu is ded fra me, allace.'
> (ll. 1058-1064)

In line 1067 the temple veil is torn; in line 1072 "The erd trymbillit, þe craggis raif in schunder." The refrain word, "Allace," is repeated as the opening of a section where Contemplation laments for the Virgin's pain, "Quhen scho hir sone saw de apon þe tre!" (l. 1087). In line 1095 "Scho said: 'O croce, I will compleyne on the'." Her 'complaint', her address to the Cross, in four stanzas is followed by the reply of the Cross. In six stanzas the Cross explains his part, using imagery of flower and fruit, branch and vine, and he ends:

> For I him tuke as man mortall to de,
> And inmortall he sall restorit be.
> (ll. 1161-1162)

This conversation between the Cross and the Virgin reminds us of poems like the Old English poem, "The Dream of The Rood,"[89] where the Cross explains to the dreamer his, the Cross's, part in the great drama.

After an expected, but brief, address by Contemplation to the worshipper "at evin sang" to remember "The cruell dede quhilk deit hes þi king" (l. 1192), the narrative continues, "Efter þat Deid as bond þis knycht had tane, / And of evinsang þe tyme approchit neir" (ll. 1198-1199), with Joseph taking charge of Christ's body. There follows a lament by His mother (l. 1240)[90] in six stanzas with the refrain, "þairfor full way is me," where the first half of the line consists of variants on the theme "my sone is

deid." Natural grief, however, is subject to reason,

> Quhilk giddit ay to natur[al]ite,
> Agane ressoun faucht ay sensualite,
> Quhilk gart hir murne, baith in ded & thocht,
> Bot [to] ressoun this greife offendit nocht.
> (Ll. 1285-1288)

Mary can do no wrong.

"At cumplin tyme" the worshipper is exhorted to pray "Eternaly to ring in glor divyne / With him thy lord" (ll. 1294-1295). The narrative tells of Christ's burial and of Pilot's putting "men of armes" on guard and then towards the end of this section after "Ded had with his bludy dart / Off saule and body lowsit be vnioun" (ll. 1387-1388) there is a brief reference to the souls in limbo, where "be knychtis but dreid sleippit sone, / For his body sall rise in na corruptioun" (ll. 1399-1400).

There is an interesting fragment of a further discourse[91] between Kennedy's, or Contemplation's, Will and the allegorical figures of Wit and Ressoun.

> And to my Will ansuerit Wit and Ressoun,
> Moir sueit to speik of my saluiour;
> Thow mycht me argo of a poynt of tressoun,
> Thy hurde to hid, to skaill I tuke na cure.
> But sen bou wait my wit is febill & pure
> Thy cruell ded with piete to recorde,
> Gude will for ded ressaue, sueit Iesu my Lord.
> (ll. 1401-1407)

Although "Gude will for ded ressaue" (take will for deed) sounds proverbial, and "since you know my wit / intelligence is feeble and poor" sounds like rhetorical colour, the whole passage has a tone of genuine feeling being expressed.

The next section is headed "The Resurrectioun" and is appropriate for Easter Day. The narrative moves

swiftly through the post-Resurrection appearances of which ten are enumerated and described, the Ascension and the coming of the Holy Spirit. Contemplation outlines in a prayer addressed to "etern God," the mysteries of "The subtell wirking of be Haly Gaist" (l. 1682), a line which reminds us of the beginning of the story when Mary conceived "Be subtell virking of be Haly Gaist" (l. 133), and he prays that "euery man," being "sicker of his grace" (l. 1702) may

> Off his synnis to mak confessioun.
> Als he may mak satisfactioun,
> And syne no mair his maker to offend,
> And be with me vnto be warldis end.
> (ll. 1705-1708)

The closing stanza is:

> O sueit Iesu, o saluiour souerane,
> O Goddis sone in manheid immortall,
> Quhilk on be croce sufferit pane
> The banist man to grace for to reabill,
> Into bi grace be cristin pepill stabill,
> In hevin empire bat bai bi face may se
> Without end. Amen, for bi marcy.
>
> Heir endis the passioun of our
> Lord Iesu Crist compilit be
> maister Walter Kennedy.

We have seen that Kennedy breaks up his narrative into sections appropriate to the services at the canonical Hours from Wednesday of Holy Week to Easter Sunday. He has also brought variety into the poem by interspersing among the narration exposition, debate, laments, a conversation between the Virgin and the Cross, and a 'flyting' between the poet and Death. There are exhortations to

the worshipper by the commentator on the events, whom I have called Contemplation, and petitions to the Virgin, to Christ and to the Holy Spirit.

The narrative itself is varied in speed. The period from the return to Nazareth, after the sojourn in Egypt, until the beginning of the ministry, through the baptism, is dealt with in four stanzas. The trial by Pilate is dramatically expanded but it is not monotonous and this is largely due to the use of direct speech. Direct speech is used throughout the poem, and it is used in several ways. I will specify the minor ones first and return to the one that is most important.

First: Christ's own words are remembered by his followers and quoted as direct speech in lines 1420-1421, and 1665-1666.

Second: Words of prophecy in the Old Testament are directly quoted in line 812.

Third: Words are reported from previous action as a subject for contemplation by the worshipper in lines 622-623.

Fourth: Directions are given by the persona of the poem, whom I have called "Contemplation" after the character with similar functions of commenting in the Corpus Christi plays, as, for example, those of Coventry[92] and N Town.[93] These directions are given to the worshipper, providing the exact words he is to use.

Lines 398-399)
)
782-784) Man is given the words of prayers of contemplation to be spoken.
)
794-805)

Fifth: In the drama, but not moving the action on:

Line 245 - The souls in limbo cry out.

Sixth: This is the major use of direct speech where the speeches are part of the unfolding drama.

Lines 118-120 - God pronounces judgement.

123-126 - The angel to Mary.

178-179 - The angel to Joseph.

185-188 - The angel to Joseph.

201-203 - Mary to Jesus.

These examples, taken from the beginning of the poem, show how frequently direct speech is used; it is not, however, only at the beginning that we find it. Direct speech dramatizes the action all through the poem,[94] and it can be seen that the whole poem bears a very strong resemblance to a play. Allegorical figures, Mercy, Pity, Justice, Verity, Suffering, Phebus, Death, Reason, Sensuality, Will and Wit, all enter the scene and play their parts, while Ire, Feid, Will, Inwy, Prid, Cupidity and Falsehood hover behind the scene (in lines 458-462). The use of allegorical figures and their attraction for writers of this period is discussed by W.M. Mackenzie, who writes of allegory:

> It had a special appeal to the mediaeval mind with its interest in abstraction and symbol. For

> serious work it became as inevitable as the symphony in music. . . . To our minds the reality of the performance may be less concrete than to the mediaeval listener who was already familiar with the personification of ideas in his stage plays or in pictorial art . . . . The figures of "Pride," "Envy," "Gluttony," etc., were already defined for the mediaeval observer by artistic representation, and the translation was easy to those of "Reason" . . . and abstractions generally.[95]

Kennedy's congregation and readers would not have difficulty in accepting the presence in his poem on Christ's Passion of the allegorical figures such as Mercy, Pity, Pride, Cupidity that he introduces.

The function of the lyrical passages can be clearly seen within the framework of the dramatic action. Following points of heightened activity emotions are channelled into laments and meditations and given an outlet. After Christ has been nailed to the Cross, a lament follows, and again after He dies, there is a further lyrical lamentation. These passages provide relief before the next increase of pace and build-up of tension. Kennedy shows a strong dramatic sense in his control of the "plot" and its movement to the climax. Pity and fear are invoked by the events and means of catharsis are provided by the laments.

The Passioun of Crist is not just a tale that is told or that can be viewed objectively. We have seen that the central events which Kennedy recounts are set into the pattern of the Hours of the Church and spread over the services of Holy Week from Wednesday to Sunday, while the post-Resurrection appearances, the Ascension and the

coming of the Holy Spirit carry the commemoration of the events to Whit Sunday. Easter is the high point in the Church year and the services during Holy Week are a preparation for the celebration of the Resurrection of our Lord. The worshipper is a participant in the great drama as it unfolds before him. This participation is inherent in the nature of worship, especially in the services of Holy Week and Easter Sunday. Priests and congregation alike, from "euery prince and lord of dignite" (l. 414) to the common man, are those for whom Christ died and so are deeply involved in His sacrifice.

From an early period in the history of the Christian Church there was a tendency to dramatize certain parts of the liturgy. In discussing this topic of the relationship between liturgy and drama David Bevington writes:

> The liturgy of the church had in fact long employed techniques analogous to those of the drama . . . . The services made use of what might be viewed as chanted dialogue and symbolic role-playing, while the church interior provided a kind of setting for quasi-dramatic movement. . . . The impulse toward histrionic rendition was intense and popular, especially during the Easter season. At this climatic period in the church year, the events allegorically depicted in the mass [i.e., Christ's ministry, death and resurrection] coincide with the events of Passion week.[96]

Whether the mass is interpreted as an allegorical depiction of Christ's ministry, death and resurrection or as the bread and wine of the Last Supper now representing or being the body and blood of Christ broken and poured out in the act of Crucifixion, the association is clear between the

church services and the Easter drama and this association is especially close and potently demonstrated in the services held during Holy Week and at Easter.

In the passage that I have quoted Bevington is writing about a period before Kennedy's time, but traditions continue. Nothing quite like Kennedy's poem is extant in Scots poetry and although we can only surmise Kennedy's purpose or intention in The Passioun of Crist, the headings for the "Ferria quarta traditio Domini" and the "ferria quinta" and for the canonical Hours strongly suggest its use by a congregation during the Easter season. There are certainly strong elements of liturgical drama within it and it would appear that Kennedy's The Passioun of Crist was originally a passion play into which the congregation would be prepared to enter emotionally and devoutly.

If we envisage The Passioun as being incorporated into the liturgy, there is another aspect which we should take into account and which would add to its dramatic force, that is, the part which music played in the services. With priests and choirs trained in plain song and "pricket song," as has already been noted, we can imagine the parts in The Passioun being sung by different voices and sections of the choir and the lyrical passages being sung as hymns.

There is another feature of the poem which we notice in reading and which might also have been brought out strongly in a dramatic presentation where choirs were

singing or reciting. We notice Kennedy's device of balancing not only words and phrases but also ideas, in an almost antiphonal fashion, right through the poem. Sometimes one line is set against another, as in the early stanza telling of the creation of man: "He micht haue stand quhill God to grace him brocht, / But pane or dreid; bot he unwislie wrocht" (ll. 76-77). We can see here that the opening words of the first line are balanced and completed by the closing words of the second line, while the subordinate clause has two parts within it, "quhill God to grace him brocht" and "But pane or dreid." An example of where the second line balances the first line is where the crowd cries out "Crucify" and Pilot replies to them:

> "Crucifige; apoun þe croce him bind."
> Bot Pilot said: "Na caus in him I find."
> (ll. 622-623)

There are many instances of this direct division into two ideas within two lines. "On euery side sustene fell torment" (l. 706) is balanced by the following line, "Syne fra all syn beand so innocent," and again in the course of one of the meditations. "For gif but caus Crist wes slane cruelly" (l. 720) is followed by "O Lord, quhat sall worth of ws þat ar gilty?" Christ on the Cross cries out: "Till me þe sone þou sendis no remeid, / Bot in my wo refreschis me with ded" (ll. 944-945). Later the Cross, in replying to Mary, uses this same kind of antiphony: "For I him tuke as man mortall to de, / And inmortall he sall restorit be"

(ll. 1161-1162). When Joseph takes Christ's body from the Cross, "He come doun richer þan quhen he vp ascendit, / Be all þe gold þat he had on him spendit" (ll. 1238-1239), and at the entombment: "Quhilk be iustice suld sit in trone to rigne, / Now vnder fute into ane coif þai thring" (ll. 1315-1316[97]). All of these examples that I have selected are also instances where the lines are bound together by end rhyme; they are in each case the closing concept rounding off a stanza; this is a place where antiphonal treatment would be especially striking.

There are other places where the two lines which are antiphonally related do not come either at the end of a stanza nor as the fourth and fifth lines and, therefore (within the overall pattern of rhyme royal) do not rhyme. An example is where Christ submits to the law although he is King of all the world: "As wes þe law that tyme intill Iowry, / Off all þe warld thocht he wes lord & king" (ll. 163-164). We can see that the clause, "As wes þe law," which begins the first of these two lines, is balanced by the closing words of the second line "he wes lord & king," so that, although they do not have end rhyme, these lines are closely related. Two lines are directly balanced in "Thoucht he wes sone & prince to God eterne, / Makand his duelling intill ane sempill hame" (ll. 205-206), where the contrast of ideas is supported by the contrast between "prince" and "eterne" in one line and "sempill hame" in

the other.

Throughout the poem there are single lines where the caesura divides two ideas, for example in "That þai ar ded quhilk wald þe barne haue slane" (l. 188), "Thoucht þai wer pure & he a riche lord" (l. 195), "Baptist wes thair, thocht he wes cleyne of syn" (l. 216), "Raissand þe ded, þai to slay þe seikand" (l. 238), "I staw þe frute, þocht þou restorit agane" (l. 399), "Wes na remeid bot ded his pane to schort" (l. 588), "And for my luf I get no thing bot pane" (l. 973), and many more.

I have chosen a few examples out of many in The Passioun of Crist to show the contrasts between one line and the next and between parts within a line. The subject, of course, lends itself to this treatment--Christ the prince, the Son of God being borne a babe into a simple home; the Lord of Heaven submitting Himself to trial on earth; the One without sin being punished for the sins of mankind--the ironic contrasts are present, but Kennedy's phrases show that he can underline them. Antiphonal treatment by speakers or by a choir would dramatically bring them to life.

Kennedy shows in another way his desire to bring the act that is performed by Christ in His Passion and Death, and by the other actors in the drama, home to his congregation. He introduces references which would be familiar to them. The action in The Passioun of Crist could have taken

place in Scotland. There are several references to a landscape which is distinctively Scottish. There is no description of the setting as such but it forms, especially in its cumulative effect, a picture of what Kennedy must have known himself.

Adam and Eve are put out of Paradise:

> He and his seid euer in þis warld to pas,
> Wanderand in wa, as man in nycht glaidles;
> In cauld and heit his neidis to purches,
> As woundit wycht in natour bair of grace,
> Put to þe horn, exilit fra Goddis face.
> (ll. 87-91)

"Put to þe horn" is a particularly Scottish expression,[98] while "wanderand . . . in nycht glaidles, in cauld . . ." also reflects a Scottish landscape rather than one from the middle-east, and it is through this same kind of country that Mary passes when she goes to her cousin:

> Than, but delay, scho went vnto þe montane,
> Quhair duelling maid hir tender cousingnes,
> Apoun hir fute; thoucht scho had gret pane,
> Scho fenyeit nocht þat hevy way to pas.
> (ll. 134-137)

Christ walks the same way in line 230. "In cauld and hunger rynand throw slik & clay," and again in the stanza that sums up His ministry:

> Efter lang pane & lauber infinite,
> Hunger, thrist, cauld, in wynd & rane,
> Walking, wandering, powerte, gret dispite,
> Dollour, diseis, cair cotidiane.
> (ll. 253-256)

We can recognize the moorland landscape of southwest Scotland, and if, as Laing surmises, Kennedy was rector of Douglas and performed at least some of his parish duties

himself, these are the kinds of countryside and weather that he must have known; there is a strong sense of reality in the picture presented in these four lines.

Not only is the landscape Scottish; there are other Scottish touches in The Passioun of Crist. In line 150 "thir arlis offerit he." The word "arlis" is still in use, or at least in remembrance in southwest Scotland today. It applies to coins given as a token of good faith between master and servant in sealing the bargain made between them. Servants were hired at the great fairs that were held in Scotland in medieval times and later, at certain centres several times a year and usually at Whitsun and Martinmas. As these fairs provided an interruption in the routine of life for everyone as well as masters and servants, a reference of this kind would be clearly understood by all.

Another Scottish touch comes in where "In þe tolbuth, Pilot enterit in" (l. 519), and again in line 553 where "Thai cry his deth quhill all þe tolboith soundis." I have explained in an earlier chapter that the tolbooth was the council chamber of the burgh in Scotland and one of the symbols of the rising importance of the merchants and burgesses during the fifteenth century. The "crabbit theif" (l. 911) has a truly Scottish air about him. In line 402 Peter stands "at þe yet." 'Yett' is still used in southwest Scotland today for a gate, while the "gait" in line 400--"Annas hous wes first into þe gait"--was the common

word for the main street in Kennedy's day. Words like these form a bridge between the events in the poem and the Scottish hearer or reader. The social and physical setting is never depicted for its own sake, but it is quietly there, and it is very Scottish.

Schipper, commenting on the word "slik" in line 230, which I have quoted above, says that "the poet, who evidently has not a very clear idea of the geological nature of Palestine, is thinking here of his own country."[99] Kennedy may be writing in a rather naive way in placing the dramatic events of Christ's Passion in a Scottish setting, because he does not know what Palestine is like. On the other hand, he does seem to be making a conscious effort to bring his account of Christ's sufferings and death home to his people. He has shown in the Prologue that he is deliberately choosing "Inglis toung" and "maist plane termes," and there may also be conscious artistry in the choice of his Scottish background.

The Prologue to the poem defines Kennedy's purpose in presenting the story of Christ's Passion and it may also be in itself an indication that to fulfil this purpose Kennedy may have taken what he had earlier composed as a liturgical drama for use in church and offered it to a wider public as an alternative to the romances that they enjoyed. It has already been suggested that books were read by worshippers in the congregation during mass, and

Kennedy may have had this in mind. The reader of such a poem, whether in church or elsewhere, if he had seen the Passion performed, would have a predisposition to visualize the events recounted against the background of the church services with their accompaniments of music, colour and dramatization, and so be led to an attitude of devotion with "profit to be saule."

Even today with difficulties of language to be overcome, The Passioun of Crist is moving. Whether experienced as a dramatization, listened to or read by Kennedy's contemporaries, it must have been exceedingly powerful. It is far removed, for example, from Lydgate's Passion poems on which Derek Pearsall comments:

> Lydgate wrote comparatively few poems on the Passion, and those that he did write have little to do with the tradition of intimate, passionate attachment to the body of Christ which plays so large a part in medieval lyric-writing . . . . There is a good deal of detail of the agonies of the Cross [in Lydgate's Passion poems] but so laboriously accumulated and unimaginatively used as to be completely without affective power.100

Kennedy, on the other hand, builds up his poem imaginatively and it still is moving.

Turning now from dramatic and affective aspects of The Passioun of Crist, I would like to consider its language and style. We saw in "Clostir of Christ" the way in which Kennedy associated a variety of qualities, attributes and functions to the Virgin Mary, some of them simple, such as "lass," some of them more ornate, "beriale bosome," for

example, but all intended to delineate and enhance her worth. In The Passioun of Crist, Kennedy similarly employs a wide range of amplifications applied to Christ. Christ is, for example, "Cristin knycht" (l. 1), "riall king" (l. 2), "prince perpetuall" (l. 4), "lord & king" (l. 164), "nobill prince & king" (l. 167), "gracius prince" (l. 169); He is prince, lord and king frequently throughout the whole poem. Christ's function towards men is also shown as, for example, "protectour principall" (l. 5), "till seik be heill" (l. 147), "be generall saluitour" (l. 1381); He is frequently referred to as "saluitour" and "saluiour." These expressions come from a common stock familiar in formal prayer. Christ is called "lampe of lycht" (ll. 3, 245 and 932), "mirrour of meiknes" (l. 282) and "prent of perfitnes" (l. 590). These images of lamp and mirror and print were popular, as was the concept of Christ as a fair and noble young prince.

At the beginning of the poem Kennedy uses rich, sensuous terms. Christ is "boist of balme," "spice of taist," "sueit sympheony," "silk to graipe," "to sicht rycht lycht odour," "to feit fute rode." He is a "dern closit," a "bed till rest" and a "beyme to skaill of ded be dirk vmbrakill." We see a close resemblance in such figures to the kind of imagery of a more artificial nature that was discussed in connection with "Clostir of Christ." On the other hand, much of the subsequent language used in the

Passioun proper to describe Christ is not elaborate. He is "þi maker," "þis lord," "man of craft" and "Goddis sone."

Looking at Kennedy's diction in the poem, not only in those words and phrases that apply to Christ, but in general, we find that there are a number of Latinate words. For example, the word "structioun" in line 26 (ostrich), is strange to our ears, but other words of Latin origin, such as "consolacioun," "occupacioun," "delectacioun," which are useful as rhymes, nevertheless do blend in with the old English ones as we see in this stanza:

> Bot sen our natour is of sic a kind
> That euer it seikis consolacioun,
> He is maist wise þat dalie hes in mynd
> Him self to keip in occupacioun
> Quhair-on þe spirit hes delectacioun;
> Profit to þe saule, his God worschip & dreid,
> Confort þi hert but lesing of his meid.
> (ll. 43-48)

A stanza half-way through the poem is representative of Kennedy's word choice:

> The first þat scornit Crist into his ded
> Wes þe pepill þat þe croce passit by:
> Thir folk for scorne apoun him schuk þair heid,
> Sayand: "On the, and all þi doctryne, fy!
> Thow said: 'Þis tempill I sall distroy in hy,
> Ane ane vthir in dais thre vp bring.'
> Now help thy self, gif þou be Crist our king."
> (ll. 855-861)

In this stanza out of a total of sixty words only ten are of more than one syllable, and none has more than two. Of the ten words of two syllables three are verbs, and their second syllables are inflexions, namely "scornit," "passit," and "sayand." Two are prepositions: "apoun" and "into";

three are nouns: "pepill," "tempill" and "doctryne," one a pronoun, "vthir" and one a verb of two syllables, "distroy." This stanza is from the section which I have likened to a sermon, and Kennedy may have kept the language deliberately simple in accordance with his purpose of expounding clearly.

In another part of The Passioun of Crist the Cross replies to the Virgin; here we might expect a high style, because this passage is part of a conversation between two actors, the Cross and Mary, who are involved in the greatest drama in history. We do not find, however, any lexical artificiality nor any straining after effect.

> "O hevinly queyne, be nobill prince of price
> He set me croce agane, yt hote be tre
> Quhilk God abone plantit in paradice,
> Throw quhilk men fell in gret perplexite.
> Thocht he saw nocht, he restorit be me,
> Frethand be man bat had nocht to lay doun,
> Quhill bat my frute is sauld for his ransoun.
> (ll. 1135-1141)

In fact, it is only at the very beginning of the poem that we feel there is straining after effect. Kennedy wishes to have a gorgeous beginning that commands attention.

> Hail, Cristin knycht, haill, etern confortour,
> Haill, riall king in trone celistiall,
> Haill, lampe of licht, haill, Iesu saluitour,
> In hevin empire prince perpetuall,
> Haill, in distres protectour principall,
> Haill, God and man, borne of a virgin cleyne,
> Haill, boist of balme, spilit within my splene.

Once he has captured attention and explained his purpose, his language is generally simple and direct.

There are a number of occasions in the poem where Kennedy plays on the meanings of words. In line 278, for example, "He said þe grace, & syne þe grace began," the first "grace" refers to the words of blessing spoken over the food and the second "grace" seems to refer to Christ's grace as shown in His offering Himself as sacrifice. In "As bund to ded as þai him bundin had" (l. 497) "bund" is metaphorical and "bundin" literal.

The directness of language that I have spoken of also serves Kennedy well in his purpose of bringing out the irony in many of the situations described in his poem. In talking of the part the choir might have played, I selected many antiphonal lines and couplets. When we examine these balanced phrases and ideas we see that many of them are ironic. "Syne wesche þair feit, þat ran to sched his blude" (l. 286) is one example only out of many, and we see how simple is the language that carries the ironic contrast.

Some of the words and collocations that Kennedy uses in The Passioun of Crist appear on record in DOST for the first time in this poem.[101] Examples of these are listed below:

Lines 94	bandonit knycht	
58	curiosite	
1321	de[i]ficall	- only recorded instance.
649	dispectioun	
802	dring	

Lines 70 foune - only recorded instance

1375 hillarite

801 naice - first in the sense of reluctance

Kennedy may merely be the first to be recorded or he may have coined the words of aureate type to meet a need.

As we read The Passioun, we see that there are a number of words, apart from those that we would expect to find in any context, which appear in this poem and also in "The Flyting" or in the lyrics. A few examples of these are: bla(e), bois(t), devoid(e), dispite, dispitous, flyte, furius(s) fule, haw, invy, Lollard, laithly lippis, wareit. These are an indication of Kennedy's ability to vary the levels of his language and to use on the whole a middle style.

I have looked at some aspects of language and style and I should like now to consider the stanza form, rhyme schemes and alliteration that Kennedy employs in this poem. Unlike the lyrics and "The Flyting" which are written in eight-line stanzas, The Passioun of Crist is composed in stanzas of seven ten-syllable lines, rhyming a b a b b c c. This is the form known as rhyme royal. Although Kennedy employs this stanza throughout the poem, he succeeds in introducing great variety within it. In some of the stanzas the basic rhyme scheme is varied by the last line being a refrain; there is much internal rhyme, and the end rhyme is sometimes masculine and at other times feminine, while

Latinate words which rhyme on their last syllables are useful resources. I shall show a few representative but not exhaustive examples of Kennedy's practice.

When we look at lines 792-805, we see one section where topic and intensity seem to call for frequent internal rhyme and I shall present it in a fashion to demonstrate:

O man, on kne
Before þe tre
        you kneill,
With hert and e
Luke to þe fre,
        & say:
"Quha the
So hie
Hes [tane] fro me,
        my se[i]ll?
All game and gle
Is gane fra me
        away.
Wa
Will me sla
Throw dollour or
        my day.
I may
Nocht luke, bot þow abone me draw
To kis þi feit
With bludè all wet
        ouraw.
O my kind king,
Of þis parting,
        allace,
Fra me all thing
Of conforting
        is tane.
O I vnding,
Of all helping,
        so naice,
May seik and sing
As dulfull dring
        allane.
Haist for to bring
Me into þi rigne
        sone hame,
For, se
I þe
        hing

The first stanza ends with the line, "Syne with his dart him for [to] sla, allace"; the fourth with "Syne with gret pane he gaif þe gaist, allace"; the fifth with "For my kind kingis ded to say: 'Allace'." The seventh stanza ends with "Thow hes him slane, þairfor, but law, allace," the tenth with "The croun of thorne thirlis his heid, allace," where neither "sla," "slane" nor "ded" appears but where the idea of suffering is present; the final stanza of this passage, which as I have noted, combines narrative with lament, ends with "For sueit Iesu is ded fra me, allace."

Another lament appears when Christ's body has been taken down from the Cross, and Mary "cryit reuthfully / 'Now þou art deid, þairfor full way is me'" (ll. 1245-1246). Her lament is interwoven with the narrative here and each stanza finishes with the words "full w(y) is me." The first part of this last line in the six stanzas has variations on the emotional outburst: "Now þow art deid." For example, line 1253 is: "My sone is deid, þairfor full way is me"; line 1260 is "My sueit sone is deid, þairfor full way is me," and line 1281 is: "For þi doctour is ded, allace, full wa is me." The words rhyming with me are sometimes of one syllable, as "de," "se," "the" and "be," and are twice the final suffix of a word, as in "reuthfully" and "petiuslie."

Throughout the poem Kennedy varies his rhymes. As I have mentioned, he uses Latinate words as, for example, in lines 44, 46 and 47, where we find "consolacioun," "occupacioun" and "delectacioun." Here we see that the three

On þe tre
me
fro
Deith with his dart
Will smyt my hert
in two."

If at first glance we feel that Kennedy is straining and overdoing it, we must remember that in these stanzas he is providing words for the worshipper to use. They must, therefore, be easily memorable, and the frequent repetition of similar endings makes the task of memorizing much easier. The internal rhyme here is very similar to the pattern that we saw at the end of both Dunbar's and Kennedy's long sections in "The Flyting," and it is interesting to find it used in The Passioun to such different purpose.

Each seventh line, from lines 974 to 1064, ends with the word "allace"; Kennedy has to find, for these thirteen stanzas, thirteen words which rhyme with "allace." These are "space," "grace," "naice," "face," "hais," "brace," "cais," "rais," "hais," "solace," "pas," "besynes" and "place," the weakest of these being "besynes" (business) where he has to put a strong stress on a suffix. This section is a lament as well as part of the narrative and also a flyting with Death. These functional elements are united in a masterly way and one of the devices for combining them is the use of "Allace" as the final word in each stanza. However, there is more to unite them than just the one word. The final line of each stanza, that which ends with the word "Allace," is a comment on Christ's suffering and death, with the frequent repetition of the words "sla" and "ded."

final syllables rhyme. Sometimes only one final syllable rhymes, as in lines 9, 11 and 12: "sympheony," "herbry" and "very" (weary), or in lines 36 and 37: "studyus" and "Troylus." The present participle ending, "and," can be used as a rhyme, as in lines 237 and 238, "doand" and "seikand." Kennedy also has stanzas where every rhyming word is of a single syllable as in lines 857 to 903 where the rhyming words are: "way," "pane," "day," "fane," "slane," "wyn," "in." The stanza from line 246 to line 252 has only one word of more than one syllable; its rhyming words are: "brycht," "bair," "hicht," "sair," "mair," "ded," "remeid." Sometimes a word of one syllable rhymes with the suffix of another word as in lines 79, 81 and 82 where we find: "king," "bring" and "taisting." "Dame" is used to rhyme with "pane" in lines 104 and 105, and again in lines 156, 158 and 159 we find "Bathelem," "allane" and "schame."

A stanza which combines irregular internal rhyme with assonance is that from line 771 to line 777:

> Mony panis he tholit of befor,
> Bot to þis pane is na pane tobe peir.
> Now he is mait, now he may do no mair,
> Now flesch, blude, & banis is all on steir.
> Now dede fra pane hes tane him presoneir,
> Quhilkis him handillis full sair in euery part,
> Fra heid to fute him persis with a dart.

Kennedy provides variety by a skilfull shift in the position of the caesura, and I will take one stanza from the narrative to show this mastery:

> Iudas, / þat herd þat conspiracioun
> And fals counsall; / wrocht rycht vnworthely,

That him nocht warnit / of ewill nacioun,
Quhilk nycht & day / him for to sla / set spy.
Bot he wes full / of subtell tratory,
Thairfor his lord / for littill price he sauld,
Put in thair will, / quhat thing gif him þai wald.
(ll. 267-273)

We can see in this stanza that in addition to varying the position of the pause, Kennedy uses the device of run-on lines as in lines 267-268. Most of Kennedy's lines are end-stopped but he does use run-on lines for variety. An example comes from the stanza just before the one quoted above, where we find:

On Wedin[s]day in hous of Cayphes þai
Gadderit, princis and preistis of þe law,
Him be sum meyn dissaitfully to sla,
For of þe pepill þe preistis [had] gret aw
Him to persew; for na rycht couth þai schaw
Quhy he suld de; for quhy he giddit sua,
That na offence he did to freind nor faa.
(ll. 260-266)

By use of the run-on lines, especially of more than one, as we find in this stanza, Kennedy gives speed to his narrative. Another example comes in a stanza which is expository rather than narrative, shortly after the one just quoted:

The seramonis of þe ald testiament
And vthir figouris tuke end quhen he ordand
His precius body till ws as sacrament,
In forme of breid blissit with his hand.
(ll. 309-312)

Kennedy uses alliteration in The Passioun of Crist, not with regularity, but rather occasionally as enrichment. The alliteration is stronger in the more formal and traditional collocations, "Hail cristin knycht, haill, etern

confortour" (l. 1); "lampe of licht" (l. 3), "prince perpetuall" (l. 4) and "protectour principall" (l. 5). There is alliteration on the phonemes /b/ and /s/ in the two last lines of the first stanza:

> Haill, God and man, borne of a virgin cleyne,
> Haill, boist of balme, spilit within my splene.
> (ll. 6-7)

An alliterative, formulaic collocation as here, for example "rute & ryn," can be embedded in a stanza that otherwise uses mainly "maist plane termes":

> Than God be angell send in be ciete
> Off Nazareth to Mary be virgin,
> Quhilk halsit hir with reuerence & piete,
> Sayand: "Haill, sueit angelicall regin;
> God hes the chosin to be baith rute & ryn
> For mannis peace: for bou a sone sall beir
> Callit Iesu; thairfor be nocht affeir."
> (ll. 120-126)

To maintain rhyme royal without monotony through two hundred and forty-five stanzas is no easy task. Kennedy shows his mastery of rhyme and rhythm by many devices, for example, by his inclusion of internal rhymes and refrains and his skilful variation in the placing of the caesura; by these means he succeeds in holding our attention to the end.

Walter Kennedy's extant works fall naturally into three groups, the lyrics, "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" and The Passioun of Crist, and I have considered them according to this division. In addition to the four lyrics which form the first group, there are lyrics in The

Passioun. The short poems and The Passioun all deal with religious topics, while "The Flyting" is a work of a very different nature, being a trial of skill in invective and technique between two poets.

All of Kennedy's verse is composed in stanza form, the lyrics and "The Flyting" in stanzas of eight lines, rhyming a b a b b c b c in the lyrics, and a b a b b c c b in "The Flyting." The Passioun is in rhyme royal, where the pattern of rhyme is a b a b b c c. Within the stanza form that he selects, Kennedy introduces great variety; he shows mastery of elaborate form and intricacy in his handling of rhyme and metre, and I have shown in discussing the separate works how he employs internal rhyme and also adds alliteration for embellishment to provide further interest.

Not only does Kennedy show mastery of rhyme and metre, he also has great skill in his choice of words. Kennedy's range of language is very wide. We are fortunate that of the little that remains of his work we have examples such as "The Flyting" and The Passioun, which represent extremes in topic. On the face of it, we might expect extremes of vocabulary. Kennedy, however, draws on a great variety of diction and he can also exploit levels of style without regard for rigid rules of 'decorum'. He can select the words he wishes; he uses aureate language in the lyrics, "The Flyting" and The Passioun, but always under control to suit his purpose.

Choice of words is associated with the medium of communication, with the relationship between the communicator and those he is addressing and with the function of his communication. Kennedy's poems, "Clostir of Christ" and The Passioun, are both religious poems of a celebratory nature and I have shown their relationship with worship. They are public and practical expressions of religious belief and yet they are not couched, as is so much religious thought, in archaic and artificial terms. Crystal and Davy in discussing varieties of language comment:

> The kind of language a speech community uses for the expression of its religious beliefs on public occasions is usually one of the most distinctive varieties it possesses. Very often, it is so removed from the language of everyday conversation as to be almost unintelligible, save to an initiated minority.[101]

Of course the language of poetry and the language of everyday conversation are also not the same, and Kennedy in his poetry does borrow some distinctive terms from formal religious usage, but it is surprising how little formal diction Kennedy employs despite the situation in his day where the initiated were not a minority but the whole people. He can, as I have shown earlier, assume a certain community of interest, of knowledge and of belief. The Church was the centre of life in late medieval Scotland in a way it is no longer, and the ideas expressed in religious poetry were familiar, but Kennedy takes pains to keep his language simple and direct. As we have seen in the contest in "The Flyting" and especially in the Prologue to

The Passioun, he is conscious of choice of language. Kennedy does use aureate diction; he also employs dialect terms and slang, Latin tags and antiphons, but especially he uses a virile vernacular.

One aspect of language that I would like to consider here is the poet's own pronunciation. Rhyme is frequently an indicator of pronunciation and this is most true when the poet shows mastery and keeps his rhymes to his own idiolect. Many of Kennedy's rhymes are conventional or normal, as, for example, "kind," "mind," or "curiosite," "deficulte," from The Passioun, but many indicate ways of pronouncing sounds or syllables, as, for example, "remeid," "ded," and "power," "prisoner," from the same poem. These last two rhyme only if "power" [puer] is of two syllables with some stress on the last one and with similar stress on the final syllable of "prisoner." Other examples could be found such as "beir" (bear) and "affeir" (afraid) in lines 125 and 126.

An example from The Passioun which is interesting in indicating pronunciation is the stanza, lines 239 to 245, where "blis," "witnes" and "faderis" rhyme. The final syllable of "faderis" is the plural suffix and is sometimes syllabic where metre requires but may not be. The common Scottish ending in the present tense is also "is," which contrasts as a distinguishing inflectional feature with the southern eb, and is rarely syllabic but may be for the sake of rhythm or of rhyme.

I will select two lyrics "Clostir of Christ" and "At matyne houre" to illustrate. As Kennedy shows mastery over metre, we can make certain inferences (unless lines in the text have become corrupt) about the stress or lack of stress on syllables needed to keep regularity both internally and at the end of a line, and can say that in some instances 'is' is syllabic and in others it is not.

"Clostir of Christ"

'is' syllabic		'is' non-syllabic	
Line 7	ordouris	line 2	amouris
25	fludis	4	babis, schouris
	lochis	5	favouris
30	woddis	7	honouris
61	sawlis	11	synnaris, Godis (possessive)
		12	palpis
		25	wellis
		27	planetis, montains, fellis
		28	Virgillis
		29	pennis
		30	forestis, treis, gardingis gravis
		31	honouris
		33	virginis
		41	hevinnis (possessive)
		43	Sanctis
		44	eres
		46	sonnis (possessive)

'is' syllabic	'is' non-syllabic
	Line 51 palpis
	52 handis
	53 sydis
	57 vowis, prayeris, hechtis
	59 fechtis
	60 standis
	63 stowis, Angellis (possessive)

"At matyne houre"

'is' syllabic	'is' non-syllabic
Line 1 middis	Line 3 yeiris
10 lustis, lastis	8 drawis, also ll. 16, 24, 32, 40
17 semis	14 knawis
35 aithis	22 lawis
	30 dryvis, blawis
	34 clayis
	35 seilis
	36 freindis, fayis
	38 sawis

The verb ending 'it' is similarly for purposes of metre sometimes syllabic and sometimes not.

"Clostir of Christ"

'it' syllabic	'it' non-syllabic
Line 18 consavit	Line 35 joyit
46 persit	39 chesit
62 servit	

In line 22 "generit" may be "gen'rit" or "gener't."

"At matyne hourie"

'it' syllabic		'it' non-syllabic	
Line 2	Walknit	Line 3	semit
3	aigit	7	ourpassit
14	accusit	34	borrowit
15	Blissit	36	fosterit
18	semit		
20	fullfillit		

Some other probable pronunciations may be noted in "Clostir of Christ":

The word for 'heaven' is generally one syllable, e.g., "hevyn" (l. 3), "hevyne" (ll. 7 and 27) and "hevin" (l. 69).

In line 41 "hevinnis" has two syllables with non-syllabic 'is'.

In line 11 "jugement" has three syllables.

14 "forgeif" has three syllables.

15 "nevir" has two syllables but in line 47 it has one.

49 "eyne" has two syllables.

50 "bane" has a final syllabic 'e' though this would be very lightly stressed.

In lines 48 and 56 "Benedicta" and "benedictus" have three syllables with an elided 'e' in the middle, and in the final line, No. 72, "Dei" and "mei" are monosyllabic.

In lines 20 and 59 the word "Devill" has one syllable to fit the metre, [dil].

Catherine Van Buuren in an unpublished paper[102] has a useful comment on the word 'dele':

> "4. dele 'deul'. The evidence in DOST tells us that the form dele does not appear earlier than in passages in the Asloan MS. Buke of the Howlat 799 within the line, and BSS [i.e., The Book of The Seven Sages] 512, rhyming with wele 'well' adv. The spelling deill occurs first unrhymed in John Rowlis Cursing, c. 1500, and in Kennedy's Flyting, c. 1508, rhyming with feill.
>
> Assuming that the Asloan correctly represented Sir Richard Holland's intention for the spelling of dele in the Buke of Howlat, this would give us an earliest date of c. 1450. The spelling devill is found three times in BSS, rhyming with wele 'well' adv. again: this indicates a reduced pronunciation of the unreduced spelling; we also find this spelling unrhymed where the scansion seems to call for a monosyllabic pronunciation."[103]

In "The Flyting" Kennedy uses the spelling "deill" (l. 259) to rhyme with "feill" (l. 257) and this is a clear indication of the pronunciation. Sometimes it is spelled "devill" in "The Flyting" where the scansion calls for a monosyllable. Line 360, a good example of Kennedy's fondness for internal rhyme is: "Deulbere! thow devis the devill, thyne eme, wyth dyn."

Kennedy uses the vernacular in all his poems, not only in "The Flyting," where it is particularly predominant, but also in the lyrics and in The Passioun. Another aspect of language patterning that Kennedy employs is antithesis. I have shown his use of this device in a lyric like "Leiff luif, my luif" as well as in The Passioun. These antitheses fall not only within a line, where the caesura marks the break between verbal contrasts, but frequently extend over

longer passages and involve ironic contrasts of actions and ideas. There is no ironic contrast in "Clostir of Christ" which I think is an early poem, but certain antitheses are present, for example in: "Sched betuix synnaris and Godis jugement" (l. 11) and "Saifand our sawlis frome be playand leid / Of hell, quhair it servit to be tane to; Syne stowis us saifly in to Angellis steid" (ll. 61-63). Ironic antitheses are very marked, as I have demonstrated, in The Passioun of Crist, where the contrasts are frequently brought out between Christ and those who oppose Him. The contrasts are there in the events and Kennedy certainly exploits them.

Kennedy seems to enjoy contrasts for their own sake. Perhaps they appealed to something in his nature. He is a man of many contrasts himself. He is of noble birth but, if Dunbar's picture of him in "The Flyting" is at all lifelike, he is gaunt, poorly and untidily dressed, and he lives if not in poverty at least unostentatiously. His mind is capable of extremes; his poetic genius finds its outlet in the two poems, "The Flyting" and The Passioun which perhaps stand at opposite ends of a spectrum of subject matter, the one lambasting another poet, the other commemorating the redeeming sufferings of our Lord. Kennedy's choice of subject and his interests and field of reference are wide.

He is a poet from a powerful family representing traditions which are rooted in Gaelic culture. Although

we do not think, today, of Ayrshire as part of the Highlands of Scotland, in Kennedy's day its affiliations were with the Highlands and Islands as distinct from the Lowlands. We have seen in "The Flyting" how Kennedy defends Gaelic culture and language against Dunbar, the Lowlander. Kennedy shows an interest in the past history of Scotland and in its political and religious life. His ancestors were involved in Scottish affairs; he himself is one of the poets associated with the Scottish court; he is interested in the state of the Church and of the world. One at least of his lyrics reflects unrest in both of these spheres. He is an educated man, a master of arts of Glasgow University and probably a priest. Certainly he has a deep and practical interest in religion. The Passioun and the lyrics show his familiarity with the liturgy of the Church and with Passion plays. The Passioun of Crist incorporates a dramatic presentation of Christ's sufferings set into the framework of the canonical Hours.

The lyrics and The Passioun are religious but in "Clostir of Christ" he takes a fresh approach to a generally very formally treated subject, and in his retelling of the Passion story he brings in new features. He is the successor of Lydgate and of Henryson, but he has grown beyond these men in his treatment of religious subjects. He is the contemporary of Dunbar and his fellow.

Kennedy is a man emerging from his medieval mould, and although in his poems he seems to stand for the old

religious forms and beliefs in face of new ideas, he himself reveals breaks with tradition. There is little in Kennedy's work of medieval preoccupation with astronomy or astrology, of number symbolism or of the unreal world of allegorical figures and landscapes. The world he reflects in his poetry is the real world.

His environment, his particular community, was Scotland emerging from the Middle Ages, Scotland in a period of change, gradually establishing secure institutions, a strong monarchy, increasing economic stability, a higher general standard of living, and, furthermore, developing its own rich cultural life which found voice in the poetry of the Scottish Makars.

Kennedy emerges as a representative, almost a symbol, of this change. I have attempted to show some of the ways in which Kennedy was typical of his times, a transitional figure with his feet in his feudal and medieval heritage, but with his head breathing the fresh air, the "winds of change" of his day, the currents of thought that were blowing into Scotland.

Footnotes to Chapter III

[1]W.S. Ramson, "Ballatis of Theologie: Godis Gloir and Ouir Salvatioun," unpublished paper delivered at the Second International Conference on Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Language and Literature, held at Strasbourg, July, 1978, p. 14.

[2]Mackenzie, Dunbar, No. 82.

[3]Ibid., No. 60.

[4]Ibid., No. 85.

[5]O.E.D. definition for 'ballade'. For 'ballad' O.E.D. states first English reference is 1492--a light simple song of any land. In sixteenth and seventeenth century--ad became at(e).

[6]Pearsall, John Lydgate, p. 273.

[7]Ibid., p. 271.

[8]Raymond Oliver, Poems Without Names, Berkeley, 1970, pp. 68-69.

[9]Ibid., p. 82.

[10]Pearsall, p. 268.

[11]Now in Edinburgh University Library.

[12]Charles Elliott, ed., Robert Henryson, Poems, Oxford, 1974, p. 136.

[13]Schipper believes the poet is addressing one he loves personally.

[14]I have quoted from the Authorized Version. Wyclif's vernacular translation would have been available.

[15]Mackenzie, No. 7.

[16]Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature, p. 118.

[17]Mackenzie, No. 4.

[18]Ibid., No. 8.

[19]Ibid., No. 63.

[20] Ibid., No. 47.

[21] Ibid., No. 60.

[22] Bawcutt, Douglas, p. 49.

[23] See, for example, James I. Wimsatt, Allegory and Mirror, New York, 1970.

[24] W.A. Craigie and A.J. Aitken, eds. The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue.

[25] John MacQueen, Allegory, London, 1970, p. 29.

[26] John Knox, History of the Reformation, Bk I, in Works, ed. D. Laing, Vol. I, Edinburgh, 1846, pp. 7-12.

[27] Mackenzie, No. 21:

[28] Laing says that this poem is not worthy of comment.

[29] R.L. Mackie, King James IV, p. 35.

[30] Ibid., pp. 121-123.

[31] "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie" has been frequently commented on; for example, by the following:

1834 - Laing, Dunbar, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.
Vol. II, pp. 417-439.

1861 - Irving, The History of Scotish Poetry, pp. 253-254, 417-424.

1893 - Mackay, Dunbar, S.T.S. Society, ed. by Small, pp. xx-xxi; xxvii-xxviii; pp. cix-cxv; pp. 36-69, ccxxxix-ccxl.

1932 - Mackenzie, Dunbar, pp. 198-201 (same pages in 1970 edition.

1952 - Baxter, William Dunbar, a Biographical Study, Edinburgh, 1952, pp. 1-6, 39, 62-84.

1954 - McDiarmid, "William Dunbar" in The Scottish Historical Review, Vol. xxxiii, i, April, 1954, pp. 46-52.

1955 - Kinsley, Scottish Poetry, pp. 28-29.

1958 - Wittig, The Scottish Tradition in Literature, pp. 61, 75.

1966 - Scott, Dunbar. A Critical Exposition of The Poems, Edinburgh, 1966, pp. 171-178.

[32]John Speirs, "A Survey of Medieval Verse," in The Pelican Guide to English Literature, I. The Age of Chaucer, Harmondsworth (1954), 1969, p. 44.

[33]Wittig, p. 123.

[34]Tom Scott, Dunbar, A Critical Exposition of the Poems, Edinburgh, 1966.

[35]Ibid., p. 178.

[36]Mackie, p. 145.

[37]Mackenzie in "Notes on The Flyting," p. 199, identifies the Quinting/Quintene of this poem with the Quentin Shaw of Dunbar's "Lament for the Makaris," but his identity is not established with certainty. Quintin Kennedy, 1520-1564 was a great-nephew of Walter and Quintin may have been a Kennedy family name earlier.

[38]For reference to the pejorative use of "gluntow" see David D. Murison, "Linguistic Relationships in Medieval Scotland" in The Scottish Tradition [Edinburgh], 1974, pp. 79-80.

[39]Unabridged from the original 1811 edition with a foreword by Robert Cromie, Illinois, 1971. Third, but not numbered, page of Introduction.

[40]According to DOST, the authoritative work on the early language of Scotland. It is published as far as P. Further examples of first recorded instances will no doubt be found in the remainder of the alphabet.

[41]The numbers are those of Mackenzie, Dunbar

[42]See also my comments on the Gaelic influence in Chapter II.

[43]Edinburgh, 1834, pp. 97-112.

[44]Vienna, 1901, pp. 25-94.

[45]Devotional Pieces in Verse and Prose, Edinburgh, 1955, pp. 7-63.

[46]Laing, Dunbar II, p. 448.

[47]Mackenzie, Nos. 81 and 80.

[48]Schipper, pp. 21-22.

[49]Ibid., p. 24.

[50]Bennett, p. iv. "Cupid is king" is in fact the first part of line 461 and "Inwy they mak schirray" is the second part of line 459.

[51]Pearsall, p. 265.

[52]Denis McKay, "Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560," Essays on The Scottish Reformation, Glasgow, 1962, pp. 91-92.

[53]Editorial Adviser, Music Section, 14th Edition of Encycl. Britt. Oratorio.

[54]R. George Thomas, Ten Miracle Plays, Evanston, Northwestern University Press and London, Arnold, 1966, p. 9.

[55]R.W. Ingram, "The Use of Music in the English Miracle Plays," Anglia, lxxv (1957), pp. 55-76.

[56]Thomas, op. cit. p. 9.

[57]R.T. Davies, ed., The Corpus Christi Play of the English Middle Ages, New Jersey, 1972, pp. 51-52.

[58]Ibid., p. 173.

[59]Text from A.W. Pollard, English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes, Oxford, 1927, pp. 39-40.

[60]McKay, p. 107.

[61]Ibid., p. 105.

[62]"Some Notes on the Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation Scotland," in Essays on The Scottish Reformation (see Note 52), p. 233.

[63]Davies, pp. 173 ff.

[64]David Bevington, ed., Medieval Drama, Boston, 1975, p. 407.

[65]J.S. Purvis, ed., The York Cycle, London, 1951, pp. 75-76.

[66]Mackenzie, No. 82.

[67]Davies, p. 446 gives a comparative table.

[68]Pollard, p. 44.

[69]Ibid., pp. 44 ff.

[70]Ibid., p. 191.

[71]Davies, p. 129.

[72]Bevington, pp. 796-902.

[73]Ibid., p. 799. Pearsall, p. 288, refers to Lydgate's Life of Our Lady. "Book II opens with the debate of the Four Daughters of God." Pearsall comments (p. 285) that this work is "one of the finest pieces of religious poetry in English, and its present availability in one scarce and difficult edition is a peculiar commentary on our attitudes to Lydgate. The edition is that of J. Lauritis, R. Klinefelter and V. Gallagher, Duquesne Studies, Philological Series 2, Pittsburgh, 1961.

[74]Laing notes in Dunbar II, p. 450. The author referred to was Landulphus or Ludolphus of Saxony, a Carthusian monk of the 14th century, who has been styled "Scriptor ultra saeculi sui sortem elegans" (Fabricii Bibl. Lat. Maedii AEvi, Vol. iv, p. 846. Eyringi Synopsis Hist. Liter. p. 433). His great work, entitled 'Divinum devotissimumque Vitae Christi Opus', was first printed in the year 1474, and passed through many editions. Translations of it into French, Spanish, Portuguese, and German, had also appeared previous to the year 1500 (Ebert's Bibliographisches Lexicon).

[75]Bevington, p. 520.

[76]Laing, Dunbar II, p. 448.

[77]R.L. Stevenson, Familiar Studies of Men and Books, London, 1911, p. 27.

[78]McKay, pp. 99-100.

[79]Davies, pp. 264-267.

[80]Bevington, pp. 508-510.

[81]Purvis, pp. 106-121.

[82]Ibid., p. 113.

[83]Bevington, p. 478.

[84]Davies, pp. 298-299.

[85]Purvis, p. 115.

[86]Quoted and discussed by Bawcutt, Douglas, p. 26.

[87]Bevington, p. 569.

[88]Mackenzie, No. 23.

[89]See, for example, "The Dream of The Rood," No. 25 in W.F. Bolton, ed., An Old English Anthology, London, 1963, and in translation in Michael Alexander, ed., The Earliest English Poems, Harmondsworth, Penguin Classics, 1966, pp. 103-109.

[90]V.B. Richmond, Laments for the Dead in Medieval Literature, Pittsburgh, 1966, esp. pp. 118-123.

[91]The scribe shows signs of weariness and there are lacunae in the text; we seem to have only part of a debate.

[92]See, for example, Davies, p. 123.

[93]See, for example, Bevington, p. 520.

[94]To show the extent of Kennedy's use of direct speech I give the following summary: 279-280 Jesus to the Disciples; 290 and 292-293 Peter; 294 Christ to Peter; 295-296 Christ foretells His betrayal; 298 all the Disciples; 302-305, 313-315 and 321-322 Christ; 333-335 Peter; 336, 346-348 and 349-350 Christ; 351-352 Judas; 364 Christ; 366 Jews; 367 and 405-406 Christ; 409 servant of the bishop (i.e., of Annas); 411-413 Christ; 431-433 Caiphas; 434-436 Christ; 438 Caiphas; 476-477 Council of Jews; 479-483 Christ; 484-485 and 500-502 Council of Jews; 503-504 Pilate; 506 Council of Jews; 524-525 Pilate; 526-532 Christ; 534 Pilate; 535-539 Jews; 558-560 Pilate; 566-567 all the Jews; 568-569 Pilate; 570-571 all the Jews; 628-629 Pilate; 631-633 Pilate; 634-637 Christ; 641-642 Christ; 655-658 Pilate's wife; 665 all the Jews; 712-718 Christ; 821-822 all the Jews; 824 Pilate; 858-861 People; 875 People; 907-908 Thief; 910 other thief; 918-919 Christ; 937-938 Phebus; 939-945 and 955 Christ on the Cross; 965-966 bystander; 969-973 Christ; 984-988 Death; (991 Christ. He makes a gesture as if to say . . .); 996-999 Christ; 1077 Centurion; 1095-1120 Mary; 1121-1162 the Cross; 1245, 1253, 1256-1260, 1267-1281 Mary's lament; 1363-1372 Priests of the law; 1373-1375 Pilate; 1434-1435, 1454-1456 and 1460 Christ; 1462-1463 and 1466 Mary Magdalene; 1481-1482 and 1511-1512 Christ; 1514-1519 Cleophas; 1520-1523 and 1551 Christ; 1557-1561 Thomas; 1544-1547, 1581-1582 and 1636-1638 Christ.

[95]Mackenzie, p. xxviii.

[96]Bevington, p. 5.

[97]The line numbers between 1290 on p. 49 and 1340 on p. 50 are wrongly positioned. Line 1290 is opposite the first line "At cumplin tyme," whereas that line is actually 1289. I have given amended line numbers here.

[98]Outlaws were proclaimed by the blowing of a trumpet as their names were called at the Mercat Cross.

[99]Schipper, p. 36. Notes.

[100]Pearsall, p. 265.

[101]David Crystal and Derek Davy, Investigating English Style, Bloomington, 1969, p. 147.

[102]Catherine C. Van Buuren-Veenebos, "The Early Middle Scots Version of The Seven Sages of Rome," unpublished paper delivered at Strasbourg, 1978 (see Note 1).

[103]Ibid., p. 10.

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